Political — 1938 Elections

General

Southerners, Faced With Roosevelt Purge, Tell Voters New Deal Means 'Race Equality'

Cotton 'Ed' Smith of South Carolina and George of Georgia Bring Forth Race Issue in Desperate Effort to Evade Defeat.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 1—(ANP)—Faced with the possibility of defeat through Ellison D. "Cotton Ed" Smith of this State, and Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, are using the old reliable scarecrow of race equality as a means of rallying voters to their banners.

Not only these senators, but also representatives in the "Old South" are using race prejudice with an effectiveness not apparent since the strongest days of the Ku Klux Klan. This was an eventuality apparently not conceived of by the president and his advisers when he started the purge.

Candidates, marked for the Roosevelt ax, contend to gullible audiences that the urge is really an attack on white supremacy. Printed material has been distributed condemning the recent anti-lynching bill and matter is available nearly everywhere showing prominent New Dealers associating with Negroes.

Easily influenced by this type of campaign are the factory workers, tenant farmers and other "poor whites" who previously have been the administration's staunchest supporters but who also are in direct economic competition with Negroes. This campaign also intends to smash John L. Lewis' C. I. O. which currently seeks to organize cotton mill and other industrial workers.

LOUDEST NEGROPHOBE

Office seekers point out the whole sale defection of Negroes from the Republican to Democratic ranks, aroused interest of colored Southerners in voting the Democratic ticket and abolishing the white primary, the catering of many Northern Democrats to the Negro vote and similar facts.

Loudest of all the Negrophobists is Senator Smith, foe of Roosevelt. Smith was the senator who walked out of the 1936 Democratic convention in Philadelphia when Rev. Shepard delivered the opening prayer one session, and also left when Congressman Mitchell was scheduled to speak.

He has made it appear that the New Deal is really back of the anti-lynching measure, and since his two opponents, Gov. Olin Johnston and Edgar Brown, are staunch New Dealers, he has embarrassed them no end by calling them to declare themselves on the measure and then reconcile it with their full support of the New Deal.

In retaliation, Johnston and Brown have gone back 40 years to the time when Smith, as a member of the state legislature, somehow opposed segregation of the races on railroad cars.

"WHY ED SMITH VOTED . . ."

"Why, Ed Smith voted for a bill that would permit a big buck 'nigger' to sit by your wife or sister on a railroad train," Johnston has shouted at several gatherings.

Smith has not bothered even to reply. His record as a Negro-hater for 50 years is too well known. His argument that he stands against Negroes participating in the Democratic party is his best ammunition during the current campaign.

"This is one time whether you like Ed Smith or not every red-blooded white man should vote for Smith," he tells audiences, "because outside organizations are seeking to defeat me because of my stand for white supremacy Democrats; his re-election will be a wholesome warning to the East."

FIGHTS LYNCH BILL

On the page is a statement by Labor's Non-Partisan league, formed by John L. Lewis and others advocating passage of the anti-lynching bill; in the center is a big picture of Smith made on the senate steps of the capitol with the statement that it showed the senator leaving his office a few hours after talking against the anti-lynching bill in the senate.

Political friends early in the campaign advised Smith to soft-peddle the race question, saying the issue was dead and it might draw unnecessary fire from Washington. Smith said he tried to take their advice and deal only with issues of the day, but when he took a lofty speech to the poor white crowd, a farmer interrupted with, "Aw hell, Ed, tell us about Philidelfy." Since then he has been feeding them white supremacy stuff.

Six Race Candidates Running For Congress

Philadelphia's Edward Henry Credited With Best Election Chances.

NEW YORK, Nov. 3—The Harlem Political Institute has released the names of the following six men who are running for Congress in various states, and whose fate will be determined in the general elections next week:

New York—Rev. Dr. Lorenzo H. King, Republican; Frank R. Crosswaith, Socialist.

New Jersey—J. Roosevelt Womble, Independent.

Pennsylvania—Magistrate Edward Henry, Republican.

Michigan—Charles Roxborough, Republican.

Illinois—William Dawson, Republican.

Womble is the first Negro ever to run for Congress in New Jersey. He is running in the Eleventh District, which includes the predominantly colored wards of Newark and the Oranges. He is a former Pittsburgher.

Dr. King is the regular nominee of the G. O. P. in the Twenty-first Congressional district, which takes in a large section of Harlem. He is opposed by Congressman Joeph A. Gavagan. The white vote in this district outnumbers the Negro by almost three to one. Dr. King is the third Republican candidate to run for office in this district. The others were E. A. Johnson and Hubert T. Delaney. Crosswaitch, who has been nominated for nearly every office on the Socialist ticket in this state, is opposing both men in this district.

According to a survey conducted by the Institute, Magistrate Henry of Philadelphia has the best chances of election.

The Winners

Afro-American 11-19-38

ILLINOIS

Congress

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL (D), Chicago.

County Commission

EDWARD M. (MIKE) SNEED (D), Chicago

State Senate

* WILLIAM A. WALLACE (D), Chicago.

* Incomplete returns.

State Assembly

WILLIAM A. WARFIELD (R), Chicago.
ERNEST A. GREENE (R), Chicago.
CHARLES JENKINS (R), Chicago.
A. ANDREW TORRENCE (R), Chicago.

WEST VIRGINIA

State Assembly

FLEMING A. JONES, JR. (D), Welch.

MICHIGAN

State Senate

CHARLES DIGGS (D), Detroit.

PENNSYLVANIA

State Assembly

MRS. CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSET (D), Philadelphia.
E. WASHINGTON RHODES (R), Philadelphia.
H. HOBSON REYNOLDS (D), Philadelphia.
WILLIAM A. ALLMOND (D), Philadelphia.
DR. EDWIN F. THOMPSON (D), Philadelphia.
HOMER S. BROWN (D), Pittsburgh.

OHIO

State Assembly

THE REV. D. A. TURPEAU, Cincinnati.
CHESTER K. GILLESPIE (R), Cleveland.

NEW YORK

State Assembly

WILLIAM T. ANDREWS (D,L), New York City.
DANIEL BURROUGHS (D,F), New York City.

NEW JERSEY

State Assembly

DR. FRANK S. HARGRAVE (R), Essex County.

INDIANA

State Assembly

DR. THEODORE CABLE (D), Indianapolis.

City Council

F. B. RANSOM (D), Indianapolis.
WILBUR J. HARDEWAY (R), Gary.
JAMES DENT, JR. (R), East Chicago.

THE LOSERS

ILLINOIS

CONGRESS

William L. Dawson (R.) Chicago.

MUNICIPAL COURT

Albert B. George (R.) Chicago.

STATE SENATE

William E. King (R.) Chicago.

MICHIGAN

CONGRESS

Charles Roxborough (R.) Detroit.

STATE SENATE

Aaron Toodles (R.) Detroit.

PENNSYLVANIA

CONGRESS

Magistrate Edward W. Henry (R.) Philadelphia.

ASSEMBLY

Samuel D. Holmes (D.) Philadelphia.
John W. Harris (R.) Philadelphia.
Paul F. Keen (R.) Philadelphia.
Curtis Haines (R.) Pittsburgh.

MARYLAND

STATE ASSEMBLY

W. A. C. Hughes, Jr., (R.) Baltimore.
Mrs. Sarah Fernandis Diggs (R.) Baltimore.
William I. Gosnell (R.) Baltimore.
Arthur E. Briscoe (R.) Baltimore.
Augustus Knox (R.) Baltimore.

NEW YORK

CONGRESS

The Rev. Lorenzo H. King (R.) New York.
Frank Crosswaith (S.) New York.

STATE ASSEMBLY

John A. Ross, Jr., (R.) New York.
Conrad A. Johnson (R.) New York.
Dr. Mark E. Rivers (R., F.) New York.
The Rev. Theophilus Alcantara (L.) Brooklyn.

NEW JERSEY

STATE ASSEMBLY

Dr. James E. Lee (D.) Essex County.
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Thomas (R.) Hudson County.

CONGRESS

J. R. Womble (I.) Essex County.

RHODE ISLAND

STATE ASSEMBLY

William H. (Dixie) Matthews (D) Providence.

INDIANA

CITY COUNCIL

Benjamin Creswell (D), Gary.

OHIO

STATE SENATE

Harry E. Davis (R), Cleveland.

Four Star

Colored Votes Beat Bernard Fay in R.I.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—Voters of the eighth ward, westside went to the polls on Tuesday, November 8, and by a close margin of twenty-three votes, defeated Bernard Fay, Jewish manager of Fay's Theatre and the Majestic Theatre.

Opponents claimed that repeatedly for twenty-two years, he discriminated against colored patrons in his theatre. Fay lost to Charles A. Gannon, Democrat, who polled 4,045 to Fay's 4,022.

Political - 1938

Elections.

General

Sarasota, Fla. Herald
March 24, 1938

NEGROES DEMAND RECOGNITION

The status of the negro in the public life of the United States has been reopened since the election of 1936. In that election, through the manipulation of Jim Farley and Senator Joe Guffey, the negro vote was thrown very largely to the democratic ticket and it helped to swell the overwhelming majority for Roosevelt and Garner. Negro leaders in the field of politics have not been slow in recognizing the fact that the new political set up gave their race a position of outstanding importance upon which they may cash in on their demands for "equal rights." The anti-lynching bill was the first evidence of this renewed assertion of equal rights and the pressure put on congress to pass this bill clearly revealed the desire of the administration forces to pay off its political debt to the negro voters.

There lies on our desk a copy of the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the leading newspapers published in the interest of the colored race. In this issue there is set out in the news and editorial columns, with great emphasis, the demands of the negroes for equal rights in the ranks of the army, navy and aviation force of the nation. Editorially it says: "We cannot expect public servants to do more than WE make them do, and we CAN make them do whatever we wish if we ORGANIZE our great political, financial and spiritual power, and do it NOW." Again it says, "We want and must have EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY in the United States Navy or we demand a squadron MANNED ENTIRELY by young Negroes." It will be observed that NOW is the time to press the demands, when they feel, as did John L. Lewis, by reason of the part they played in the recent election, they have placed the administration under obligations to them.

On the first page of the Courier there is an article in which is brought to the attention of the readers a movement for the appointment of a negro, Robert L. Vance, a Pittsburgh lawyer and editor, to the next vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court. This movement, we are told, has "the endorsement of the Improved and Benevolent Order of Elks of the world, the National Bar association and the Baltimore Evening Sun." Complaint is made that the Negro race is given only the "cheapest and hardest jobs in district courts" and that only an "infinitely small number of positions are held by colored persons in the judicial branch of the government." It is very evident that the switch of the negro voters from the Republican party to the Democratic party, has opened the race question again in American politics and that the negroes are pressing the advantage they have thereby gained to securing full recognition of their claims to equality of opportunity in every phase of public life. When it comes to according negroes in the southern states "equality" at the ballot box there will probably be some repercussions in southern politics.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
February 19, 1938

Negroes Ask Seat In Supreme Court

Negro organizations in Chattanooga are being asked to send letters and resolutions to President F. D. Roosevelt "importuning him to consider the possibility of giving Negro representation to the country's highest judiciary bench."

The letter, signed by Theron B. Hamilton, chairman, and William S. Howell, secretary, of a committee of ninety-three leaders from all sections of the country, sets forth the name of Robert L. Vann, Negro Democratic lawyer of Pittsburgh, who served as special assistant to Atty.-Gen. Cummings as a Rooseveltian appointee until a few months ago when he resigned.

"When it is considered that the present makeup of the Supreme Court includes two Jews, three Catholics and one Ku-Klux Klansman, there is certainly nothing wrong with the idea that the Negro, who constitutes one-tenth of the population, is entitled to representation," the letter says.

Vann is publisher of a large Negro weekly newspaper in Pittsburgh, and hurdled to the Democratic party during the first campaign to defeat Herbert Hoover.

Columbia, S. C. State
April 19, 1938

NEGRO FOR SUPREME COURT?

Robert L. Vann, Negro lawyer-journalist, born in Bertie county, North Carolina, but editor for some years of the Pittsburgh Courier, and credited largely with the turning of Negro Republicans in Pennsylvania to Franklin D. Roosevelt, has been proposed for a seat on the United States supreme court. North Carolina had a shot at seating a native on that bench when Judge Parker of Charlotte was nominated but failed of confirmation.

ANTI NEGRO APPEAL FAILED

Many mediocre politicians in the south rode into prominence in appealing to race passion while campaigning for public office. This was not unusual several decades ago. A candidate could succeed by being more bitter against the Negro than his opponent. The innocent Negro was used so frequently as a political football until the voters began to be tired and the appeal lost its force. Unfortunately some candidates for office are not aware of this fact and attempt now to succeed by using it. Cole Blease of South Carclina and Tom Heflin of Alabama rode into prominence by flaying the Negro. They succeeded for a time, but finally met their Waterloo. Recently Heflin has been defeated for a seat in the United States Senate and Congress and last week he was swamped for an humble seat in the state legislature of Alabama. Blease is a candidate for a similar place in South Carolina. How the mighty has fallen. In the recent campaign in Florida, one Finley Moore was a candidate for the United States Senate and one W. R. Farnell aspired for a seat in Congress. Each one protested the colored men given any employment by the government and worked up much perspiration in telling the voters so. The voters seem tired of such demagogic appeals and showed it by snowing both candidates under. They received less votes than their opponents. A fine lesson for them. May others who are thus inclined profit thereby.

Gatesville, N. C., Index
June 22, 1938

SURPRISING NEWS

A SURPRISING bit of news was released in the daily feature column which appears in a large number of daily newspapers throughout the country under the heading "Washington Merry-Go-Round." It was surprising because it is news to us that there should be enough Negro votes in an Eastern North Carolina congressional district for any candidate to put out a special worker to round them up. Of course every vote counts—and a Negro's is as much to be desired for counting purposes by an anxious candidate as the absentee ballot of a non-resident or the vote of a dead man, both types of votes having been cast in the primary just over if we are to believe the charges that have been made in several counties where investigations of election irregularities are being carried on. According to the Washington columnists however, there are enough Negro votes in Eastern North Carolina to warant a congressman up for re-election to borrow the services of a Negro messenger boy from a fellow congressman to do a little work for him in a vote getting way. Here's the story as the Washington column put it:

"Speaker Bankhead recently gave time off to his colored messenger, J. D. Reed, to go down to his home in North Carolina and campaign for the renomination of Congressman John H. Kerr of Warrenton, N. C.

"Messenger Reed came back triumphant, having helped renominate his friend, which in North Carloina is equivalent to re-election."

If there are enough Negro votes in the Second Congressional District to be worth the use of a special campaign manager to round up, it is still news that such a seasoned campaigner as Congressman Kerr would be the one to seek these votes. Those Washington columnists must have been mixed up a bit in their information—that Negro messenger boy was merely visiting his relatives.

Ahoskie, N. C., Herald
June 16, 1938

SURPRISING NEWS

A SURPRISING bit of news was released in the daily feature column which appears in a large number of daily newspapers throughout the country under the heading "Washington Merry-Go-Round." It was surprising because it is news to us that there should be enough Negro votes in an Eastern North Carolina congressional district for any candidate to put out a special worker to round them up. Of course every vote counts—and a Negro's is as much to be desired for counting purposes by an anxious candidate as the absentee ballot of a non-resident or the vote of a dead man, both types of votes having been cast in the primary just over if we are to believe the charges that have been made in several counties where investigations of election irregularities are being carried on. According to the Washington columnists however, there are enough Negro votes in Eastern North Carolina to warant a congressman up for re-election to borrow the services of a Negro messenger boy from a fellow congressman to do a little work for him in a vote getting way. Here's the story as the Washington column put it:

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Political - 1938
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General

CATHOLICS, JEWS, KU KLUX ALL ON HIGHEST BENCH

The boom for a man to represent the "Forgotten Tenth" of the country's population on the United States Supreme Court bench is on in full swing!

Catholics . . . with a reputed membership of 20,735,18 . . . are represented on the Supreme Court Bench!

The Jewish people . . . with a Census population of 4,228,029 . . . are represented on the Supreme Court Bench!

The Ku Klux Klan . . . with an unknown membership . . . is represented on the Supreme Court Bench!

So the Negro . . . with a population of 12,879,423 . . . feels that the time has come to demand recognition for his group on the Supreme Court Bench!

55 Leaders . . . 19 States

Last week in Akron, Ohio, the Past Exalted Rulers and Past Daughter Rulers of the Ohio Lodge of Elks, sent a message to President Roosevelt urging the appointment of a Negro attorney to the Nation's Highest Court . . . and endorsed Robert L. Vann.

Today, in answer to an appeal from a Pittsburgh Citizens' Committee, headed by Attorney Theron B. Hamilton, 55 of the race's outstanding leaders from 19 states, including the District of Columbia endorsed Attorney Robert L. Vann, publisher of The Pittsburgh Courier, for the next vacancy.

These leaders . . . men and women . . . represent a cross-section of Negro endeavor and activity. Lawyers, business and political figures, religious leaders, labor fraternal and militant organizations, editors and educators gladly consented to form a National Committee to force the issue and demand a showdown.

Need For Representation

As the idea swept the country, swinging from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the farthest southern hamlet to the northermost outpost forceful arguments to back up the contention of these leaders, were advanced.

The "Court of Last Appeal" has handed down the final decision on peonage in the United States. To them will go final arguments in the unfair treatment of sharecroppers.

Disfranchisement, segregation, discrimination and the evils of mob violence are Un-American practices on which they have the final say-so!

All of these autocratic evils in a democracy are heaped on the helpless heads of the Negro . . . and oftimes his only recourse is to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Want First Vacancy

Ten years ago . . . nay, FIVE years ago, the mere suggestion that a Negro's name be recommended for the U. S. Supreme Court, would have been laughed to scorn.

But changing times and attitudes, added to the aggressive awakening of Negro voters in all parts of the country to their own political strength, has placed this latest crusade in the class of "things attainable."

The Negro knows that he is entitled to a place on the Supreme Court Bench. There are nine Justices, and the Negro represents practically one-ninth of the population of the country.

There are no vacancies on the Supreme Court Bench . . . at present. But the belief is growing apace that there will be . . . soon. And it is for this vacancy that Negro leaders are working.

How Leaders Will Work

They will form a National Committee, to regiment and organize "A Negro For the U. S. Supreme Court Bench" groups.

These groups, representing the entire group, will then send letters and wires to President Roosevelt requesting that he appoint a Negro to the U. S. Supreme Court Bench . . . to fill the NEXT VACANCY!

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
January 21, 1938

MR. VANN'S ONLY STATEMENT:

"I am only allowing my name to be used for the Supreme Court Bench, in order to crystalize sentiment behind the idea."

(Signed) ROBERT L. VANN.

Negro Looks Up

Comes to attention a copy of the Pittsburgh Courier, negro newspaper, enthusiastically supporting Robert L. Vann, negro lawyer and publisher of The Courier, for the next vacancy in the United States supreme court bench. It reports the exalted ruler of the order of negro Elks:

"Mr. Wilson based his endorsement of Mr. Vann partly on his belief in the possibility of his appointment . Taking cognizance of his political affiliations, he pointed out that Mr. Vann is in accord with the President and the New Deal."

The Courier further says that the Roman Catholics, the Jewish people and "the Ku Klux Klan" are represented on the supreme court bench, and that the negro "with a population of 12,879,423 feels that the time has come to demand recognition of his group on the supreme court bench" .

The implication of the negro argument that a negro justice would neutralize the presence of the former Klansman on the bench seems to contain excellent negro logic. One cannot blame the colored man for using it. Vann says, "I am only allowing my name to be used for the supreme court bench in order to crystallize sentiment behind the idea."

Vann has been an important factor in crystallizing negro sentiment behind the Guffey-Earle Democratic party in Pennsylvania and helped them rescue that state from the Republicans. What is Democratic in Pennsylvania now is Democracy in Washington, or, if it is not, what is? The campaign for Vann was made before the appointment of Mr. Stanley Reed. Perhaps Vann's name will be considered by the Farley-Guffey Democrats for president in 1940. "We are on our way."

Why Not A Race Representative On Supreme Court?

IN the perplexities of world record complications, the Grand Exalted Order of Elks is throwing new tender into the situation. That order is inviting varied discussions as to whether the President could get away with the appointment of the colored justice of the Supreme Court. Not since the foundation of that court has a single colored person sat on the bench, although all through the centuries there have been many bright and talented legal minds. Before the highest tribunals in the land has the Negro represented various issues. Colored persons are represented in the list of legal graduates from the leading law universities in the land, passing the turbulent and often intolerant state bars and qualifying to practice in all the courts. The highest types of our entire citizenry, unimpeachable in character and famed in their achievements are among our lawyers. That goes without any gainsaying. Members of congress, the senate and the cabinet have had representatives who studied law along with some of our lawyers.

On the Supreme Court today the great Jewish race is represented in some of its most brilliant minds.

The colored race in America represents the purest specimen of loyalty and unstinted devotion to the flag and the republic. At no time has one sold a secret, assassinated a president or turned traitor to his country. Even during the World War when other nations wondered for what he had to fight, what could he gain in the end save serfdom of the impoverished sharecropper and the rope of the lyncher, he carried the old flag over the top and died with his eyes frozen on Metz. He came home to assume the humble role of his proscribed limitations, with the firm faith that a brghter day would dawn. His great faith and that of his fathers are fast beholding the gray dawn of a new day and a new order. Were it not for the promise of this reward his every song would have been lifted in vain and his dying would be a travesty to a civilization which would exact such without any promise of future reward. But fate does not pay off that way. The dreams of a brighter day were to be rewarded.

While many things enter into the appointment of the justices of the Supreme Court, these appointments are kept as far from political expediencies as possible. While this is true it is highly possible to find those eligible and reaching the high watermark of requirement among those to whom political debts are owed or those from certain doubtful states whose suffrage might advance certain causes. The Justices, however, are appointed for life and their tenure is not terminated by the withdrawal of any political party from power.

If the thing is taken on a political pressure phase, then there are enough voters among the colored group in many pivotal states to bring sufficient pressure for the appointment of a member of the group on the court. Such an appointment would of course rock the old South, but it would serve to temper it for the endurance of more tolerant tempers to come in regards to the inevitable recognition of the colored race in the councils of free and representative government.

President Roosevelt is bigger than his and all the parties. He has preached the doctrine of the majority wherever he has lifted his voice and in that he is not dependent upon nor counting on any particular party. In that he could name a colored justice and treat the repercussion just as he did the Hugo Black affair and go on with his popular following.

Mr. Roosevelt could now hurl the appointment of a colored man to the Supreme Court, get him confirmed and get away with it...and it still lies among the things possible that he will do it before his tenure of office expires.

You probably have heard that "TIME MARCHES ON."

NEGRO ON SUPREME BENCH

THE SUGGESTION OF A NEGRO ON THE Supreme Court Bench of our nation's highest tribunal is timely and in order and it is extremely fortunate that the Negro racial group in the United States is so thoroughly in accord on one man for that honor—Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh.

As has been suggested, in that the Negro population of our nation represents more than one-tenth of the citizenship, the selection of a dignified and well qualified member of the Negro racial group to a seat on the United States Supreme Court bench would be right and just. 1-27-38

Mr. Vann, a distinguished and highly successful lawyer and one of the nation's most influential and effective editors, is without question the logical man for the position. Every individual and organization among the Negro racial group in America should join hands with friends of the race in other groups to bring about the naming of Mr. Vann as a justice of in the United States Supreme Court, immediately upon a vacancy occurring.

RACE HAS ONLY PETTY SHARE OF VAST FEDERAL GOVERNMENT JUDICIAL SET-UP

Of 262 Judicial Positions, Negroes Hold Only Two—Receive Only $15,000 of $896,000 Expended In Salaries — Vann Widely Endorsed for Supreme Court Post.

Cleveland 2-14-38

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17—In connection with efforts to have a colored lawyer appointed to the next vacancy on the Supreme Court of the United States, a survey of the Federal courts discloses that there is a total of 202 judicial positions directly under the Federal Government.

Pittsburgh Courier 2-19-38

In addition, there are 10 judges under the municipal government of the District of Columbia, who are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

One Federal Judge

Of the 253 Federal judges, only one is colored. He is William H. Hastie, United States District judge for the Virgin Islands, who was appointed by the President about a year ago and was confirmed by the Senate.

Of the 10 judges under the Municipal government of the District of Columbia, only one is colored. He is Armond W. Scott, a judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, who succeeded Judge James A. Cobb. A colored lawyer has served on this court ever since it was created. The first was the late Judge Robert H. Terrell.

Cleveland Call 2-19-38

The Supreme Court has 9 justices. The Chief Justice receives a salary of $20,500. The Associate Justices receive $20,000 a year each.

There are 45 Federal circuit judges and 163 district judges, including 2 in Hawaii, one in Puerto Rico, four in Alaska, and one in the Virgin Islands. The circuit judges receive a salary of $12,500 each, while 162 district judges receive a salary of $10,000 each. The district judge of the Virgin Islands receives a salary of $7,500.

District Court Salaries

The District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia has 9 justices. The Chief Justice of this court receives a salary of $10,500 and each of the associate justices receives a salary of $10,000 each.

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has a chief justice and 4 associate justices. Each of them receives a salary of $12,500 a year.

The United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals has a presiding judge and 8 judges. Each of them receives a yearly salary of $10,000.

The United States Court of Claims has a chief justice and 4 judges. Each of them receives a yaerly salary of $12,500.

Territorial Courts

The territorial court of Hawaii has a chief justice and 2 associate justices. The chief justice receives a yearly salary of $10,500. The associate justices receive a yearly salary of $10,000 each. This court has 8 other judges, who receive $7,150 a year each.

The District Court of Panama has a judge, who receives $10,000 a year. The United States Court for China also has a judge, who receives $10,000 a year.

In the District of Columbia, there is the Juvenile Court, whose judge receives $7,000 a year. There is also the Police Court with a presiding judge and 3 associates. They receive a yearly salary of $8,000 each. The Municipal Court has 5 judges, whose salaries are also $8,000 each.

Thus, out of 272 judicial positions paying salaries totaling $896,000 only two are filled by colored lawyers, whose combined pay is only $15,500.

Vann Widely Endorsed

Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh lawyer and editor, is widely endorsed for the next vacancy which occurs on the Supreme Court. The movement in his behalf is expected to break down in part the taboo which has existed against the appointment of colored lawyers to judicial positions.

BEGINNING OF DOUBT

From the Early County News:

We are beginning to doubt the wisdom of President Roosevelt's appointment of Stanley Reed to the U. S. supreme court. The appointment seems to have met with too wide approval, even among the president's most bitter critics. So there must be a "colored gentleman" somewhere in the wood-pile.

Pittsburgh Courier 2-21-38

OUR PROGRAM CALLS FOR:

1. Member of the President's Cabinet
2. Member of House of Representatives from Ohio
3. U. S. Senators
4. State Senator
5. A member of the Governor's Cabinet
6. Director in Mayor's Cabinet
7. Common Pleas Judge
8. Municipal Judge
9. High School Principal
10. Police Captain
11. More Nurses and Physicians in City Hospital
12. Firemen in the City Fire Department
13. Dentists in City Schools
14. Full enforcement of Ohio's Civil Rights law.

3-5-38 Cleveland, Ohio

Political - 1938 Elections.

General

Mitchell Re-elected, King Loses; GOP Gains Increase

Concede Vann As Power

11-10-38

Republicans Add Governors And Representatives

WASHINGTON. — (SNS) Shrewd political observers, still scratching their heads over the power shown by Republicans at the polls Tuesday, dug up a new angle Wednesday.

In Pennsylvania where the state went Republican after four years of Democratic rule, a prominent Negro politician became the object of much conversation.

VANN'S POWER CONCEDED

Astute minds of political wars quickly concluded that Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh publisher, was one of the forces that caused Pennsylvania to go Republican.

It was reasoned that the heavy colored vote had been influenced by Vann. It was recalled that Vann threw his power to the Democratic ranks in 1936, supporting President Roosevelt, but this year, it appeared as though Vann turned the colored voters in Pennsylvania to the Republican party.

The erstwhile Democratic Pennsylvania saw Judge Arthur H. James, Republican, elected governor, and George H. Earle, Republican, winning the senate contest.

MITCHELL RE-ELECTED

In the Illinois election, the house's lone colored member, Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, was returned to office.

Up in New York ,Dr. Lorenzo H. King, Republican, who opposed Congressman Gavagan for a seat in the house from the 21st district, New York, was defeated, it was revealed Wednesday.

SEVENTEEN GOVERNORS

Throughout the country in the "off-year" election, the Republicans voted 17 of their followers into governorships, 12 of them previously held by Democrats and two by the minor parties. The Democrats elected 15 of their men to gubernatorial positions, including three previously held by Republicans.

The Republicans were also successful in eleven senatorial contests, involving eight seats now held by Democrats. The Democrats elected 21 senators, six of whom are from the South.

1940 TO BE "HOT"

This new grasp by Republicans led some to believe the Presidential race in 1940 is certain to be a hot contest.

The voting Tuesday gave the Republicans an additional 70 seats in the house and at least eight more votes in the senate.

It was pointed out that even though the Republicans failed to show a winner in some states, a powerfully large number of G. O. P. votes were cast, indicating that the Republicans have nation-wide strength.

DEMOCRATS STILL RULE

The Democrats with much to lose, came through with flying colors in New York, California, North Dakota and Maryland. The Republicans have increased their votes but the Democrats still have enough ballots to rule the house and senate.

Senator Vanderburg, Michigan (Republican), who is being considered as presidential timber, had this to say about the election.

"An amazing defeat for the Roosevelt party and program."

11-10-38

HOOVER COMMENTS

Former President Herbert Hoover declared, "The reinvigorated Republican party is now in position to join effectively with the anti-New Deal democracy to check these policies in the congress and thereby contribute to restore employment and agriculture, to re-establish confidence in business, and above all to restore faith in America."

Postmaster General Farley, chairman of the Democratic committee, said, "I think the outcome justifies the statement that the country as a whole is still strongly behind the humanitarian policies of President Roosevelt."

NEW YORK INTEREST

Political fireworks really exploded in New York. District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, young racket-buster, lost a brilliant race to Governor Lehman. The winner had a margin of 70,000 votes out of the 4,700,000 ballots cast.

Those surviving the primary election were Senator George, of Georgia· Senator Smith, of South Carolina , and Senator Tydings, of Maryland.

Wins In Illinois; Loses In N. Y.

CONG. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

REV. L. H. KING

TESTING THE NEW DEAL

The coming election which will take place on November 8th will, no doubt, have a great bearing, not only upon the future of the citizens of the United States, but upon the world. This election will determine whether we, the people of the United States, will, in the pursuit of happiness, go backward or forward.

All of us know that President Roosevelt, with his progressive ideas, is doing all he can to bring to the front that prosperity, which was "just around the corner" in the days of Herbert Hoover, just as fast as certain reactionaries will allow it to come. All of us will admit that the ideas concerning complete recovery that are advocated in the New Deal policies are good. Even those sanquine opponents of the New Deal have not been able to offer anything better. If we would quicken the steps of the President so that we might realize our hopes, his aims must be upheld and his plans must be supported by the people.

Many critics of the New Deal are merely chronic calamity howlers, and, of course, many of the leaders in the Republican party, for the sake of political "plunder," are echoing the words of these howlers. They go to the people who are receiving help from relief funds, WPA, AAA, NYA, CCC and other government agencies which have been set up to relieve the distress of the needy, and tell them that they are not receiving as much as they should from the government, and strange as it is, and as paradoxical as it seems, these same people will yell loudest about taxation. They say that the government cannot continue giving relief to the unemployed without jeopardizing the credit of the nation, but they never explain that the principle source of the government's revenue which is especially for relief purposes comes from taxation. Therefore, voters are reminded here not to be deceived by those who are seeking to make political capital from the misfortunes of others.

Remember, this depression is a child of the Republican administration under Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover attempted to bring prosperity back by lending Charles G. Dawes, former Vice President of the United States, and president of the National City Bank of Chicago, $90,000,000.00 which, of course, only served to plunge us "deeper into the mire" of depression.

When President Roosevelt came on the scene he went to the heart of the matter. With his New Deal policies he has arranged it so that those in need could not only obtain relief, but also money from the government. Feeding the hungry and clothing the naked and giving work to those who want to save their self respect, are not political issues..... these things far transcend politics. Will these people repudiate such help when they go to the polls on the 8th of November? Will they say "no" to those things which have helped them as nothing has done before? We think not.

It will also be remembered that President Roosevelt, in his effort to make this a progressive nation, repudiated such men as George of Georgia, "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, and Tydings of Maryland, who sought re-election to the United States Senate. The President pointed out at the time that the nation could not progress with such men as these in high places where they could influence the course of the people. A vote against New Deal policies is a vote for such leadership as that of Ellender of Louisiana, and Borah of Idaho, who is the arch foe of the anti-lynching bill.

Over Score Win Office

Republicans Fare Well Mainly in Chicago Vote

Colored citizens elected at least twenty-three legislators, including one Congressman, in the election last week when the Republican party rose from the ashes of 1932 in twelve States.

Despite this revival of the GOP, colored Republicans failed to farewell four GOP assemblymen who chosen in Chicago. One was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature in Philadelphia, one in Ohio and another to the New Jersey lower house from Essex County.

Ballots Reported Seized

In an early report shortly after the closing of the polls it was stated that all ballots were confiscated at a voting booth at Tenth and Poplar Streets. Two election officials were allegedly thrown out of a window when they protested the action.

The campaign, which was one of the bitterest in the history of the city, found the actual election comparatively quiet, for there were a small number of physical encounters. However, a number of complaints and verbal tiffs were reported to the election commission.

Fearing that there would be numerous fights, Mayor S. Davis Wilson on Monday swore in 600 men as policemen to supplement the regular force. The officers for a day were taken from the fire and police eligible lists.

The Department of Justice, the Federal district attorney's office and the United States marshal scattered men throughout the city to aid in keeping order.

Dies During Rally

Albert Acworth, 58, of 5100 City Line, suffered a heart attack and died while attending a Republican political rally at the Lincoln Theatre, Broad and Lombard Streets.

The last lap of the campaign began on Sunday when E. Washington Rhodes, candidate for the Legislature participated in a debate with Russell Allen, Democrat and secretary of the State Athletic Commission, before the City-Wide Forum at the Southwest YWCA.

Rhodes, local attorney, flayed the Democratic party for failing to end unemployment and because taxes were increased. He asserted that the Republican first gave relief following the depression.

Allen asserted that the rich and not the poor bore the brunt of the taxes. He charged that the Republicans were responsible for high taxes, including the city's sales tax, and that the Republicans were using the slating of Magistrate Edward Henry for Congress to draw the colored voter to the Republican party.

Allen asserted that Democrats had in four years given colored workers ten times as many jobs as the Republicans over a period of forty years. He accused the Republicans of killing the Equal Rights Law several years prior to its passage by the Democrats, and said that under the Republicans a colored man was lynched near Coatesville some years ago.

Democrats Press Drive

On Saturday, the colored Democratic committeemen of the Forty-fourth ward staged a rally at the Church of the House of God at Forty-fifth and Fairmount Avenue. Speakers were the Rev. Marshall Shepard, Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Austin Norris, Robert N. C. Nix, Russell Allen, Hobson Reynolds, James McCranery and Raymond Pace Alexander.

Rhodes on Thursday assailed Democrats for their broken promises. He appealed to the colored residents to support the Republican ticket. "WPA projects and relief are temporary measures which can not take the place of jobs for every man and woman who wants to work," he said.

Political - 1938 Elections.

Georgia. 6

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
September 11, 1938

THE NATION NEEDS GEORGE

When Georgia Democratic voters go to the polls next Wednesday to decide the issue in the senatorial primary, they will be selecting a man to represent them in the United States senate during years which, unless all signs fail, will be more vital for the future of this country than any like period for decades. There is every indication that the fate of democratic government itself will hang in the balance during the next two years. Certainly, the fate of the Democratic party, as it is conceived in the south, will be determined between now and 1941.

Thus, there is presented an issue before the voters of Georgia, this week, which transcends in importance all other considerations. Before it personalities of candidates fade into insignificance. All the money which the federal government can pour into a state acquiescent to the political demands of that government becomes but a mess of pottage offered as payment for the purchase of a people's birthright.

The man or woman who cannot see, or interpret, the prophetic writings, must be blind, indeed.

The plain, unadorned truth is that the party which today bears the label "Democrat" is controlled by leaders who are not Democrats. The administration, by its own admission, has deserted the party which placed it in office and is seeking to form a new party based upon dreams of left-wing advisers who would lead this nation along the same paths of totalitarianism which have brought a new and fearful autocracy to the nations of Europe.

* * * * *

The birth pangs of this new party were first seen during the last session of congress. It is a party whose unannounced, yet evident, platform would place all authority and power in the hands of the executive branch of government. It seeks to destroy the three-branched system of checks and balances which the fathers of the nation created.

The first step taken by the new party theorists was the attempt to emasculate the United States supreme court by "packing" it with puppets, in the robes of justices, who would humbly do the bidding of the executive powers.

This, to the eternal glory of the United States senate, was defeated. Georgia Democrats are proud the successful fight was led, among others, by Senator Walter F. George.

The next move of the new party group was an attempt to take all government departments and bureaus and governmental activities from the control of congress and place them, too, in subservience to the executive. This was the reorganization bill, likewise defeated and which Senator George likewise opposed.

Now, through the so-called "purge" of Democratic members of the congress branded as "conservatives" by that same new party group, it is sought to fill both houses of the national legislative branch with Charlie McCarthys, "yes men" pledged to always do the bidding of the administration.

* * * * *

President Roosevelt has aligned himself with this new party movement. He has, on numerous occasions in public speeches, declared the issue is no longer between Democrats and Republicans, but between "liberals" and "conservatives." He has assumed to himself the sole right of classifying candidates in these two groups. By some mysterious power he believes he can read "what is within a man's heart" and, regardless of the record, he brands those who have, by some one act or other, won Presidential disapproval, as "conservatives," and labels the sheep he considers worthy of his blessing as the "liberals."

In a press interview a week ago, the President stated he would support a "liberal" Republican candidate against a "conservative" Democratic opponent.

Thus, he deserts the party which placed him in the highest office within the gift of any party in the United States. Thus, he turns his back upon the Democrats and gives his allegiance to this new alignment he has created and dubbed "liberals."

President Roosevelt, by his own words, has abandoned his position as leader of the Democratic party. He is striving to form a new party of radical left-wingers, hand-picked, who would glorify the executive branch of the government and make of the legislative and judicial branches nothing but time-serving sycophants of an all-powerful White House.

Worst of all, not only from a southern, but from a national viewpoint, he seeks not only to array class against class, but panders to racial jealousies by openly courting the negro vote. Through the use of the taxpayers' money in the form of "relief" and WPA checks, he won that vote, almost 100 per cent, from the Republican party in 1936. He sought to pay for that vote by passage of the vicious, dangerous and cruel anti-lynching bill. A bill that would forever make the sovereign states but chattels of the central government. That bill was kept from passage only by the heroic stand of a group of southern Democrats in the senate who preferred the enmity of the administration to betrayal of their people. Senator George was one of these.

* * * * *

All these same issues, in aggravated form, are certain to come again before the congress, during the next session. The administration seeks to make certain, in advance, of passage of them all, including the supreme court packing measure, the reorganization bill and the anti-lynching bill, by "purging" from congress those stalwarts of democracy who prevented their enactment at the last session.

There is a very real threat of autocracy in the United States, in the near future, if such proposals as these are enacted into law. It may today loom as a smiling and benevolent autocracy, but tomorrow it may wear, instead of a smile, the bushy eyebrows of a John L. Lewis.

* * * * *

If you would know who are the stalwarts of true democracy, both in the nation and in the party, you have only to glance at the list of leaders who are no longer in favor in the councils of the administration. It is a list of high honor, a list which will go down into history alongside those other lists of patriots who dared all to defend the heritage of a free United States.

It includes such men as Jack Garner, of Texas, vice president. Only six years ago he was nominated by Texas and California as their choice for the presidency. Today he is viewed with suspicion at the White House.

There is that distinguished Virginian, Carter Glass, likewise out of favor at the White House. And his fellow senator from Virginia, Harry Byrd.

There is Pat Harrison of Mississippi, there is Josiah Bailey, of North Carolina; Pat McCarran, of Nevada; Ellison Smith, of South Carolina; Millard Tydings, of Maryland; Walter George, of Georgia, and others.

With one lone exception, James M. Cox, of Ohio, there is not a living Democrat who ever received the nomination of his party for president who is in favor with those at Washington who now would control the party, or form this new party of "liberals."

Thus the issue of Wednesday next, in Georgia, becomes greater than one of personalities. It is not a question of support, or non-support for the President, as an individual. The issue lies between democracy and this strange new theory of government.

Georgia, and the nation, will need such champions of democracy as Walter F. George during the coming years. If American democracy, as it lives today in the hearts of Georgians, is not to perish, Senator George must be the victor in Wednesday's primary.

Camp Concedes Defeat

Talmadge Out Front

Louisville Courier-Journal 9-15-38

Political - 1938 Elections.

Georgia.

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Camp Concedes Defeat

Lowry Walk

Talmadge Out Front

9-15-38

At One Time

Returns from Georgia's Democratic white primary at 1:30 o'clock this morning showed Senator Walter George out front in the Senatorial race and Governor E. D. Rivers leading in the Gubernatorial contest.

Senator George was running for renomination while Governor Rivers was bidding for an endorsement term.

CAMP ADMITS DEFEAT

Denounced several weeks ago at Barnesville by President Roosevelt, Senator George was carrying twice as many counties as Candidate Eugene Talmadge at press time. Lawrence Camp conceded his defeat around 11 o'clock Wednesday night.

Camp, the choice of the President for the senatorial seat, had only three counties in his favor when he admitted defeat.

Governor Rivers with 236 unit votes at 1:45 o'clock this morning was far ahead of his closest rival, Hugh Howell. John J. Mangham conceded his defeat at 1:15 o'clock this morning.

MANGHAM QUITS

In a public statement by radio, Mangham who was carrying only two counties at the time, thanked those who voted for him and said, "I am sure that the time will come when the good people of Georgia will see my point."

Shortly after Mangham's talk, Governor Rivers went on the air, thanking those who voted for him. He assured Georgians who were allowed to vote in the primary that he would be back at his desk this morning ready to carry on for the people of this state.

Ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge was leading Senator Walter George and Attorney General Lawrence S. Camp early Wednesday night by popular vote in the race for United States Senator, while Hugh Howell, former chairman of the state Democratic executive committee during Talmadge's regime, topped Governor Rivers in the gubernatorial race.

At 2:10 o'clock this morning, Senator George showed 156 unit votes, Talmadge 88, and Camp eight.

RACE QUESTION IN POLITICS

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

The political battle is over, and Mr. George goes back to Washington and the senate. The Telegraph doubtless did its share in sending him back, but in doing it we do not believe unnecessary remarks in its editorials concerning the Negro had any effect upon the voters for or against Mr. George. Therefore, as we have said in the past, The Telegraph could have left the Negro out of the issue. Especially since the Negro is systematically though not legally disfranchised in Georgia.

The mention in the editorials about "black heels on white necks," "pictures of Negroes and whites socializing," "passage of the anti-lynching bill," can break down more good feeling between the races in one day than the sane thinking white and colored people can build up in years.

"Black heels on white necks" in Georgia or anywhere else is foolish to think of, and The Telegraph knows it. "Pictures of white and Negro children socializing at picnics" has been going on in New York city for years on end, and will hardly be stopped through editorials in a Georgia newspaper. And in Georgia neither the whites nor the Negroes want it, and what neither race does not want, we don't have to accept. Had Mr. Camp or Mr. Talmadge been elected, you know and everybody else knows that they would have voted against the anti-lynch bill until the end of time. So why bring that up?

As a Negro—one among thousands—who wants better race relations in Macon, may I ask in behalf of the thousands of my race, to please leave the Negro out of the white man's political differences.

FRANK J. HUTCHINGS.

Political - 1938
Elections.

Georgia

Atlanta, Ga. Georgian
August 27, 1938

ASPIRANTS AIR OPINIONS

State Rights Issue At East Point Rally Holds Spotlight

Office-Seekers in Home Stretch Appeal for Citizens' Ballots

By BEN COOPER.

Georgia's races for the United States Senate and for Governor Saturday turned the spotlight on the grounds of Russell High School at East Point, where an all-day political speaking is under way.

East Point climaxes a hectic week of Georgia politics, in which the historic issue of states' rights again sounded from the stump, complicated by a maze of other issues and platforms in a four-cornered race.

Developments in the Senate race included:

1—District Attorney Lawrence S. Camp, New Deal candidate, said at Nashville Friday afternoon that "election of a reactionary would wreck the President's program and prevent his carrying out measures for Georgia's advance." Mr. Camp spoke at 11 o'clock Saturday morning at East Point.

2—Senator Walter F. George was preparing for a rally at 9 o'clock Saturday night at the Ansley roof garden and was to be represented at East Point at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon by Wiley F. Moore, chairman of the Fulton County George Club.

3—William G. McRae, Townsend Plan candidate, was to speak at East Point at 3:30 o'clock Saturday afternoon, bringing to a close an intensive week's swing around the state.

4—Ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge spoke at Marietta Saturday morning and was to address the East Point gathering at 4:30 in the afternoon.

OTHERS SPEAK

John J. Mangham, candidate for Governor, spoke at East Point Saturday morning, the only candidate in that race scheduled to appear at Russell High during the day.

Local candidates for the State Senate, House of Representatives, judge and other offices were scheduled to deliver short speeches at the rally. East Point was to crown a queen at noon, in connection with the political program. A barbecue was to be served.

At Nashville Friday afternoon, Mr. Camp pointed to uncompleted objectives of the New Deal, and said:

"If the desires and needs of Georgians are to be furthered by the present national administration, it is necessary to elect Senators and Congressmen who will co-operate with President Roosevelt.

"Under the New Deal, Georgia's advance will not be retarded. On the contrary, there will be greater advance."

Senator George, speaking Friday afternoon at Thomson, the home town of the late Senator Thomas E. Watson, whom George succeeded in 1922, drew attention to his predecessor's fight against the anti-lynching bill.

LYNCH BILL WARNING

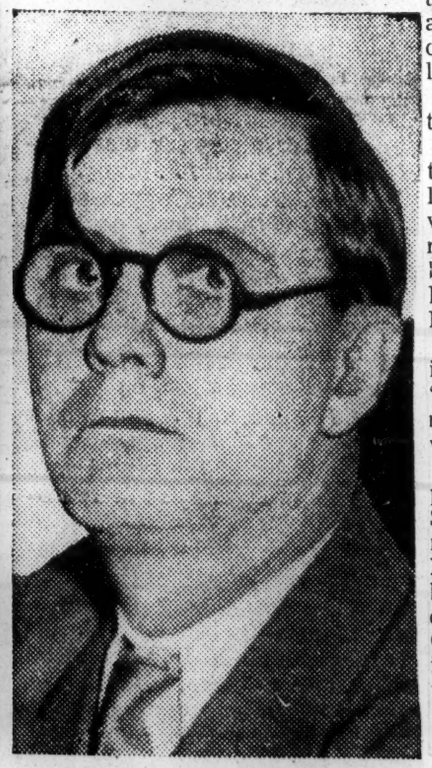
If the New Deal purge is successful in several states, the anti-lynching bill will be passed in the January session, Senator George predicted. He warned that it will be followed by a civil rights bill affecting suffrage in Georgia, and other legislation of that type.

Mr. McRae, expounding the virtues of the Townsend Plan, continued his advocacy of the proposal as a means of returning prosperity to the country.

SENATOR GEORGE

LAWRENCE CAMP

WILLIAM G. McRAE



EUGENE TALMADGE

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
August 28, 1938

Camp Charges Sen. George Has Not Accepted Challenge

By the Associated Press

Lawrence Camp, New Dealer candidate for the Senate, said in East Point Saturday that Senator Walter George "has not accepted President Roosevelt's challenge" to his democracy and loyalty to the humanitarian program of the Democratic party.

Referring to Senator George's brief remarks to the President at Barnesville just after Mr. Roosevelt had called for the senator's defeat, Mr. Camp said:

"At Barnesville the gray-haired, clean-shaven senator said a memorized speech, but he hasn't accepted the challenge.

"He has refused to discuss his record."

The youngish federal district attorney who received the President's endorsement at the same time George was branded a "dyed-in-the-wool conservative," was cheered and applauded several times as he assailed the senator's record and praised the chief executive.

Charges Republicanism

Mr. Camp declared George has had a "hidden campaign organization which recently came to light" and defined this as "the Republicans and a few power company lawyers."

"My organization," he cried, "is the loyal Democrats of Georgia."

He reiterated charges that Senator George is a Republican in political belief and bolstered this with the assertion "Washington news commentators who know him best identify him with the Republicans and big industry just as the President identified him."

Mr. Camp declared the senator is "going about the state hollering 'nigger, nigger, nigger' and 'Communist, Communist, Communist' when you are asking for bread."

"The only thing George can point to in his sixteen years in the Senate is the one-hour speech he made against the anti-lynch bill," Mr. Camp continued. "Yet when he had an opportunity to vote he ducked the vote." He said Senator George was recorded as not voting in a test ballot on the anti-lynch measure.

Tactics Criticized

Referring to a charge made by

other side.

George headquarters that negroes sought to vote for Camp in the September 14 primary in Clarke County, Camp said:

"The people of Georgia are resenting the George tactics. . . . Even negroes know this is a white primary."

He said, Senator George's labor record was "opposition and stomachache," explaining:

"He opposed labor when he was there to vote, but he got a stomachache and went out when he would have been forced to favor it."

Mr. Camp was loudly cheered when he estimated 70 per cent of the Georgians are for President Roosevelt, and shouted in conclusion:

"We've got them on the run, boys, and George is gone for good."

Pennsylvania Republican Appeal Also Is Charged

By the Associated Press

Senate campaign headquarters of Lawrence S. Camp issued a statement Friday night that Georgia Republican women were receiving letters and pledges from Pennsylvania asking them to support Senator Walter F. George in the September 14 Democratic primary.

The statement said mailing of a pledge from Pennnsylvania to "Republican women and committees throughout Georgia'" was revealed by Miss Mary Richards Colvin, teacher at the O'Keefe Junior School, and that Miss Colvin stated:

"If there were no other reason to support Lawrence Camp than this Republican interference in our Democratic primary, I would vote for him. President Roosevelt expresses my ideal of true democracy."

Camp headquarters said a letter accompanying the pledge, "signed by Mrs. J. L. Stewart, of North East Pennsylvania, states: 'In the interest of Senator George I hope you ladies will use these. Our country is in grave danger from the policies of the present White House incumbent.'"

Tifton, Ga., Gazette
September 8, 1938

CAMP LAMBASTS GEORGE'S RECORD

New Dealer Speaks Here in Interest of Candidacy For the U. S. Senate.

Bringing what he described as a message from those citizens who have been helped by the N.Y.A., the C.C.C., relief, safe bank deposits, rural electrification, and various humanitarian and other benefits of the Roosevelt administration, Lawrence S. Camp spoke at the court house here Thursday in the interest of his candidacy for United States senator from Georgia.

Mr. Camp devoted his address largely to praise of the New Deal and President Roosevelt, and an attack on Senator Walter F. George, whom Camp is opposing for renomination. Camp charged that the people of Georgia never would have received any of the benefits he outlined if the position of Senator George on taxation had prevailed.

Citing the Congressional Record on the record of Senator George in the U. S. Senate, Camp charged that Senator George had fought the farmer, the laborer, and President Roosevelt, and that George worked in the interest of the power trust, big business, and their millionaire owners.

Camp devoted much of his speech to the farm bill and charged that Senator George, in a speech December 13, 1937, said the country would be on a sound basis if the government would buy from the farmer his cotton at or below the cost of production. George thereby showed that he has no interest in seeing that the farmer prospers, Camp stated.

With reference to tobacco allotments, Camp said he did not believe in both acreage and poundage allotments, and charged George with responsibility for the farm program, which put both allotments on the tobacco grower. Camp promised, if he is sent to the Senate, that he would work to recover for the farmers the taxes they have paid on tobacco allotments.

Camp outlined his platform, in brief, as follows: Do something for the farmer; make farm contracts assignable; old-age pensions paid in full by the federal government; federal aid for public schools so Georgia teachers will be paid salaries comparable to other states; farmers markets established and maintained by the federal government; all-weather roads built and maintained by the federal government.

Camp promised, if sent to the Senate, to work and vote against the anti-lynching bill, and said the only time George had a chance to make a test vote on the bill, he was not there to vote.

The candidate was introduced by Col. John T. Ferguson and a good crowd heard the address. Mr. Camp is U. S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia and is running as a 100 per cent New Deal candidate with the backing of President Roosevelt.

Political — 1938
Elections.

Georgia
6

Wednesday Elections To Place Seven Positions On Block For Aspiring Candidates

Seven county positions will be at stake Wednesday when Atlantans go to the polls to name a Fulton county sheriff, three commissioners and three municipal judges. There are 17 aspirants.

Officials reveal that 37,740 persons are qualified to vote for candidates in the Democratic white primary while only 35,873 are registered to take part in the election of a sheriff to succeed the late James I. Lowery.

White ballots will be used in the sheriff's election, while votes for other candidates will be cast on pink slips.

Of much interest throughout Atlanta is the sheriff's race. To succeed the late Sheriff Lowery are James D. Bazemore, acting sheriff; Former Alderman J. C. Aldredge, Former Police Chief T. O. Sturdivant, Grover Clark and H. J. Foster.

At a recent meeting of the Atlanta Civic and Political League, the organization went on record as supporting one candidate, but stated that the candidate's name would be circulated to League members by the "grapevine" method.

VOTERS WILL ELECT CO. SHERIFF MARCH 2

Five Candidates In Race; Primary At Same Time Much Activity

Five candidates for the office of Sheriff of Fulton County will receive the sanction or disapproval of voters Wednesday, when the special election is held to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Sheriff James I. Lowry.

As this is a special election, the registered Colored voters of the county will be qualified to vote. They have indicated through the Civic and Political League, which of the five candidates running for the office appears best suited to receive the sanction of the Colored population.

Running for the office are:

Acting Sheriff James D. Bazemore, Former Alderman J. C. (Mott) Aldredge, Former Police Chief T. O. Sturdivant, Grover Clark, grocer, and H. J. Foster, salesman.

BALLOTS WHITE

The Sheriff may be voted for at the regular polling places within the county. Ballots in the sheriff's race will be white.

Voters will elect three county commissioners and nominate one Municipal Court Judge on the same day of the sheriff's race. Colored voters are not eligible to vote in these instances as this is a Democratic primary. A total of 35,373 voters are qualified to participate in the white primary, while 37,740 can vote for sheriff. The difference in the qualified voters represents the Colored voters. The Democratic primary voters will use pink ballots. For the first time in history two sets of ballot boxes and two sets of election managers and officials will be at the 65 polling places throughout the city and county. It is the first time a county-wide general election has been held at the same time with a Democratic primary.

Tuesday night at 8 o'clock will see much political activity in the county as candidates wind up their campaigns in a broadcast over Radio Station WAGA. Candidates will state their platforms and qualifications.

Running for County Commissioner to succeed Dr. C. R. Adams, incumbent, Alderman I. Gloer Hailey, Hugh C. Couch and Jones H. Ewing; Incumbent Commissioner Ed L. Almand, who is opposed by Alderman G. Dan Bridges and Frank F. Smith, and Troy G. Chastain, commissioner, unopposed.

Luther Z. Rosser, chief judge of the municipal court will be opposed by Dwight T. Minhinnett, Buckhead lawyer. Judges A. L. Etheridge and Ralph McClelland have no opposition.

Americus, Ga., Recorder
June 27, 1938

Negro Veterans Endorse George For Re-Election

Negro World war veterans of Americus today were on record as favoring the re-election of Senato Walter F. George.

They adopted the following resolution:

"We, the negro World war veterans of Americus favor the re-election of Senator Walter F. George for the kind favors and unselfish service he has rendered to the colored veterans of this community. We go on record 100 per cent for his re-election to the U. S. Senate. We feel that we voice the sentiment of all colored war veterans in the state of Georgia."

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
July 27, 1938

Other Editors' Views

WHY THEY MARCH AGAINST SMITH

Let us keep the matter clear. Candidates Johnston and Brown in their speeches refer with contempt to the negroes. Candidate Johnston's followers drove well behaved negroes from a Johnston meeting in Sumter, and Governor Johnston the candidate, boasted that he "runs them off."

Why then do Labor's Non-Partisan League and Walter White's Society for the Advancement of the colored people single out Smith for their especial target. Why do they make the issue so plain that in a Democratic primary white Democrats are presented with the alternatives of voting for Smith or lining up with Labor's Non-Partisan League and Walter White's aggressive negro society?

The answer is plain. When the negro minister was put up to pray and the negro congressman to second Mr. Roosevelt's nomination in the Philadelphia convention it was the proclamation of Farley, Guffey, Wagner and the rest that the national Democratic party had surrendered and was no longer a national white man's party. Smith saw it instantly—and walked out. The negro minister and the negro congressman were the symbols of surrender. Smith recognized them and walked out.

Smith stands for a separate white man's party to control in Southern states. That was the meaning of his walk out. To that Walter White, Vann, the other Northern negroes are opposed. They wish to rebuke Smith, to defeat Smith, so that they can advertise it in the North as their conquest of the national Democratic party. They will brag that the president is their ally. It is a natural negro wish. By beating Smith they would gain ground for another offensive. They would make a breach in the South, they would show the world what they can do and are doing.

As for Smith, he is no negro hater. He is the opposite of it. He is kindly disposed toward negroes. He is for justice to the negroes under the law, but he is everlastingly for racial separation in the South. In Philadelphia he walked out to warn his South Carolina constituents of the new danger that confronts them. He walked out to arouse them from their apathy.

If the South Carolinians do not want a mixed white and black Democratic party they have got to vote for Smith.—The Charleston News and Courier.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
August 18, 1938

GEORGE FINDS GEORGIA STILL FAVORING FDR

Campaigner Learns He Has Delicate Task Because of President's Popularity.

By THOMAS L. STOKES
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Aug. 18—Senator Walter F. George is beginning to discover what an opponent is one Franklin D. Roosevelt.

As they analyze the result of the President's demand that Mr. George be defeated, he and his managers suddenly find they have a most difficult and delicate job in conducting a campaign because of Mr. Roosevelt's great personal popularity in this state.

Mr. Stokes

The situation has not yet shaken down. It is still confused.

Senator George realizes that he does not dare attack the President directly and forcefully—witness the way he has tried to skirt around Mr. Roosevelt in his two speeches thus far. They were labored and difficult of composition. And in them the senator was somewhat on the defensive.

Each was unsatisfactory to some element in the George following.

One group, which might be called the dyed-in-the-wool Roosevelt-haters, mostly corporate interests supporting the senator, complain that their candidate has not lashed out boldly at the President in a personal way, as he lashed out in the Senate on several occasions. These are the people whose whole thought is to give the President a jolt by re-electing the senator and defeating Mr. Roosevelt's candidate, U. S. District Attorney Lawrence Camp.

Task a Delicate One

Another group, those who like the President, but also are friendly to the senator, object to the incinuations of the senator linking the Roosevelt Administration with Communists — though Mr. George sought carefully to exonerate the President personally. Much criticism of this sort is heard.

This group is also skeptical of the tack taken by the senator in his second speech since the Roosevelt visit, that at Eastman yesterday in which Mr. George seemed to intimate that perhaps he did not like the earlier Roosevelt program—for which he voted, a fact which has been pointed to by his friends in defending him as a liberal.

These critical views among the George followers indicate the delicacy of his task.

Uses 'Bloody Shirt'

This probably explains the "breathing spell" in Senator George's speaking campaign. He won't speak again now for several days, his next big venture being a rally at Decatur, outside of Atlanta, a week from Saturday. Meanwhile, his managers will wait for a shaking-down process to see how far they should proceed.

Thus far, Senator George's line of campaign talk, despite his dignified and apparently statesmanlike language, has been one long familiar in Georgia and the South. In his harking back to the reconstruction days, when Northern armies ran the state at the point of the bayonet, he has dug up what is commonly known as "the bloody shirt," a campaign approach used in reverse by the Republicans to maintain themselves in power nationally a score of years after the Civil War.

At every threat of Democratic victory nationally, the Republicans "waved the bloody shirt" and pointed back in eloquent norror at those "rebels" who had tried to break up the union.

Negro Issue Up

The Georgia senator also has raised the Negro issue by referring to his fight on the anti-lynching bill. Mr. Camp, his New Deal opponent, is replying that he would spend as much time filibustering the bill as Senator George has spent bragging about the one-hour speech he made against it.

Avoiding a direct attack on the President, Senator George has shot at lesser lights around him—at the two whipping boys, Benny Cohen (as he calls him) and Tom Corcoran, and at Clark Foreman of PWA who was supposed to have helped organize the New Deal campaign against the senator. He also hit at Walter White, head of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who lobbied for the anti-lynching bill.

He condemns Messrs. Cohen and Corcoran as "Wall Street lawyers," but he can't tag the two others as outsiders. Both were born in Atlanta.

The senator has capitalized most heavily on outside interference with a Georgia election, which he deplores in the name of states' rights, and it is this which has thus far, perhaps, been most effective. For the President's intercession did seem to arouse lots of spontaneous resentment, even outside the realm of Georgia supporters, though there already are evidences that this is dying dowr

Talmadge Goes Easy

Nor has ex-Gov. Gene Talmadge, third candidate in the race, been hard on Mr. Roosevelt in this campaign, though he hasn't been accustomed to pull his punches in the past. He says the President had just as much right to say whom he favored here as have corporation heads from outside the state who have come out for the senator. He adds that if he goes to the Senate he won't carry a chip on his shoulder.

"I'll tell you how to tell a George man when you meet him these days," said Mr. Talmadge. "Just look for a fellow with a face as long as your arm and cussing mad."

Some of the George strategists are getting fearful that the anger has over-reached itself. They refer, particularly, to the screaming editorials in the newspapers, nearly 100 per cent for Senator George, with bitter attacks on President Roosevelt. They are afraid these may prove a boomerang.

Senator George almost turned pale when he picked up one paper after his reply to the President. Its headline read:

"Senator George rebukes President."

Birmingham, Ala. Post
August 27, 1938

F. D. R. SELECTED TOUGH TASK IN ELECTING CAMP

Resentment Is Running High Over Roosevelt's Interference

By Thomas L. Stokes
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Aug. 26.—President Roosevelt has cut out a big job for himself in trying to "purge" Sen. Walter F. George.

After a week's survey, my conclusion is that the senator is out in front in the three-cornered race with Lawrence S. Camp, the President's candidate, and ex-Gov. Gene Talmadge.

Barring any sharp change between now and the Sept. 14 primary, Senator George should run first but whether he will have a clear majority over the two other candidates is doubtful. A runoff may be necessary.

A runoff is indicated by the belief of some that Senator George now is at his peak, with resentment running high over Mr. Roosevelt's interference, and that he is likely to lose rather than gain in the three weeks before the election—though not enough to keep him out of first place.

George Has Advantages

Some politicians size up the finish as George, Talmadge, Camp, but in my opinion Mr. Camp will run second. In a run-off between the senator and Mr. Talmadge, the former would win easily in my opinion. In a run-off with Mr. Camp the result would be closer.

Senator George has many advantages.

He has one of the best political organizations the state ever saw, from all accounts, thanks to the work of Edgar B. Dunlap, the real director of his campaign, who was fired by the Reconstruction Finance Corp. last week because he refused to stop his pro-George activity.

Large pocketbooks are open for the senator's campaign. The Georgia Power Co., the textile owners and other business interests are behind him.

He has the support of most of the Federal job holders in the state, since many of them owe their jobs to him, though their efforts will be soft-pedaled henceforth in view of the firing of Mr. Dunlap. This move came too late, in the opinion of political experts, to do Mr. Camp much good.

Senator George has capitalized resentment over the President's interference and the Dunlap discharge—now becomes one of the leading issues of his campaign. A martyr issue is always good, especially in this state.

Vote To Be Small

But most advantageous of all to the senator, in the writer's opinion, is the small registration.

It is estimated that between 290,000 and 300,000 voters are registered, compared with 450,000 in 1936. If the same percentage of those registered goes to the polls this year as in 1936, this means a vote of about 247,000.

Middle-class and business people who are strongest for the senator are registered. Lots of the rank-and-file, who would support Mr. Camp because he is the President's candidate, won't be able to vote. This also should cut into Mr. Talmadge's basic support.

Under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Camp would get the bulk of support of WPA workers. But of the 53,000 on WPA in the state, nearly four-fifths are Negroes and can't vote. Registration is reported low among whites on WPA in various localities where I checked.

WPA is keeping hands off politics in this state. Senator George is watching that closely.

Rivers, Russell Neutral

Mr. Camp is handicapped by the lack of an organization and funds. And virtually all the newspapers are against him.

If either Gov. Ed Rivers would swing his state machine behind the Camp candidacy, or if Mr. Camp would get the support of Sen. Dick Russell, he would make more headway. But Governor Rivers, himself in a tough race for re-election, is remaining neutral—and, incidentally, very much on the spot. Senator Russell, who had the help of Senator George in his re-election campaign two years ago, likewise is standing aloof, though his father, chief jlstice of the State Supreme Court, is out for Mr. Camp.

The President's candidate is working zealously among farmers, workers, and small blsinessmen, emphasizing the New Deal, and in the writer's opinion will poll a surprising "quiet" vote that is not now obvious in the hue and cry over the President's interference.

Gene Talmadge is the enigma in this race.

While he has a basic following that always supports him, his strength has been on the wane. It is my belief that he is not the threat he is touted to be.

Voting System

The Talmadgeites are counting on Georgia's aitiquated county - unit system to pull him throgh. It is this system that makes any forecast such a gamble. It is possible for a candidate to poll a majority of the popular vote and still lose, or, vice versa, to poll a minority and win.

The smaller counties have two unit votes, the next in size four, and the largest six. Whoever gets the most popular votes in a county wins all the unit votes of that county.

Fulton County, in which Atlanta is situated, has a population of more than 200,000 but only six unit votes.

Thus the sparsely settled counties—and there are many in Southern Georgia and among the mountains in the North—are important out of all proportion to their size.

This is why you find the candidates traveling the small towns and villages instead of the cities.

Rivers And George Are Winners

Talmadge Is 2nd In Senate Contest

Daily Worker

Both Senator George and Governor Rivers were assured of re-election Thursday as returns from Georgia's 159 counties reached here.

9-16-38

With returns from 157 counties complete and from the remaining two all but complete, Senator George had 141,7[illegible] popular votes and 246 unit votes, while former Governor Eugene Talmadge ran second with 101,975 popular votes and 148 unit votes. District Attorney Lawrence S. Camp, indorsed by the President, trailed far behind with only 78,134 popular votes and 16 unit votes.

George stated after his victory, that "the principles of democracy have triumphed."

Governor Rivers rolled up 161,034 popular votes and 282 unit votes. Hugh Howell, 135,332 popular votes and 126 unit votes. John J. Mangham, 20,100 popular votes and only two unit votes, while Robert F. Wood had 2,003 popular votes, but failed to carry a county.

Rivers thanked the voters briefly by saying:

"I can assure the people that the platform on which I was elected, calling for completion of the people's program will be carried out. Of course, I am happy over the election."

Chicago Negroes Elect First Colored Man To Cook Board Of County Commissioners

Chicago Defender

Four Negroes Named to House Of Representatives In Illinois; DePriest's Son Loses

11-10-38

BULLETIN

CHICAGO, Ill.—(Special)—For the first time in history, a Negro, Edward Sneed, was elected to the board of county commissioners in Cook County. Sneed defeated Stanton Depriest, the son of former Congressman Oscar DePriest. He polled 753,649 votes along with nine other men elected to make up the board.

DePriest polled 471,620 votes.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Congressman Arthur J. Mitchell, Democrat, **and the only** Negro member of the United States Congress, was reelected **to his third** term in the House of Representatives from the Illinois Congressional District, one of the richest districts in the United States. **According to press** returns, he defeated Alderman William H. Dawson, Republican, **by nearly** 4,000 votes. Mitchell polled 30,193 votes while Dawson polled **26,364 votes.**

Mitchell was first elected to Congress in 1934 defeating Oscar DePriest, Republican, who had served two terms in Congress. Mitchell again defeated DePriest in 1936 when the former Congressman sought to regain his seat. During the next two years Mitchell will remain the only Negro in Congress. Two other Negroes who sought Congress seats were defeated: Rev. Lorenzo A. King of New York and Judge Edward W. Henry of Philadelphia, both Republicans. The Rev. Mr. King was defeated by Congressman Joseph Gavagan, sponsor of the anti-lynching bill in the lower house.

Perhaps the biggest upset in Chicago was the defeat of State Senator William E. King who was seeking election in the Illinois Senate for his fifth term. Wm. Al Wallace, Negro Democrat, was the winner. Four Negro Republicans were elected to the Illinois State Assembly. They are Charles A. Jenkins, Colonel William Warfield, Ernest Green and Andrew Torrence.

CITIZENS VIEW ELECTION DAY GAINS, LOSSES

Bee

By ALBERT G. BARNETT

11-20-38

Last weekend, after one of the most exciting elections held here since 1932, and made noteworthy by G. O. P. efforts to break the stranglehold of local democratic leaders, both victors and vanquished took stock of the wreckage and inventoried their respective losses and gains.

Chicago

Most notable of the victories and the one occasioning the most comment was that which swept back into office Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of the First district, on whose laurel wreath will again be inscribed: "The only Negro representative in the halls of congress." The present will mark Mitchell's third term in his exalted position and his victory reflects the support given President Roosevelt's New Deal program by voters of the First district.

Republicans, of the district, however, are jubilant over the showing made by their candidate, Alderman William L. Dawson of the Second ward, a World war veteran, leader in City Hall council circles and widely known for his matchless oratory. They point to Mitchell's victory by the narrow margin of 2,500 votes as indicating that nearly 27,000 colored voters of the district had again "seen the light" and returned to Republican ranks.

Dawson Polls Big Vote

Concerning the red-hot campaign and last Tuesday's hectic climax, Alderman Dawson said:

"We are not at all down-hearted over the outcome of last Tuesday's election in the First Congressional district. Rather are we heartened and optimistic about the future of the Republican party, not only in Chicago, but throughout the nation. Considering the odds against us, I think we made a remarkable showing. Out of a total of about 56,000 votes, the final count showed me about 2,500 votes short of beating Congressman Mitchell as the First District representative.

Chicago

"I certainly wish to thank all of my loyal supporters and friends who worked so hard and zealously for my election. They, as well as I, know that the heavy vote in the 1st and 11th, white democratic wards, was what beat us. But we are sure that the Negro citizenry of Chicago and the nation are aroused as never before. The political pendulum has again started swinging toward Republicanism. I look for still further gains locally in the 1939 mayoralty campaign and in 1940, when the next President of the United States will be elected."

Elected County Commissioner

Mr. and Mrs. Edward "Mike" Sneed cast their votes under the watchful eye of the precinct judge, Mrs. Lottie Anderson, in Chicago. Mr. Sneed, Democratic committeeman from the third ward was elected county commissioner and became the first Negro voted into that office as a Democrat. He polled 771,348 votes to finish seventh on the list of 10 successful candidates. (ANP).

11-19-38

Re-elected

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, first Negro Democrat ever elected to Congress, who won his race in Chicago Tuesday.

Political - 1938
Elections

Illinois.

Chicogo Negro Wins Nomination For County Commissioner On 'Dem' Ticket

to Oust Arthur W. Mitchell; District Richest in Country

By A. N. FIELDS

CHICAGO—The Democratic party has seen fit to nominate for county commissioner, Edward M. Sneed, committeeman for the third ward. The writer has known Committeeman Sneed for the past twenty-five years. He has come up through the ranks; is well acquainted with the conditions, the requirements and the necessities of his own people. He represents a black constituency that gave to the Democratic party and all of its candidates in the last election more votes in the second, third, fourth an fifth wards than any similar number of white wards commonly considered Democratic territory.

Committeeman Sneed can be of much service to his own race as a member of the county board. But he cannot be elected by the black voters alone; he must have the same honest support in the white wards as his people will give the white candidates in the black wards.

Black voters will not accept any excuses from white Democratic ward committeemen saying that they "could not get their voters to support the colored man." There is no difference between a black voter voting for a white candidate in the same position. The Democratic leaders of New York have for years nominated and elected Negro judges. Negro members of the legislature, school board as well as to other important positions.

CHICAGO ILL HERALD & EXAM
SUNDAY OCTOBER 2 1938

TWO NEGROES IN LOOP RACE FOR CONGRESS

Alderman W. L. Dawson Seeks

By Charles N. Wheeler.

Two Negroes, each with a background of high scholastic attainments, will battle for election to Congress from Chicago's First District, potentially and actually the richest spot of ground in any congressional district in the United States.

The contestants are Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, first Negro Democrat ever elected to Congress, and Alderman William L. Dawson, Second Ward, who holds aloft the G. O. P.-Lincoln banner.

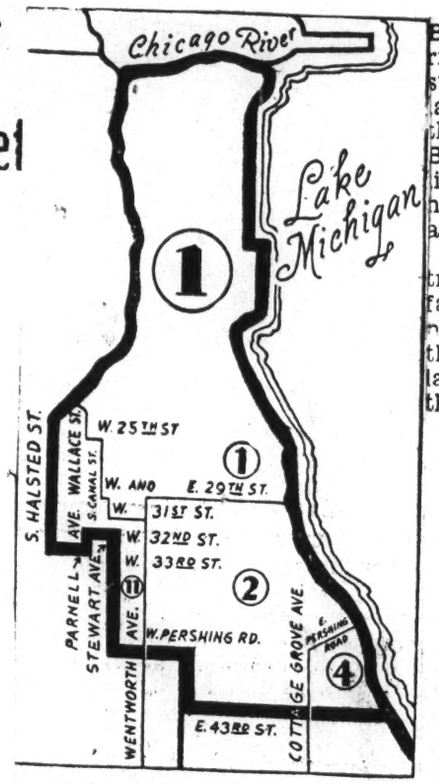
SERVE BOOKER WASHINGTON

Mitchell, 55 years old, born in Chambers County, Alabama, had the distinction of being office boy for the late Booker T. Washington.

While studying at Tuskegee Mitchell's young life was greatly influenced by contacts with notable industrialists and philanthropists who visited he school.

Finishing at Tuskegee, Mitchell continued his studies at Harvard and Columbia, taught school and became president of the Armstrong Agricultural School at West Butler, Ala. He practiced law at Washingon, D. C., before coming o Chicago.

Two years ago, with Alderman Kenna and Coughlin of the First Ward joining the Democratic organization for 100 per cent support of the first Negro the big shots of the party ever supported for the place by Mitchell triumphed over Congressman Oscar De Priest, the first Negro Republican sent to Congress from the district. De Priest had succeeded the late Martin B. Madden. Mitchell was re-elected two years ago and now believes he will win handsomely in November.



The 1st congressional district.

BREAKS WITH G. O. P.

Mitchell was one of the first widely-known Negro students in these parts to break away from the Lincoln tradition. With the 1932 depression causing great suffering in the Negro district on the near South Side, he struck out boldly.

He told his people that while they always would revere the name of Lincoln, their future lay along economic lines, and not party lines. He stumped he country in behalf of the Roosevelt candidacy at the request of Mr. Roosevelt.

DAWSON A GEORGIAN.

Ald. Dawson also was born in the far Southland, at Albany, Ga., April 26, 1886, one of eight children. Finishing the course at Albany Normal College, he hustled up to Fisk University in Tennessee where he was graduated magna cum laude.

He finished his law training at Northwestern University, Evanston ,where he won recognition for scholarship.

But the law business wasn't so good in those days for the young barister, and he started a tailoring business on the South Side, from which he graduated into the political arena and rose rapidly. He has served six years in the city council, and is a first-rate orator.

The district extends from the Boulevard Link bridge and the river on the North to Forty-third street on the South, and from the lake to South Halsted street, at the widest part, with the South Branch of the river forming the line down to Halsted and thence narrowing to Wentworth avenue and South State st. to Forty-third.

It takes in the entire loop district, which lies wholly in the famous First Ward. It embraces nearly all of the Second Ward to the South, where the Negro population is centered, and parts of the Fourth and Eleventh wards.

LEADER

EDWARD "MIKE" SNEED, whose election as County Commissioner is being hailed by voters throughout the district. It is the opinion of many that Mr. Sneed, who has long been a political power in the community, will assume the mantle of the late Ed Wright as a leader of his race. When Mr. Sneed first ran for Third Ward committeeman the Democratic strength was about 900; now there are more than 17,000 Democrats in that ward alone.

Illinois Legislators to Pool Strength

CHICAGO. — Republican State Representatives-elect, winners at the November 8 election, met at the Hotel LaSalle, Monday, to block a reported Democratic scheme to steal control of the House.

The twenty-two new solons, four of them colored, pledged themselves to go into the Republican caucus on January 3 and support the candidate for speaker and the other house officers chosen in that caucus.

Colored representatives - elect are Charles J. Jenkins, William P. Warfield, Andrew Torrence and Earnest A. Greene.

Illinois Elects Only Negro Congressman

GARY, IND., PUTS INTO OFFICE TWO COLORED COUNCILMEN

Pennsylvania Sends Five To State legislature, One Of Them A Woman

Chicago, Nov. 14 (By Albert G. Barnett for ANP)—Last week end, after one of the most exciting elections held here since 1932, and made noteworthy by GOP efforts to break the strangle hold of local Democratic leaders, both victors and vanquished took stock of the wreckage and inventoried their respective losses and gains.

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"I certainly wish to thank all my loyal supporters and friends who worked so hard and zealously for my election. They, as well as I, know that the heavy vote in the 1st and 11th white Democratic wards, was what beat us. But we are sure that the Negro citizenry of Chicago and the nation are aroused as never before. The political pendulum has again started swinging toward Republicanism. I look for still further gains locally in the 1939 mayoralty campaign and in 1940, when the next president of the United States will be elected."

Negro great political upset of the election was the defeat of Republican State Senator William E. King by Democratic Second Ward Organization President William L. Wallace. Wallace won by a scant 880 votes, the early returns having indicated King as the winner. Wallace, a Municipal Court deputy clerk, has long been active in Democratic circles, and will be the first Negro Democratic state senator in the history of Illinois.

Senator King vaulted to power as Republican leader of the district, following the defeat in 1934 of former Congressman Oscar DePriest. His political sway as committeeman of the Second Ward had only been surpassed in earlier days by the concededly GOP big wigs of all time—the late Edward H. Wright and the late Daniel M. Jackson.

Among the other Republican candidates who lost were: O. Stanton DePriest, son of the former Congresman, who ran for county commissioner; Jacob R. Tipper, publisher of The Chicago World, candidate for Sanitary District trustee, and Albert B. George, former municipal court judge and again a candidate for that position.

Republican winners included Ernest A. Greene, Charles H. Jenkins, A. Andrew Torrence and William A. Warfield, all as state representatives.

Among the outstanding winners who profited by the avalanche of Democratic votes was Edward M. Sneed, popular Democratic committeeman of the third ward, who won out as county commissioner to be the second of his race to claim that honor. The other former county commissioner was Oscar DePriest, elected about 20 years ago on the Republican ticket.

First Republican political trumpet to blow a blast for the 1939 mayoralty election sounded off this week when it was reported that former Mayor William Hale Thompson, long a friend of Negroe, had announced that shortly he will declare himself a candidate for the GOP nomination for mayor in next February's primary.

Loses Chance For Negro Congressman

Philadelphia, Nov. 14 (ANP)—By a scant margin of 5,911 votes this city's electorate last Tuesday failed to send to Washington a fellow congressman to stand beside Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois' first district, sole Negro representative in the halls of Congress. Philadelphia's Republican candidate for the second district, Magistrate Edward Henry, distinguished citizen and jurist, was defeated by the Democratic incumbent, James P. McGranery.

The GOP electorate later found consolation, however, when it was learned that E. Washington Rhodes, brilliant lawyer and newsman and widely known editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, had been elected a member of the state legislature from the 6th district (7th ward). Rhodes, a former assistant U. S. attorney, nosed out the present colored Democratic incumbent, Samuel D. Holmes, by 62 ballots.

Rhodes, running in a normally Republican district, was the only colored representative candidate in the city to be returned a winner. Local Democratic history was made when Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, candidate for the legislature in West Philadelphia, won a decisive victory and thus earned the distinction of being the first colored woman representative in the history of the state. Mrs. Fauset polled 39,726 votes, winning by a majority of 5,789 ballots over her nearest GOP rival.

Other Democratic winners for the state legislature were: Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, reelected; Hobson R. Reynolds and William A. Ailmond.

When news flashed across the city that Judge Arthur H. James had defeated Governor Earle in the race for governor of Pennsylvania, the opinion was freely voiced that the political position of Publisher Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh had been greatly strengthened, as he had "bolted" the Democratic party in an effort to retire the Earle leadership in the state. The James victory was being hailed as a Vann victory as well, and old time political observers stamped the Vann reflection as a masterful piece of strategy.

Two Named to City Council In Indiana

Gary, Ind., Nov. 14 (ANP)—Gary and East Chicago, Ind., will have Negro aldermen, results of last Tuesday's elections show.

Wilbur J. Hardeway formerly alderman for two years, but who lost in 1934 to William Anderson, Democrat, was elected from the fifth district on the Republican ticket, beating out Benjamin Cresswell, local undertaker and Democrat.

In East Chicago the victor was James Dent, Jr., also a Republican. He is a steel mill worker, a graduate of Washington high school and a bachelor. Young Dent is the first Negro ever elected to the council in East Chicago.

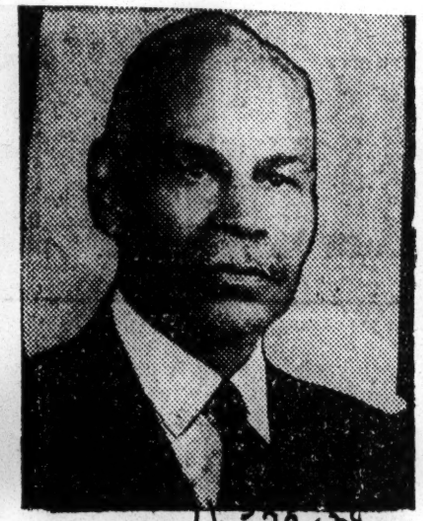
Political – 1938.

Elections

Illinois

THESE CAME OUT VICTORIOUS IN CHICAGO'S PRIMARY ELECTION

ERNEST GREENE
State Representative



W. A. WALLACE
State Senate

JACOB TIPPER
Sanitary District

O. STANTON DePRIEST
County Commissioner

ALBERT B. GEORGE
Municipal Court Judge

ANDREW TORRENCE
State Representative

WILLIAM E. KING
State Senate

CHARLES J. JENKINS
State Representative

DE PRIEST RUNS THIRD; MITCHELL IS NOMINATED IN CHI PRIMARIES

4-23-38 New York Times

Former Congressman Will Back Successful Candidate Dawson in November Election

CHICAGO, April 29 (ANP).—It will be Alderman William L. Dawson, Republican, versus Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, in the race for congress at the elections next fall. At the same time, eleven other colored Chicagoans, who also won in Tuesday's hectic primaries, will fight it out in the ranks of both parties for other posts. Oscar DePriest, Congressman for two terms, ran third.

4-23-38

In addition to Dawson and Mitchell, thirty-seven others were nominated in the primary elections including O. Stanton DePriest, son of Oscar, county commissioner; former Judge Albert B. George, judge municipal court; William E. King, incumbent, state senator third district, and Edward M. Sneed, county commissioner.

Mitchell was conceded to be the Democratic winner from the start, although opposed by two others, James P. Durden and Augustus L. Williams, both colored.

Dawson Wins By 308 Votes.

Dawson was declared winner in the five-sided Republican race by a plurality of 308 votes, polling a total of 4,295 to 3,987 for his closest opponent, Louis B. Anderson, former alderman. Anderson stated he would demand a recount. DePriest was 262 votes behind Anderson while Roscoe Conkling Simmons, the orator, and Benjamin W. Clayton, attorney, were snowed under.

Despite the bitterness of the fight, DePriest has signified his intention of forgetting factional differences and pulling with the party for a November victory.

VOTERS NAME 12 OF RACE IN PRIMARIES

Republicans Wage Bitter Five-Cornered Fight For Congress

By DAVID W. KELLUM

By the narrow margin of 308 votes, Alderman William L. Dawson won the Republican nomination for Congress from the First district, in Tuesday's primary.

In what is said to have been the most bitterly fought battle ever staged in the second ward, Dawson defeated former Alderman Louis B. Anderson, who was supported by the powerful King machine. The final vote showed Dawson balloted 4,295 votes and Anderson 3,987.

Oscar DePriest, who served two terms in Congress, Col. Roscoe Conklin Simmons, and Benjamin W. Clayton, were snowed under. DePriest was 262 votes behind Anderson, while Simmons and Clayton never had a chance.

Battle for the Republican congressional berth was a nip and tuck affair, with the lead changing several times.

Hint Recount

Because the vote is so close King's leaders, who supported Anderson, say they plan a recount. Dawson, on the other hand, intimated that he would welcome such action. He pointed out that a canvass would mean more votes for him.

Dawson will face Congressman Arthur Mitchell, Democrat, who was overwhelmingly renominated. With just one precinct missing Mitchell amassed a total of 16,682 votes.

When the election scars between the King and Dawson factions are healed, it is thought an effort will be made to consolidate the groups for a strong fight against Mitchell in the November election.

Both congressional nominees were in good spirits as they posed for a cameraman. Dawson said:

"I am very grateful to the many thousands of voters who expressed their confidence at the polls in my ability to serve them. I trust that when I am elected to Congress I shall not only justify their confidence, but also the desires of the many other thou-

sands, whom I shall represent."

Mitchell says he is not at all worried about the outcome of the November election. He expressed confidence that he would emerge victorious on another predicted Democratic landsilde.

"The people of my district have shown their appreciation for my work since I have been in Congress," he said, "and this huge vote is the strongest evidence of their approval of my conduct. I have served my district and my people with the best that there is in me. For re-election, I am relying upon my record, already made and the program upon which I am now working."

The Congressman, satisfied with the outcome of the primary, has returned to the capital where he is scheduled to appear before the Interstate Commerce commission to discuss the jim crow bill.

Tuesday's primary saw the Race figure promiently in the win column. On the Democratic side, Edward "Mike" Sneed, committeeman from the Third ward, was nominated as one of ten county commissioners. Sneed is the first of the Race to be so honored by his party. W. A. Wallace, a Democrat, was nominated for the state senate from the Third district.

There was only one upset in the Republican race in the heated Second ward battle. Attorney Richard E. Harewood, incumbent, lost to A. Andrew Torrence in the race for the Illinois legislature from the Third district.

Backed by Senator William E. King, Torrence piled up 4,001 votes, while his running mae, Attorney Charles J. Jenkins led the ticket with 6,854 votes. Attorney William H. Temple was 686 votes behind Torrence.

Ernest Greene defeated former State Representative Harris B. Gaines in the First district, while Col. William J. Warfield, commanding the Eighth Infantry, Illinois National Guard, won his renomination by an overwhelming majority. His vote was 20,550.

Jacob R. Tipper, editor and publisher of a weekly paper, received 110,485 votes to take second place in the race for a trustee of the sanitary district. Three were nominated. Tipper was also backed by King's machine.

Senator King experienced little difficulty in trouncing his rival, Attorney Aaron H. Payne, who was supported by Dawson. King's vote was 4,650. Paye was only able to get 1,759 votes.

Former Judge Albert B. George came out victorious in his fight for a place as a candidate for the municipal court. He received 92,800 votes.

Strange as it may seem, George won a place with a small vote, while Attorney Asa M. Burroughs, candidate on the Democratic ticket for judgeship, polled 132,523 votes and yet did not have enough to win a place among the 12 highest candidates.

S. Timothy Washington, a Dawson follower, emerged victorious in the race for state central committeeman.

Although defeated in the congressional fight, Oscar DePriest is jubilant over the fact that his son, O. Stanton DePriest, was nominated on the Republican ticket as county commissioner.

Tuesday's Democratic battle saw a complete victory for the Horner-Courtney-Jarecki machine. With the support of Governor Horner and State's Attorney Thomas Courtney County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki defeated Judge John Prystalski, while Scott Lucas, downstate Horner-Courtney-Jarecki candidate, was victorious over Michael Igoe. Prystalski and Igoe were backed by the Kelly-Nash machine.

It is understood that since the Kelly-Nash aggregation received such a serve jolt, Governor Horner and State's Attorney Courtney will seek to revamp the party for the November election.

NEGROES SHOW UP WELL IN HOT PRIMARY FIGHT

Dawson, Anderson Run Close Race

4-19-34

In one of the hottest primary election campaign in the annals of the state of Illinois, the voters of cities, counties and state, went to the polls in the interest of their respective favorites and piled up an unprecedented vote today all over the city.

The contest, which was commonly called a struggle between the "Machine" and "Good Government", resulted in the utter rout of the former and a glorious victory for the latter, if election returns, so far tabulated, are to be relied on. This victory, according those in the political know, assures the citizens of Cook county and the state of illinois, as well as the friends of good government everywhere, that an aroused public opinion is always capable of arising to the occasion and checking the onrush of reckless political tricksters who try to rule the people against their will.

Jarecki Center of Fight

Judge Edmund K. Jarecki, who has served as county judge for a number of years, and that with credit to himself and fairness to his constitutents, was the center of the hottest fight in this primary. Although a regular democrat, the Judge had been "dropped" by the regular organization's bosses, and another substituted in his stead. His opponent, and the choice of the regular democratic organization, was Circuit Judge Prystalski, who waged a strong battle to win the nomination for the office of county judge.

Bulwarked by the support of Governor Henry Horner and State's Attorney Thomas J. Courtney, Judge Edmund K. Jarecki who had the sympathy of the voters who resented the treatment meted out to him by the regular organization bosses, apparently had little trouble in defeating his opponent, and thus, will be the Democrats candidate for the office of county judge in the November elections.

Negro Candidates Run Well

There a number of Negro candidates running for various offces, and on the whole, they made a creditable showing in the primary Tuesday. Leading the Negro aspirants was Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, who won the democratic nomination for congressman from the First district by an overwhelming majority, according to the latest returns available on Wednesday evening.

On the Republican side, Louis B. Anderson and William L. Dawson both seeking nomination for congressman-at-large from the First district, were running neck and neck at last accounts. Anderson, whom many thought would not make much of a race against Dawson, surprised his friends and confounded his enemies by running one of the strongest races of his political career.

Mr. Dawson, one of the Southside's greatest and most fearless Negro leaders, waged a busy campaign, contesting every step in his efforts to become the people's standard bearer as the Republican candidate who will be pitted against the standard bearer of the democratic party next November. It is not surprising, therefore that his friends rallied nobly to his support in an effort to help him realize a long-standing ambition. W. L. Dawson was one of the first Negroes to aspire to the high office of congressman from the First district.

Wm. L. Dawson.

Tipper Gets It at "Long Last"

Jacob R. Tipper, Republican candidate for Sanitary District trustee, was nominated in the Tuesday primary by a safe margin of votes. Mr. Tipper, for the past few years, has been a consistent candidate for some elective office or the other, but has had to wait until this primary to realize his ambitions..

For county commissioners, O. Stanton DePriest, Republican, and Edward M. Sneed were the two successful colored candidates. Mr. Sneed has been a Ward committeeman for several years, and in that capacity, had made many political contacts and friends.

Former Congressman Oscar DePriest failed in his try for nominaition for congressman-at-large from the First district, making a very weak race against Louis B. Anderson on the Republican ticket. His friends say, however, that his showing was a good one in view of the fact that he did little spectacular campaigning in the manner employed by other candidates.

King, Jenkins, Warfield Win

Returns indicate that State Senator William E. King had little trouble in defeating his opponent, and as a result, he will be the standard bearer of the Republican party for the office of state senator from the First senatorial district.

Wm. J. Warfield

The 3rd and 5th district decided that both Jenkins and Warfield were good enough as state representatives from their respective districts and, therefore, voted them nominations on the Republican ballot.

Another successful colored candidate in Tuesday's primary, was A. W. Wallace, who won nomination as state senator from the Third senatorial district. He is a newcomer, and his victory was an attestation to his ability to carry his cause to the voters in a convincing manner.

Election Quiet One

Tuesday's election was a comparatively quiet one, little violence cropping out, even in the "bad lands," and save for the murder of a precinct captain, a few beatings and a kidnapping or two, there were no other untoward incidents to mar the day, which, insofar as the weatherman was concerned, was a perfect one for balloting.

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Illinois

DePriest Runs Ninth In Effort To Beat Mitchell

Journal and Guide 4-23-38

Will Oppose Wm. Dawson In Election

CHICAGO (ANP)—It will be Alderman William L. Dawson, Republican versus Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, in the race for congress at the election next fall. At the same time, 11 other colored Chicagoans, who also won in Tuesday's hectic primaries, will fight it out in the ranks of both parties for other political posts.

In addition to Dawson and Mitchell, others nominated in the primary elections were O. Stanton DePriest, county commissioner; Jacob R. Tipper, editor Chicago World, sanitary district trustee; former Judge Albert B. George, judge municipal court; William E. King, incumbent, state senator third district; Ernest A. Greene, incumbent, state representative first district; Charles J. Jenkins, incumbent, and A. Andrew Torrence, attorney, state representative third district; S. Timothy Washington, state central committeeman, all Republicans; and Edward M. Sneed, county commissioner, and William A. Wallace state senator third district, Democrats. Altogether 37 Negroes were candidates

MITCHELL WINS OVER TWO

Although the big fight was between the two Democratic factions headed by Mayor Kelly and Committeeman Pat Nash against that of Gov. Horner and State's Attorney Courtney, the battle on the Southside centered about the Republican nomination for congress Mitchell was conceded to be the Democratic winner from the start, although opposed by two others, James P. Durden and Augustus L. Williams, both colored.

Dawson was declared winner in

Representative Is Easy Victor Over Opponents

the five-sided Republican race by a plurality of 308 votes, polling a total of 4,295 to 3,987 for his closest opponent, Louis B. Anderson, former alderman. Anderson has stated he would demand a recount. Oscar DePriest, congressman for two terms, was 262 votes behind Anderson while Roscoe Conkling Simmons, the orator, and Benjamin W. Clayton, attorney were snowed under. All except Clayton had run for congress before.

Despite the bitterness of the fight, DePriest has signified his intention of forgetting factional differences and pulling with the party for a November victory.

DE PRIEST CAUSTIC

"Anybody will be an improvement over the present incumbent Arthur W. Mitchell," DePriest declared.

Mitchell polled more than 16,000 votes, completely annihilating his Democratic rivals. He predicts an overwhelming November victory.

JUDGE GEORGE NINTH

The size of the Democratic vote was seen in the race for municipal judge Albert B. George, with a total of 92,800 votes, stood ninth in the field of 12 successful Republican candidates, while Atty. Asa M. Burroughs received 132,523 votes but was some distance behind the Democratic winners.

State Senator King's opponent in November will be William A. Wallace. King defeated Atty. Aaron H. Payne and Wallace was victorious over Atty. C. C. Wimbish. State Representative Billy Warfield snowed under his rival, W. Thomas Soders in the fifth district.

Of the 37 who sought nomination in Tuesday's primaries, 25 were Republicans and 12 were Democrats.

13 Winners in Hectic Primary of Windy City

Afro-American 4-23-38

Mitchell, Dawson Squaring Off in Race for Congress

CHICAGO (ANP)—While Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, and Alderman W. L. Dawson, Republican, who won their respective party nominations in last week's hectic primaries, are vieing for the major post of Congressman, eleven other Chicagoans, primary winners, will fight it out in the ranks of both parties for other political positions.

In addition to Mitchell and Dawson, other of the 37 candidates, 25 Republicans and 12 Democrats, who won in the primaries are:

Other Winners

O. Stanton DePriest, county commissioner; Jacob R. Tipper, sanitary district trustee; former Judge Albert B. George, judge of municipal court; William E. King, incumbent, State senator of Third District; Ernest A. Greene, incumbent, State representative of First District; Charles J. Jenkins, incumbent, and A. A. Torrence, attorney, State representative of Third District;

W. J. Warfield, incumbent, State representative of Third District; S. T. Washington, State central committeeman, all Republicans; Edward M. Sneed, county commissioner, and William A. Wallace, State senator of Third District, Democrats.

The battle on the Southside centered about the Republican nomination for Congress. Mr. Mitchell was conceded to be the Democratic winner from the beginning, although opposed by James P. Durden and A. L. Williams. He polled more than 16,000 votes.

May Demand Recount

Dawson was declared winner in the five-sided Republican race by a plurality of 308 votes, polling a total of 4,295 to 3,987 for his closest opponent, Louis B. Anderson, former alderman. Anderson has stated that he would demand a recount.

Oscar DePriest, Congressman for two terms, was 262 votes behind Anderson, while Roscoe C. Simmons and Benjamin W. Clayton, attorney, were snowed under. All except Clayton had run for Congress before.

Dawson won mainly through the efforts of his own organization and his personal popularity. He did not have the backing of the machine headed by Senator King, most powerful of the Southside groups. Senator King backed Anderson, but is expected to support Dawson in the fall.

George Is Ninth

The size of the Democratic vote was seen in the race for municipal judge. A. B. George, with a total of 92,800 votes, stood ninth in the field of twelve successful Republican candidates, while A. M. Burroughs, attorney, received 132,523 votes, but was some distance behind the twelve Democratic winners.

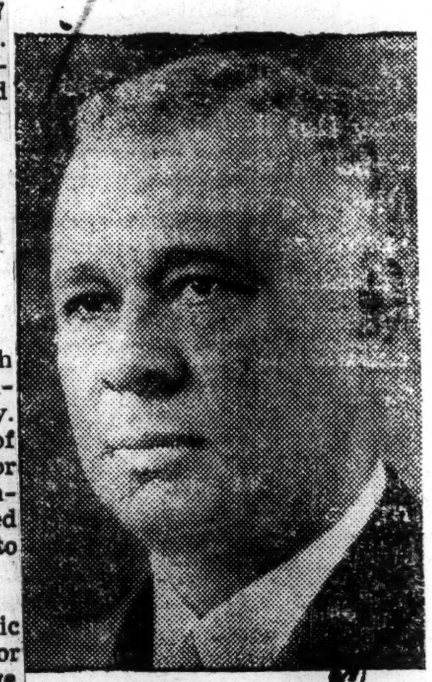
State Senator King's opponent in November will be W. A. Wallace. King defeated Aaron H. Payne, attorney, and Wallace was victorious over C. C. Wimbish, attorney. State Representative Warfield snowed under his rival, W. Thomas Soders, in the Fifth District.

R. A. Harewood, Third District assemblyman, was the only incumbent defeated for re-election. Standard bearers in that district are C. J. Jenkins and A. A. Torrence who defeated Harewood and two others, William H. Temple and Madison C. Mason.

Green, in the First District, nosed out H. B. Gaines, former representative, and two others, G. S. Barnes and C. A. Griffin.

Stanton DePriest and E. M. Sneed, Republican and Democratic nominees for county commissioner, were the only colored entered in that race. Tipper was the sole colored out for a sanitary district trustee post, while S. T. Washington had to campaign against Cornelia J. Pickett and Marion Earle Sardon to win the State central committeeman nomination.

WINNER



HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Reelected to serve Illinois' first congressional district on Tuesday, as Democratic candidates for practically every office from United States senator down, were swept into office in a Democratic landslide almost comparable to the last national election. Mr. Mitchell's republican opponent, Alderman William L. Dawson, was supported in his unsuccessful fight by former Congressman Oscar DePriest and other Republican leaders throughout the district.

MITCHELL, DAWSON, 11 OTHERS WIN IN CHICAGO PRIMARIES

Republican Alderman to Oppose Present Congressman

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — It will be Alderman William L. Dawson, Republican, versus Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, in the race for congress at the election next fall.

At the same time, 11 other colored Chicagoans, who also won in Tuesday's hectic primaries, will fight it out in the ranks of both parties for other political posts.

In addition to Dawson and Mitchell, others nominated in the primary elections were O. Stanton DePriest, county commissioner; Jacob R. Tipper, editor Chicago World, sanitary district trustee; former Judge Albert B. George, judge municipal court; William E. King, incumbent, state senator of third district; Ernest A. Greene, incumbent, state representative of first district; Charles J. Jenkins, incumbent, and A. Andrew Torrence, attorney, state representative third district; Col. William J. Warfield, incumbent, state representative third district; S. Timothy Washington, state central committeeman, all Republicans; and Edward M. Sneed, county commissioner, and William A. Wallace, state senator, third district, Democrats. Altogether, 37 Negroes were candidates.

Although the big fight was between the two Democratic factions headed by Mayor Kelly and Committeeman Pat Nash against that of Governor Horner and State's Attorney Courtney, the battle on the Southside centered about the Republican nomination for congress.

Mitchell was conceded to be the Democratic winner from the start although opposed by two others James P. Durden and Augustus L. Williams, both colored.

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Despite the bitterness of the fight, DePriest has signified his intentions of forgetting factional differences and pulling with the party for a Noveber victory.

"Anybody will be an improvement over the present incumbent, Arthur W. Mitchell," DePriest declared.

Dawson won mainly through the efforts of his own organization and his personal popularity. He did not have the backing of the machine headed by Senator King, most powerful of the Southside groups. King backed Anderson, but he is expected to support Dawson next fall.

Mitchell polled more than 16,000 votes, completely annihilating his Democratic rivals. He predicts an overwhelming November victory. Totals showed that even in the normally Republican second and third wards, there were more Democratic ballots cast than Republican. It is predicted, however, that thousands of those who voted Democratic at the primary because of the bitter state and city fight will support Dawson in the general election.

Stanton DePriest and Edward M. Sneed, Republican and Democratic nominees for the county commissioner, were the only Negroes entered in that race. Tipper was the lone Negro out for a sanitary district trustee post, while S. Timothy Washington had to campaign against Cornelia J. Pickett and Marion Earle Sardon to win the state central committeeman nomination.

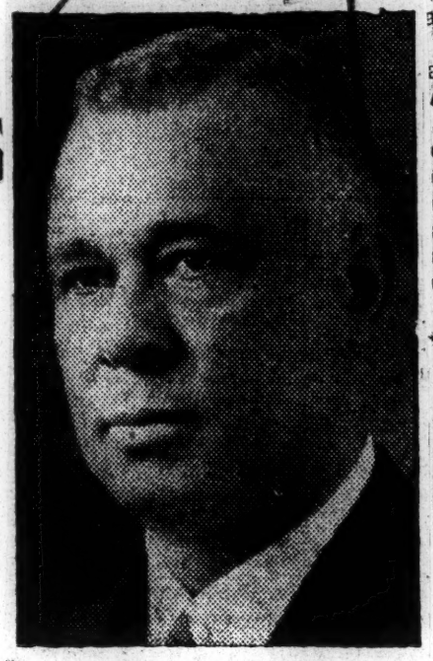
The size of the Democratic vote was seen in the race for municipal judge. Albert B. George, with a total of 92,800 votes, stood ninth in the field of 12 successful Republican candidates, while Attorney Asa A. Burroughs received 132,523 votes but was some distance behind the 12 Democratic winners.

State Senator King's opponent in November will be William A. Wallace. King defeated Attorney Aaron H. Payne and Wallace was victorious over Attorney C. C. Wimbish. State Representative Billy Warfield snowed under his rival, W. Thomas Soders, iin the fifth district.

Richard A. Harewood, third district assemblyman, was the only incumbent defeated for reelection. Standard bearers in that district are Charles A. Jenkins and A. Andrew Torrence, who defeated Harewood and two others, William H. Temple and Madison C. B. Mason. Green, in the first district, nosed out Harris B. Gaines, former representative, and two others, George S. Barnes and Charles A. Griffin.

Of the 37 who sought nomination in Tuesday's primaries, 25 were Republicans and 12 were Democrats.

Third Victory



CONG. MITCHELL

Chicagoans View Wreckage After Election

11-14-38

By ALBERT BARNETT

CHICAGO—(ANP)— Last week-end, after one of the most exciting elections held here since 1932, and made noteworthy by G.O.P. efforts to break the strangle-hold of local Democratic leaders, both victors and vanquished took stock of the wreckage and inventoried their respective losses and gains.

Most notable of the victories and the one occasioning the most comment was that which swept back into office Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of the First district, on whose laurel wreath will again be inscribed: "The only Negro representative in the halls of congress." The present will mark Mitchell's third term in his exalted position and his victory reflects the support given President Roosevelt's New Deal program by voters of the First district.

G. O. P.'S JUBILANT

Republicans of the district, however, are jubilant over the showing made by their candidate, Alderman William L. Dawson of the Second ward, a World war veteran, leader in City hall council circles and widely known for his matchless oratory. They point to Mitchell's victory by the narrow margin of 2,500 votes as indicating that nearly 27,000 colored voters of the distric had again "seen the light and returned to Republican ranks.

Concerning the red-hot campaign and last Tuesday's hectic climax, Alderman Dawson said:

"We are not at all down-hearted over the outcome of last Tuesday's election in the First Congressional district. Rather we are heartened and optimistic about the future of the Republican party, not only in Chicago, but throughout the nation. Considering the odds against us, I think we made a remarkable showing. Out of a total of about 56,000 votes, the final count showed me about 2,500 votes short of beating Congressman Mitchell as the First District representative.

THANKS SUPPORTERS

"I certainly wish to thank all of my loyal supporters and friends who worked so hard and zealously for my election. They, as well as I, know that the heavy vote in the 1st and 11th, white Democratic wards, was what beat us. But we are sure that the Negro citizenry of Chicago and the nation is aroused as never before. The political pendulum has again started swinging toward Republicanism. I look for still further gains locally in the 1939 mayoralty campaign and in 1940, when the next president of the United States will be elected."

Next great political upset of the election was the defeat of Republican State Senator William E. King, by Democratic Second Ward Organization President William A. Wallace. Wallace won by a scant 880 votes, the early returns having indicated King as the winner. Wallace, a Municipal Court deputy clerk, has long been active in Democratic circles, and will be the first Negro Democratic State Senator in the history of Illinois.

Senator King vaulted to power as Republican leader of the district following the defeat, in 1934, of former Congressman Oscar DePriest. His political sway as committeeman of the Second Ward had only been surpassed in earlier days by the concededly GOP big-wigs of all time—the late Edward H. Wright and the late Daniel M. Jackson.

Among the other Republican candidates who lost were: O. Stanton DePriest, son of the former congressman, who ran for county commissioner; Jacob R. Tipper, publisher of The Chicago World, candidate for Sanitary district trustee and Albert B. George, former municipal court judge and again a candidate for that position. Republican winners included Ernest A. Greene, Charles H. Jenkins, A. Andrew Torrence and William A. Warfield, all as state representatives.

Among the outstanding winners who profited by the avalanche of Democratic votes was Edward M. Sneed, popular Democratic committeeman of the Third ward who won out as county commissioner to be the second of his race to claim that honor. The other former county commissioner was Oscar DePriest, elected about 20 years on the Republican ticket.

First Republican political trumpet to blow a blast for the 1939 mayoralty election sounded off this week when it was reported that former Mayor William Hale Thompson long a friend of Negroes, had announced that shortly he will declare himself a candidate for the GOP nomination for mayor in next February's primary.

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Elections.

Indiana

RICHARDSON UP FOR STATE LEGISLATURE

Courier

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., April 7—Henry J. Richardson, Jr., prominent local attorney and former member of the Indiana Legislature, recently announced his candidacy for the state legislature on the Democratic ticket. The primaries will be held next month.

Indianapolis Political Foes In Bitter Fight

Courier 4-23-38

Chicago Tribune

INDIANAPOLIS, April 22—Withdrawal of Henry J. Richardson Jr., prominent attorney and former member of the legislature, from the race for Democratic candidate for state representative, has brought even deeper bitter feeling among rival groups as well as a threat of open rebellion in various ranks.

Flooded with protests because of his withdrawal and besieged by many signers of his petitions, Attorney Richardson released the following statement in the hope of making clear his action:

"For the sake of party harmony, and for the best interests of my friends who have various political ties and responsibilities, and to assure the election of a representative of my group to the legislature, I have decided to withdraw from the race for state representative."

Many persons showed the keenest disappointment upon learning of Attorney Richardson's withdrawal; others called it a brilliant political move.

ELECTIONS

TED CABLE, F.B.RANSOM, Win in Indianapolis.

Indianapolis, Nov.17. F.B.Ransom and Dr. Theodore Cable were swept into office here Tuesday on the Democratic ticket, and Senator Frederick Van Nuys continued to pile up a big lead over his Republican opponent. Cable wona seat in the Indiana Legislature and Mr.Ransom were elected to the Indianapolis City Council

The race candidates were the triumphant part of a Democratic slate championed by Henry Fleming and a great organization, which worked like Trojans to put over a ticket that spelled prosperity to its Negro constituents. Cable and Ransom were jubilant.

Courier
11-19-38
Pittsburgh, Pa.

RANSOM ELECTED TO CITY COUNCIL

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.— Attorney F. B. Ransom, running on the Democratic ticket, was elected to the City Council, defeating Dr. Sumner A. Furniss, a Republican in the election Nov. 8. Mr. Ransom is general manager of the Madame C. J. Walker Company, and is a prominent attorney of this city.

Dr. Theodore Cable was elected to the legislature on the Democratic ticket, defeating Cary D. Jacobs, Republican.

J. Chester Allen of South Bend was also elected to the legislature, making two Negro Democrats in the legislature in the Hoosier state.

Two Named to City Council In Indiana Towns

11-19-38

GARY, Ind. —(ANP)— Gary and East Chicago, Ind., will have Negro aldermen, results of last Tuesday's elections sohw.

Wilbur J. Hardeway, formerly alderman for two years but who lost in 1934 to William Anderson, Democrat, was elected from the fifth district on the Republican ticket, beating out Benjamin Cresswell, local undertaker and Democrat.

In East Chicago the victor was James Dent, Jr., also a Republican. He is a steel mill worker, a graduate of Washington high school. Young Dent is the first Negro ever elected to the council in East Chicago.

WINS CITY COUNCIL BERTH IN E. CHICAGO

EAST CHICAGO, Ind., Nov. 17— Headed by Frank Miga, prominent political leader, Democratic groups of East Chicago forgot factional differences last week and elected James Dent, Jr., to City Council by a large majority. The newly-elected Negro councilman received 2,1[illegible] votes while his opponent, McDonald, received only 1,270.

Two Named to City Council in North Indiana

11-20-38

GARY, Ind., Nov. 17—(ANP)— Gary and East Chicago, Ind., will have Negro aldermen, results of last Tuesday's elections show.

Wilbur J. Hardeway, formerly alderman for two years but who lost in 1934 to William Anderson, Democrat, was elected from the Fifth district on the Republican ticket, beating out Benjamin Cresswell, local undertaker and Democrat.

In East Chicago the victor was James Dent, Jr., also a Republican. He is a steel mill worker, a graduate of Washington high school and a bachelor. Young Dent is the first Negro ever elected to the council in East Chicago.

11-20-38

Political - 1938 Elections.

Kansas.

Jones Runs White Opponent A Close Race In Hotly Contested Primary

Plaindealer 8-5-38

Kansas City, Kansas

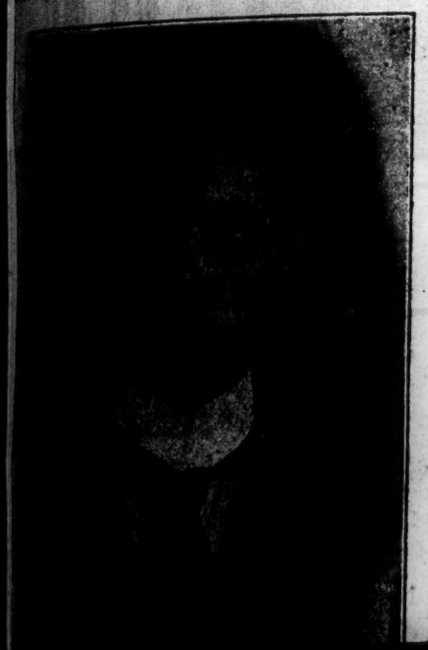
Dave Wilhite Will Oppose William H. Towers for Representative Post in November Election

First Democratic Negro to Ever Be Nominated; Expected to Give Towers A Hot Contest

CLAUDE L. JONES, attorney-at-law and a former assistant county attorney in Wyandotte county, was defeated here this week in the primary by a margin of 100 votes, according to the unofficial count, by his white opponent, A. J. Murray for the nomination of county commissioner on the republican ticket.

Two other Negroes opposed Jones in the district which is predominantly colored and a republican stronghold. They were Wm. Blount, a former state representative and Leon J. Ollison. Blount ran third and Ollison a very poor fourth.

Dave Wilhite, attorney-at-law won the democratic nomination for representative in the Eighth District. He will oppose William H. Towers, deputy city attorney, and who has served in the legislature for one term. Towers, a republican, was unopposed in the primary.



DAVE WILHITE

According to the unofficial count Jones received 2,113, Blount 1,721, Ollison 262. A. J. Murray, white, received 2,239 votes to win the nomination.

The official count will take place Friday (today). Jones indicated to the PLAINDEALER that he might overcome Murray's lead. He based his reason on one precinct report that was way off from the count by those in charge during the voting period and that perhaps several errors had occurred on other reports. Jones stated that in precinct number 12, the count was 64 according to the precinct committeeman, and that on the precinct report blank he was credited with only 4 votes.

Jones made a clean race and at no time was he in the rear of the two other Negroes running. Murray had a solid white vote behind him. However, a large percentage of white votes were cast for the three Negro candidates. Murray did not receive enough votes in the Negro precincts to offset the votes received by the Negroes in the white precincts. The large white vote refutes the theory that white people won't vote for a Negro for the office of county commissioner.

Jones was the first candidate to announce for office. He had the endorsement of the leading organizations of the city as well as the leaders. The other Negro candidates had been appealed to, and asked to withdraw so that a Negro could win the nomination, as it was the opinion and sentiment that Jones was the logical man to defeat the one white man, but no agreements could be reached, and Jones was defeated by a split Negro vote.

Considerable interest was manifested in the election in the second district on the part of Negroes and a large number of them voted.

Jones' organization was faithful to the end. Tuesday night more than 100 persons stayed around the headquarters waiting for returns to come in. Several long distance calls were made inquiring as to how Jones came out. Negroes from the Missouri side came over to the headquarters to see how the Kansas City attorney was running. His organization was one of race loyalty. Jones reported Wednesday that he had received scores of telephone calls and telegrams wishing him success in the official counts as they think that he is the logical man to beat Frank Brown, the present Democratic commissioner. Murray will perhaps have a hard task on his hands to defeat Brown, as a large percentage of voters are colored and the feeling is high that a Negro should have been nominated. His success will depend upon how well the party leaders can harmonize the voters in the colored end of the district, especially on the county commissioner's race. Tuesday's vote demonstrates that the Negro voters follow the machine slate so far and then depart. Jones was not a machine candidate.

Kansas City

Jones' defeat will enable a group who have advocated the theory that a Negro should not run for the office of county commissioner to tell their white bosses that they have delivered. His biggest opposition came from race politicians who sneaked around at night to get their mitts greased, and preached Jones by day. So a big opportunity for the Kansas Negroes to advance has gone with the wind. Some of us are broke and others will eat good meals for a few days at the expense of our own future and human suffrage. This newspaper played its part in trying to avoid what happened, and will remain on the battle field in the defense of the Negroes of Kansas City and Kansas.

CLAUDE L. JONES

Political – 1938
Elections

Kentucky

Negro Appointed to Housing Post in Louisville

LOUISVILLE, Ky., May 5—(ANP)—The appointment of Atty. J. Everette Harris to the Municipal Housing Commission was announced Thursday, April 28, by Mayor Scholtz. Atty. Harris is to serve out the term of Murray Nicol, who resigned. The term will expire in 1941.

The appointment of Attorney Harris gives Negroes representation in the planning of a slum-clearance project approved recently which will cost about $4,000,000. The appointee is a graduate of Harvard university and is the son of the late Rev. E. G. Harris, minister of the Plymouth Congregational church for 37 years. Atty. Harris has practiced law for 11 years.

Negro Appointed To Louisville's Housing Commission

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—(ANP)—The appointment of Attorney J. Everett Harris to the Municipal Housing Commission was announced Thursday, April 28, by Mayor Scholtz. Attorney Harris is to serve out the term of Murray Nicol who resigned. The term will expire in 1941.

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Political — 1938
Elections.

Maryland.

Three Designated for Assembly

Afro-American 7-23-38

BALTIMORE.

Beginning what was called a determined effort to elect representatives to both the State Legislature and the City Council, the Maryland League of Colored Republican Voters picked three candidates for the primary in the State body, this week.

Baltimore

Those agreed upon were W. A. C. Hughes, attorney Mrs. Sarah Fernandis Diggs, and William I. Gosnell, also an attorney.

Councilman Later

Marse S. Callaway, president of the league, stated that a candidate for councilman from the Fourth district will be decided upon at an early date.

He called attention to the need of representation in both of these bodies and stated that he was certain that the time was ripe to secure them.

"Some plan must be worked out to get representation in both of these bodies," Callaway stated. "The colored citizens in the Fourth district will get together on this matter of representation, and when they do there will be no monkey business at election time.

"The custom of making slates on which there are white and colored candidates, but which results in the election of the white candidates only, will not be allowed to work in the coming campaign.

"We know how to react towards such a thing now and something will happen if some colored candidates are not elected from the Fourth district in the next election."

Organizing Units

Callaway stated that his organization was planning to see that every possible colored voter is not only registered, but also organized behind the movement to get representation in the Legislature and the City Council.

The main thing, he said, is to get the voters on the books, both Republican and Democratic. "And we are not going to stop at political organization," he said. "We must organize to use our buying power and every other influence to prevent being defrauded of our privileges."

Have Strong Backing

The three candidates for the Legislature have been selected by outstanding groups and command considerable prestige.

W. A. C. Hughes was endorsed by Mrs. Lillie Jackson, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Diggs is a business woman who has been active in a large number of civic movements in which the women of the city have interests. Mr. Gosnell also has been an active civic worker.

Council Race Candidates Being Groomed

BALTIMORE

It developed this week that many candidates are being groomed for the City Council.

The Citizens' Committee, which backed the four colored candidates for the State Legislature in the recent campaign, was the first to announce that they would put a candidate in the field.

Although they have made no formal announcement, it is believed that they will get behind W. A. C. Hughes or Mrs. Sarah Fernandis.

Woodland Boomed

The Seventeenth Ward, Fourth District Republican Club, started a movement to push Charles Woodland, ward executive, at its meeting, last week. He was lauded at the meeting for this work in the campaign.

It is also certain that the Maryland League of Colored Republican Voters will put a ticket in the field.

Marse S. Callaway left this week for a trip of ten days rest. He will go to the Eastern Shore to look over the field and from there to New York.

Mr. Callaway has made no statement on the mayor race, but a number of his associates declare that he is keeping his eyes on the situation and is expected to go into action when he returns.

Situation Interesting

They believe that the Republicans may have a good chance, in view of the situation brewing on the Democratic side.

The O'Conor faction, it is said, is grooming a candidate, and it is known that Mayor Howard W. Jackson may also take a hand in the fight.

Such a situation might become interesting to Republicans. It is believed that a Republican mayor could also take along a number of Republican councilmen.

Democrats Busy

It also developed this week that Democratic leaders are also interested in the councilman fight.

For the first time, they have hopes that the Democratic high command will include a candidate on their slate in the Fourth District.

Josiah F. Henry is of the opinion that the O'Conor group will be inclined to give the colored voters a better deal than Democrats have done in the past.

Political - 1938

Elections.

Massachusetts.

A NEW ENGLANDER FOR A JUDGESHIP

By Sturgis M. Robinson

The studied refusal to appoint a black American to a judgeship by the powers in Massachusetts is setting the nerves of black New England on edge.

We have families living here in New England with plenty of New England background; we have men whose fathers were graduates of New England universities and colleges, whose fathers served in the Civil War as officers. We have families here whose grandfathers were business men in New England before the Civil War.

The sons of these men are graduates of Harvard—if university education is a requirement. The sons of these old New England colored families have lived for generations among white people as their equals. Yet these sons with their background and fine education have at no time lost their racial touch. Instead, these sons of old New England families have always fought for the rights of their own folk. They are humble in their possessions and are New England to the core.

We offer such a name and demand that white New England definitely recognize black New England. We demand their own equal in black. We want no selection because his ancestor was a slave, the old familiar ring of white inferiority complex hiding under a pretended father-like attitude. We have no prejudices against the sons of slaves. Our New England past shows this definitely. The black people of New England are free from prejudice.

But we demand that any colored judge we have, have family as well as a New England education from one of the old institutions of learning. This we demand more than any great brilliancy before the bench or in the business world. We want a colored man that will be just to all races, a man whose family reflects these attributes.

We will no longer accept the false statement that "our people are not together" as race of people, white or black, are 100 per cent together and for white New England to demand something of black New England that they themselves will not practice and cannot (unity) is foolish.

We present a name of background and education, a man in whom an exalted position will not puff up for a judgeship on the Massachusetts bench would not equal the honor and respect or position of his illustrious father.

Such a name as we present would take it in his stride. To him it would simply mean a job to be well done.

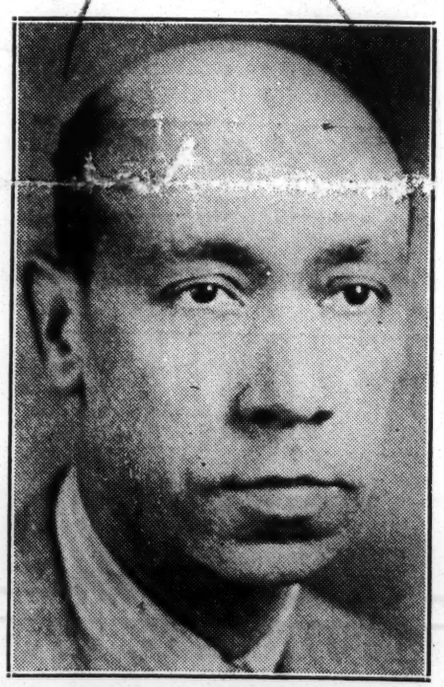
The name we bring forward is Colonial New England. We suggest that Governor Hurley consider Attorney Albert G. Wolff, President of the Boston Branch National Equal Rights League, a Boston University graduate and the son of a Civil War soldier, who was himself a graduate of the University of Vermont and one time head of the entire Grand Army of the Republic in the State of Massachusetts.

This name is one of the names that black New England can respect also one that white New England has time and again honored.

Other states with the same civilized standards of Massachusetts with even more wealth and as good laws are appointing black judges.

The last judge being appointed did not have the background of our New England families of today. Yet as a judge, this colored man made as good a record as his more illustrious companions.

FOR REPRESENTATIVE FROM WARD 9



JOSEPH H. NELSON
Candidate for Ward 9 Representative on the Republican and Democratic tickets.

NELSON CAMPAIGN SURGES AHEAD

During the last week, the campaign of candidate Joseph H. Nelson for the House of Representatives from Ward Nine, has received added impetus by the unanimous endorsements of the Eastern New England Congress for Equal Opportunities and the A.M.E. Associates, composed of a group of liberal ministers, who are interested in the economic and social uplift of the colored people of Ward Nine.

Candidate Nelson spoke before the gathering of the associated ministers and received enthusiastic applause. The candidate has been making a house to house canvass of voters and his work has been intensified by the great number of volunteers who are convinced that Nelson is the type of leader and the logical candidate who can carry the standard to victory at the primaries, September 20th.

A joint meeting is being called by the various groups interested in the nomination of Mr. Nelson for the House of Representatives, to correlate the work of the several committees, appoint a campaign chairman and decide on the best location for the candidate's headquarters.

Attention Colored Voters!

VOTE FOR

Guardian 10-22-38

HON. JAMES M. CURLEY for GOVERNOR

Boston Mass.

TRIED AND TRUE FRIEND OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

CURLEY has given colored citizens more recognition than all other public officials in Massachusetts.

DON'T BE DECEIVED AGAIN BY REPUBLICAN PROMISES AND TREACHERY.

Remember the Past!

W. P. A. is LOST if Saltonstall is elected.

REMEMBER THAT all relief measures have been sponsored by the DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Don't sacrifice what we have gained by voting Republican.

VOTE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE PROVEN TRUE TO YOU!

JAMES M. CURLEY for GOVERNOR

AND

WHOLE DEMOCRATIC TICKET

Election Tues., Nov. 8, 1938

(Signed) SILAS F. TAYLOR, 922 Tremont Street, Boston

Political — 1938
Elections

Michigan.

3 Win Nominations In Detroit Primaries

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 8—(ANP) The primaries held in this city last Tuesday found three colored men gracing the ticket. Charles A. Roxborough was nominated for congress in the 1st Michigan District on the Republican ticket.

State Senator Charles C. Diggs was nominated for his place upon the Democratic ticket and Dr. Aaron C. Toodle was nominated in the same district for the post of state senator on the Republican ticket.

Three Gain Places On Detroit Slate

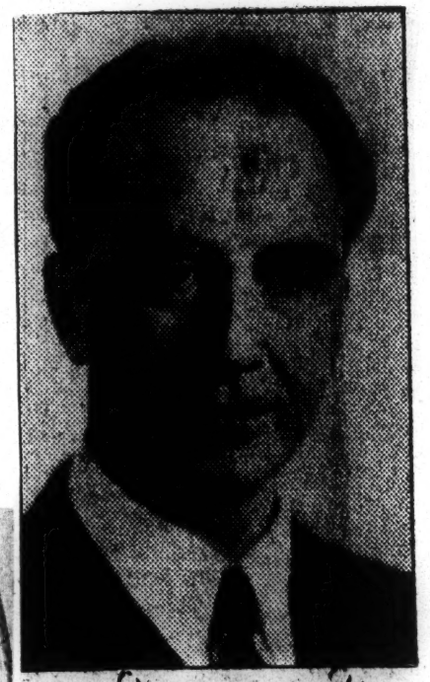
DETROIT, MICH.— The primaries held in this city last Tuesday found three colored men gracing the ticket. Attorney C. A. Roxborough was nominated for congress in the first Michigan district on the Republican ticket. State Senator Charles C. Diggs was renominated for his place upon the Democratic ticket and Dr. Aaron C. Toodle was nominated in the same district for the post of state senator on the Republican ticket.

Roxborough Defeated For House

State Senator Retains Post; Gundry Victor

LANSING, Mich.—(SNS) —Governor Frank Murphy in his attempt for re-election Tuesday. Victorious was former Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald, Republican.

State Senator Charles C. Diggs, lone Negro member



GOV. FRANK MURPHY

of the State Senate defeated his Republican opponent, Aaron C. Fottle and white sticker candidate, Stanley Frankowski.

Former State Senator Charles A. Roxborough, running for Congress on the Republican ticket, was defeated by Mayor Rudolph G. Tenerowicz of Hamtramck.

Auditor General George T. Gundry was apparently re-elected, according to late returns, over his Republican opponent.

Political — 1938
Elections

Missouri.

LARGE NUMBER OF NEGRO CANDIDATES SEEK OFFICE

Interest Centers Around Constables and Justices Of The Peace, In The Fourth and Fifth Districts

The last filing day for the primary election on August 2, found a large number of Negroes seeking elective offices. There are 19 Republicans and 13 Democrats, and from all indications, the coming primary election will bring about an unusually spirited campaign. Judging from the number of Republicans who have filed, there must be a strong belief that the November election will find the Fourth District in their hands. This district is now the only nucleus of the Republican party in office in the city of St. Louis, and is composed of Robert E. Walker, Justice of the Peace; and Wm. A. (Billy) Morant, and Langston Harrison, Constables. At the present time, these three are "The Last of the Mohicans" of the Republican party. This trio seeks to add one more to its number in the person of Judge Crittenden E. Clark, veteran campaigner, who is a candidate for Justice of the Peace. The Democrats in this district, with Judge George L. Vaughn as Justice of the Peace, are seeking to add one more Justice and two Constables by nominating Paul Browne as Justice of the Peace, and Carl Glass and Alfred Bruce, as Constables. These four, it is understood, make up the slate, and will have the support of the ward organizations, lead by John J. Marooney, Committeeman of the 6th Ward, and Dewey S. Godfrey, Committeeman of the 17th Ward. Dr. Charles H. Phillips, Jr. filed for Congressman from the 11th District. He is opposed by Wm. E. Buder for the nomination on the Republican ticket.

Negro Candidates:

CONGRESS, 11th DISTRICT
Republican: Dr. Charles Henry Phillips, Jr., 1045a North Sarah Street.

STATE REPRESENTATIVE: THIRD DISTRICT.
Democrat: William A. Massingale, 2720 Walnut Street.
Republican: Jesse D. Raybon, 2015 Market Street.

STATE REPRESENTATIVE, FOURTH DISTRICT.
Republican: Frank A. Carter, 1800 Goode Avenue; Irvin Meyer, 3301 Delmar Blvd.

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, FOURTH DISTRICT. (Two to be elected.)
Democrats: George L. Vaughn, 2722 Lawton Avenue, incumbent; George H. Brooks, 11 North Jefferson Avenue.
Republicans: Crittenden E. Clark, 2814 Lawton Avenue, Josiah C. Thomas, 3119 Laclede Avenue; Henry D. Espy, 2846 Pine Blvd.

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE FIFTH DISTRICT. (Two to be elected.)
Democrats: Frank S. Bledsoe, 11 North Jefferson Avenue; DeWitt T. Lawson, 2602a Franklin Avenue.
Republicans: Walter Lowe, 3714 Windsor Place; Ira A. Dorsey, 3823 Windsor Place; Samuel J. Lane, 3143 School Street.

CONSTABLE, FOURTH DISTRICT. (Two to be elected.)
Democrats: Elcue Laws, 2725a Laclede Avenue; Alfred Bruce, 3208 Lawton Avenue; Tim Tonnic, 2213 Walnut Street; George Calloway, 2602 Lawton Avenue.
Republicans: Joseph Landers, 2916 Lawton Avenue; A. L. Dowd, 2841 Clark Avenue; Charles A. Maxwell, 2620a Market Street; Langston Harrison, 7 South Twenty-third Street, incumbent; William A. Morant, 2712 Lawton Avenue, incumbent.

CONSTABLE, FIFTH DISTRICT. (Two to be elected.)
Democrats: Jordan W. Chambers, 3100 Franklin Avenue, incumbent; Minthorn W. Taylor, 2602a Franklin Avenue; Robert P. Peyton, 707 North Leffingwell Avenue, Robert Laususe, 3712 Windsor Place.
Republicans: George W. Warrick, 3300 Delmar Blvd., Leonard Brown, 1130 North Compton Avenue; Ed Ward, 3022 Cass Avenue.

CONSTABLE, SIXTH DISTRICT.
Republican: Arthur Curry, 1124a North Jefferson Avenue.

Paul Browne, Democrat, and Robert E. Walker, Republican, incumbent, both white, are seeking nomination for Justice of the Peace from the Fourth District, and Richard Fitzgibbons, (white) Democrat, incumbent, is a candidate from the Fifth District.

COBB FILES FOR JUSTICE OF PEACE

Argus

JEFFERSON CITY, MO.—On Friday, June 3, the Hon. Robert S. Cobb, attorney-at-law, and for many years a prominent figure among the Negro Republicans of Jefferson City, filed for the office of Justice of the Peace on the Republican ticket, in the office of the County Clerk. Cobb was informed that no one had filed in opposition to him on the Republican ticket, which means, no doubt, that he will be nominated, hands down. The only race will be in November, when his many friends, both Democrats and Republicans, among the Negroes, state that they will put him over.

Dr. Charles Phillips to Run for Congress

Bishop's Son, Once Deported, Campaigns Again

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — Dr. Charles Henry Phillips, Jr., father of the Antilynching Bill and Republican candidate for Congress from the Eleventh District of Missouri, opened his campaign on Saturday.

Son of the senior Bishop of the CME Church, the younger Phillips is a physician.

In 1912, Dr. Phillips ran for Congress and was defeated by L. C. Dyer, white. After Dyer's victory, he inquired of Phillips what he would have him do for him. "Nothing," replied Dr. Phillips, "except to introduce a bill making lynching a Federal offense."

The thought and spirit of the Antilynching Bill was furnished by Dr. Phillips and it was not put in print until he had read the proof and approved its correctness.

"I will be a strong advocate," he declared, "for officers in both the United States Army and Navy, and will fight incessantly for our men to have representation on the United States Supreme Court."

THIRTEEN NEGROES WIN IN PRIMARY ELECTION

Argus 8-5-38 St. Louis, Mo.

Five "J.P." Candidates Nominated

Argus 8-5-38

Two Win For State Legislature On The Republican Ticket

NOMINEES

State Representative, 3rd District, Republican—Jesse D. Raybon.

State Representative, 4th District Republican—Frank Carter.

Justice of the Peace, 5th District, Democrat—Frank Bledsoe.

Justice of the Peace, 4th District, Democrat—George L. Vaughn.

Justice of the Peace, 4th District, Republican—Crittenden E. Clark.

Justice of the Peace, 5th District, Republican—Samuel J. Lane and Walter Lowe.

Constable, 4th District, Democrat—Carl Glass and Alfred Bruce.

Constable, 4th District, Republican—Langston Harrison and Wm. Morant.

Constable, 5th District, Republican—Leonard Brown.

Constable, 5th District, Democrat—Jordan W. Chambers.

More than usual interest was manifested in the recent primaries so far as the colored people were concerned, the most spectacular campaign being in the 4th Constabulary District among the Negro Republican candidates. Interest was centered around the nominations for Justices of the Peace and Constables, one faction being headed by Langston Harrison, committeeman and supporting the four candidates, known as the "Big Four," former Judge Crittenden E. Clark and Judge Robert E. Walker for Justices of the Peace, and "Billy" Morant and Langston Harrison for Constables. The other faction was headed by Richard (Dick) Kent and Henry D. Espy.

St. Louis, Mo.

During the heat of the campaign circulars attacking Judge Crittenden E. Clark, appeared on the streets. It was said that these circulars were put out by Dick Kent and L. L. Landry. In order to prevent the arrest of those responsible for the appearance of the circulars Attorney Silas E. Garner made a hasty trip to the prosecuting attorney's office where he was advised to confiscate all the circulars and turn them over to Judge Clark. This Mr. Garner did, and Judge Clark, took the large bundle, which he called libelous and filthy and consigned it to the "Father of Waters," the Mississippi River. Some say that Judge Clark led the Republican ticket for the nomination of Justice of the Peace in the district because of this attack. He beat his opponent by a vote of almost 4 to 1.

Vaughn Nominated

Judge George L. Vaughn, present Democratic Justice of the Peace of the 4th District, had no opposition. He supported Paul Browne (white) for Justice of the Peace and Carl Glass and Alfred Bruce for Constables, all of whom won by large majorities.

In The Fifth District

In the 5th District Judge Frank S. Bledsoe, present Democratic Justice of the Peace, was renominated as was Jordan W. Chambers, Constable in the same district. Both led the ticket in this district. The present incumbents, Judge Richard Fitzgibbon, Justice of the Peace, and Frank O'Neil, Constable (both white) were re-nominated. They were paired with, and had the support of Bledsoe and Chambers, and Senator Michael Kinney supported the four.

Republicans

On the Republican ticket Jesse D. Raybon was nominated for the legislature in the 3rd District, leading his ticket, and Frank Carter led his ticket for state representative from the Fourth Legislative District. Thus the Republican ticket will have two Negroes for the legislature in the November election.

Republicans In The 5th District

Samuel J. Lane and Walter Lowe were nominated for Justices of the Peace in the 5th District, with Lowe leading his ticket. Leonard Brown was nominated for Constable in this district.

Altogether there were thirteen Negroes nominated for office during the primaries, with the majority on the Republican ticket. Dr. Charles Henry Phillips made a surprising race for the nomination for Congress from the Eleventh District, polling 5,075 votes while his opponent, Wm. E. Buder, white, polled 7,635 votes.

ELECTION RETURNS

In scanning the tabulation of the returns from the recent primary election in St. Louis we are amazed with the count as given those who aspired to public office. We speak of our amazement with the count because it looks to us as though every man received the count of the votes which were cast for him, and the irregularities which have heretofore served to "count out" those less favored, were negligible. Significant of an honest count of the election returns is the fact that Negro candidates received such a creditable vote. It shows that Negroes will vote for members of their race who seek public office, and all they need is to have their votes counted as cast.

Argus

Hence, it appears that a new day in politics has dawned in St. Louis, and in the future a man may seek public office without the fear of his votes being stolen or miscounted in favor of another candidate.

Of course, in a keen contest, as was this campaign, there is bound to be some unpleasantness, and the brick bats hurled by opposing factions are certain to leave some wounds.

8-5-38

But, be that as it may, the people of the city of St Louis have been greatly benefited by the experience. In this campaign, boss met boss, and knowing each other's tricks, they hollered for a "clean, honest election" in order to protect themselves. Both sides swooped down on the election commissioners demanding an honest election and they got it.

St. Louis, Mo.

To be sure, certain attempts have been made to discount the value of arousing the electorate to the impending danger of the miscarriage of justice by public officials, but we do say that the protection of the masses is more assured when the bosses fall out.

The results of the count make us feel like congratulating the electorate for the interest it showed, but deep down in our hearts we feel more like congratulating the gods of fortune who "trobuled the waters" and put the bosses at odds.

Political – 1938
Elections

Missouri.

TWO JUSTICES RENOMINATED

ATTY. GEORGE L. VAUGHN — ATTY. FRANK S. BLEDSOE

8-3-38

NEGROES SEEK OFFICES IN THE ELECTION NOV. 8

Both Democrats and Republicans Carrying Men On Their Slates. Hot Contests in 4th Constabulary District

This week the political forces are winding up their campaigns and are leaving their cases to the voters to decide, Tuesday, Nov. 8, whether or not—?

Probably the most interesting part of the campaign in St. Louis, far as Negroes are concerned, is the Negro candidates on both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Both Party Slates

On the Republican ticket there are two Negroes seeking offices as members of the Missouri Legislature: Frank Carter from the Fourth District and Jesse D. Raybon from the Third District.

The "hot fight" for public office among the Negro candidates will be in the Fourth and Fifth Constabulary Districts. In the Fourth District there are three Negroes seeking office on the Democratic ticket: Judge George L. Vaughn for Justice of the Peace to succeed himself; Carl Glass for Constable and Alfred (Bum) Bruce, Constable, and one white man, Paul V. Browne, who is running for Justice of the Peace, thus making up what will be known as the Democratic "Big Four" in this district.

The Republicans also have a strong ticket in this district for these four offices. Former Judge Crittenden E. Clark for Justice of the Peace, Langston Harrison, Constable; William (Billy) A. Morant, Constable, are the Negro candidates, while Judge Robert E. Walker, (white) the present incumbent, is seeking re-election as Justice of the Peace.

Both parties in this district are carrying three Negroes to one white man on the ticket. It may be stated here that the Fourth Constabulary District is the only remnant which the Republican party has since the Democratic rise in politics in St. Louis during the past four years. The complexion of the ward has changed considerably since the advent of Judge George L. Vaughn in the district, with both parties now claiming victory in the November election.

Dems Seek Offices

In the Fifth Constabulary District a happy Democratic set-up along interracial lines causes the leaders to feel sure of victory because Judge Frank S. Bledsoe for Justice of the Peace, and Judge Richard J. Fitzgibbon (white) Justice of the Peace, and Jordan W. Chambers and Frank M. O'Neil (white) for Constables form a combination which spells victory to those who are best informed.

On the other hand, there are three Negro candidates in this district on the Republican ticket: Samuel J. Lane and Walter Lowe for Justices of the Peace and Leonard (Butter) Brown and Henry Finklestein, the latter white, for Constables.

In the Sixth District, Arthur Lee Curry is seeking the office of Constable on the Republican ticket.

A great deal of interest is centered around the office of Legislator, the Negroes of the city having the general feeling that one Negro, at least, should be elected to Congress. It so happens, however, that the Democrats have no Negro on their ticket for this important office.

Five Negroes Win In St. Louis Elections

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 17—Election day, Tuesday, Nov. 8th, was of special interest to the Negroes of St. Louis because they had 14 candidates running for election, nine on the Republican and five on the Democratic ticket. Official returns showed five candidates had been elected, namely: Crittenden E. Clark, Justice of the Fourth District; Langston Harrison and William A. Morant, constables on the Fourth District, this being the only District in St. Louis to go Republican. Justice Frank Bledsoe and Constable Jordan Chambers were re-elected in the Fifth District on the Democratic ticket, Justice Bledsoe leading the ticket.

Justice George L. Vaughn, candidate for re-election on the Democratic ticket, and Jesse D. Raybon and Frank A. Carter, candidates for the State Legislature on the Republican ticket, were defeated.

Chambers And Bledsoe Win In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 17—The election in St Louis Tuesday, November 8th, saw the return to office of Judge Frank S. Bledsoe and Constable Jordan W. Chambers. Running on the Democratic ticket, they defeated their Republican opponents by large majorities and lead the ticket in their district.

Judge Bledsoe received 6,352 votes, while his nearest Republican opponent received 3,515 votes, giving Judge Bledsoe a majority of 2,837.

Constable Jordan W. Chambers, veteran undertaker and race leader, received 6,296 votes, while his nearest Republican opponent received 3,502, giving Constable Chambers a majority of 2,794.

POLITICAL - 1938
Elections

NEBRASKA

RE-ELECTED

John Adams Jr., who was recently re-elected to Nebraska's unicameral legislature for the third time. He ran in a district which was four to one white, but had the support of labor and the press. A racial campaign waged against him had no effect.

Courier
12-3-38
Pittsburgh,Pa.

Political — 1938

Elections.

Nebraska.

Labor Urges John Adams Re-Election

8-13-38

OMAHA, Nebr., Aug. 12—John Adams Jr., Nebraska's only Race representative, in running for re-election to the Unicameral (one house) legislature from the Fifth district. Mr. Adams' district includes the largest Race section in the State and an important working class element.

Unicameral elections are on a non-partisan ballot, with the two highest in the primaries appearing on the November ballot. Mr. Adams has an enviable record for supporting liberal and labor legislation and has received the endorsements of the Union Voters League (A. F. L.) and Labor's Non-partisan League.

The Race Legislator has served two terms, one in the last session of the Unicameral, and as a State senator from the Fifth District. Adams was elected to the one-house assembly when the State abolished its two branches of the legislature for the new form.

session of the Unicameral, and as state senator from the Fifth district.

Consistent Record

His record is the most consistently progressive of any Nebraska state senator. He led the fight for relief at the last session, introducing a series of bills designed to raise more money for the state assistance fund. In addition he introduced a bill for the ratification of the child labor amendment, which was shouted down by tory senators and on which a voice vote was finally taken after the assistance of liberals and progressives throughout the state.

Adams wrote and introduced the bill which made possible Nebraska's taking advantage of the federal housing act, and he devoted a good deal of time to the preliminary work for the first housing project in Nebraska—the Logan Fontanelle homes in Omaha, which replaced one of the worst slum areas in the crowded Twenty-fourth street area.

Progressives Back Nebraska Negro Legislator

8-25-38

Omaha, Neb., Aug. 24—Jane Addams for CNA, Omaha, the most important races for Nebraska Unicameral (one house) legislature occurring in the Fifth district, where John Adams, Jr., Nebraska's only Negro senator, is running for re-election. Adams' district includes the important working class section, and the largest Negro area in the state. Unicameral elections are on a non-partisan ballot, with the two highest in the primaries appearing on the November ballot.

Adams, who has been endorsed by the Union Voters' League (A. F. L.) and Labor's Non-Partisan League, has served two previous terms as representative in the last

Political — 1938
Elections

New Jersey

Moore to Consider Negro As Senator

Herald 1-1-38

The Roosevelt-Garner Club of Northern New Jersey has received a reply from Senator A. Harry Moore, Governor-Elect of New Jersey, to the request that he appoint Postmaster Robert F. Kearse of Vaux Hall to serve out his unexpired term as United States Senator from New Jersey, and that Counsellor Robert S. Hartgrove of Jersey City, Assistant Attorney-General of New Jersey he appointed to succeed Supreme Court Justice Lloyd, who retires January 23.

In a letter addressed to R. R. Smith, secretary of the club, the Senator expressed appreciation for the support given him by the colored people of the State and stated that he had gladly added the name of Mr. Kearse to the list of those being considered for United States Senator. He also stated that he held the highest regard for Counsellor Hartgrove.

According to Mr. Smith:

"The wave of sentiment that has swept through the State, arousing the race consciousness in our people as nothing else has in a decade proved to our satisfaction that the colored people are no longer satisfied with a few menial jobs as their share of political patronage."

"The Roosevelt-Garner Club has received letters from a number of Democratic Clubs, including the Roosevelt-Garner units in Orange and East Orange, the Progressive Democratic Club of East Orange, the New Era Democratic Club of Hudson County, the Lawnside Democratic Club, also letters from churches and civic organizations and leading individuals, both Democratic and Republican, pledging their support to the Roosevelt-Garner Club in their effort to have Mr. Kearse and Mr. Hartgrove appointed to these high positions.

"We appeal to the colored people of the State to join us in this movement ta break down the barrier which has kept our people out of worth-while positions. The educational standard of the colored people is being raised annually and the Democratic and also the Republican party must realize that this new Negro expects a different type of political patronage to that which has been dished out to him in past year."

J. W. Slater Chosen "Bronzeville Mayor"

Newark Ev. News 5-23-38

ORANGE, N.J. — John W. Slater, newspaper distributor and fraternal man, was elected "Mayor of Bronzeville" as the climax to the annual convention of the Modern Beauticians' Association, which ended at the YMCA on Wednesday night.

J. R. Womble, candidate for Congress from the Eleventh district, ran second.

Election Is Stormy In All Colored N. J. Town

Journal and Guide

LAWNSIDE, N. J.—A political storm broke at the regular meeting the city council in this all-colored New Jersey borough, held at the Lawnside public school on Warwick Road here Wednesday of last week. A heated debate arose over the election of Robert J. Demps to the office of the borough clerk as Mayor James Victor Adams presided over the meeting. 500 local citizens attended the meeting.

5-12-38

Mr. Demps, 29, a native of Jacksonville, Fla., and a 1934 graduate of Howard University, was named to succeed I. Rutledge Bryant in the office of borough clerk. The mayor, in a fiery speech, declared that he favored the reelection of Mr. Bryant.

Mayor Adams was also defeated in the next ballot, when V. L. Gallaher, white, was elected to succeed Edward A. Reid, 1929, Howard University law school graduate, the mayor's avowed favorite, in the office of borough solicitor. Mr. Gallaher is chairman of the Camden County Democratic Organization.

Other officeholders elected were: Walter L. Moore, road supervisor to succeed Charles H. Farmer, Sr.; Mrs. Mildred H. Farmer, Sr., relief director; Charles G. Simpson, a member of the board of health.

John Farmer was defeated for the office of police recorder James C. Remington was defeated for the office of borough engineer This name caused quite a disturbance in the council meeting because the mayor claimed that the city owed Mr. Remington $10,000 in back salary Though asked why that salary had not been paid, the mayor did not give a satisfactory answer.

Councilmen are: William Benson and Augustus Wilmer, republicans; and Sidney Whittington, George Polk, James H. Cheney, and William Carter, democratic.

500 people of both races attended a president's birthday ball here last month. Speakers included Joseph Rainey, Philadelphia; Miss Helen Moore, Hobson Reynolds of Pennsylvania legislature, and Mayor Adams.

Harry Jefferson, coach at Virginia State College was a recent visitor a few days ago at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Moore. He was accompanied by Miss Esther McNeil of Washington, secretary of John P. Davis of the National Negro Congress.

Next Step for the American Negro" and is coming to the city on the invitation of the local chapter of the NAACP.

Politics Stirs Lawnside, All-Colored, N. J. Borough

LAWNSIDE, N.J.

Last week, interesting Lawnside, the North's all-colored town, broke into the news again, this time with a clash at the borough's re-organization meeting over the swearing in of Councilman-elect George W. Polk by Mayor James V. Adams.

But this sort of thing only adds further proof to the fact that more spot news breaks in this town of less than 2,000 than in most of the towns of South Jersey combined. The background of Lawnside is more interesting than many of the events which transpire there.

* * *

The recent clash was really between Charles W. Moore, Sr., Democratic committeeman, and his one-time friend, William Williams, Republican leader. Williams was reported to have upbraided the mayor for allowing Polk to be sworn in on January 1.

Moore, who presided at the organization meeting called Williams's censure of the Mayor out of order. Williams charged Polk was unfitted for the office because of previous bribery charges.

The Moores live in a roomy estate on White Horse Pike at the borderline of Lawnside and Magnolia. In line with the politics of Democratic Moore, Sr., his daughter, Helen Moore, is postmaster of the borough. She has held the post since 1932, winning it from Mrs. Laura Willis, a Republican and owner of Lawnside Park. His other daughter, Ardelia, is a teacher in Camden Schools. He also has two sons.

MOORE SR., is one of four brothers, one of them, John, died in 1935, in little Balnew, Md. He was reputed to have left a cash fortune of thousands and to have buried it on the grounds of his hut. Neighbors dug for months, but nothing has yet been found.

With the change to Democracy in the administrations of many cities and States after President Roosevelt's victory in 1932, formerly rock-ribbed Republican Lawnside also began to change.

For years its officials had generally been of Republican persuasion. But under the sway of relief jobs for the borough, direct relief, WPA construction programs, etc., Lawnside's inhabitants shifted politically to the Democrats.

Moore's power in local affairs grew, but Williams's declined for a time. But, a fighter, Williams last year swept into office an almost entire GOP slate.

Basis of the recent Moore-Williams clash is the fact that the borough refused to vote on a similar Williams list of officers at the council's last meeting in 1937 because they were all Republicans.

* * *

LAWNSIDE POLITICS is fought as bitterly as any major contest in a big city. There are the same plots, the same strategy and the same civic offices to be fought over. So fascinating is this miniature "bigtown" that a few years ago Lawnside supported a newspaper published only for its residents and it bristled with news. A reporter is here limited by no color line. Every fire, arrest, election, crime is sure to involve colored persons.

Yet, Lawnside still has a tiny segment of whites whose settlement is called Woodcrest. A few years ago Woodcrest tried to secede from the borough, objecting to rule by colored office-holders. Fiery crosses had been burned up and down the length of Lawnside proper before white Woodcrest filed a petition with the State government to be made a separate borough.

Memorable plea at the hearing which resulted in defeat of the secessionist movement was: "Woodcrest may think to scare Lawnside with flaming crosses but we are not afraid; and we're telling you now, don't burn any more crosses or there'll be trouble."

However, official Lawnside at the time did have to prove that there was no segregation against whites in holding public office.

Political-1938

Elections.

New Jersey

LEADERS SLEEP WITH BIG VOTE TOTAL IN LAPS

Whites in Saddle as They Elect 16 of 20 Chieftains

(This is the last in a series of articles on Newark's Third Ward, but because of the interest shown by our readers in New Jersey—The Amsterdam News next week will present the first in a series on the Oranges, Jersey's famous suburbs. —Editor.)

By CARL DUNBAR LAWRENCE.

Politics in Newark's Third Ward is of the most sordid type and little, if anything, is being done about it by the community's majority!

"Baby Doll" Thomas, ruler of the Third Ward's Barbary coast ten years ago, tried to rectify this but failed when his sponsor, an affable Irishman, died.

Since that time the political complexion of the inhabitants has gone from bad to worse. And today with an approximate 6,000 of that area's 8,500 votes tucked away in the Negro column, the "leaders" of what might be a powerful weapon are still sleeping in an atmosphere, figuratively charged with "spring fever," apparently content to let bygones be bygones.

Normally most of these votes are Republican, but the chairman of the ward's G. O. P. committee—is white. He is Samuel P. Bernhardt and as a general rule readily admits that "the colored people ought to have one of their own as leader."

Votes in White Men.

In every primary election when a ward chairman is chosen at least seven of the ten districts elect Negroes, but these same persons who campaign on a platform of "race leadership," go about their business of voting a white man in as chairman on the grounds that "the time is not ripe for a Negro yet."

Either next month, June or September (according to whatever new laws are passed by the legislature now in session), another primary election will be held.

G. O. P. district leaders claim that for the first time in the political history of Newark's Third Ward, a leader similar to the real Harlem Herbert Bruce—will be chosen.

As for the Democrats, veteran Republican workers and several panhandlers, augmented by a live wire force of "ward heelers," argue that no real red-blooded Negro can call himself a Democrat. The Republicans argue this point with much sincerity despite the fact that they have little to show for their activities otherwise.

Affected Hundreds.

And as strange as it might seem this one "point" has in the past seriously affected several hundred potential workers and leaders who might otherwise be inclined to aid in solving political problems.

This sort of fear enables the Democrats' white leaders of Jersey's Harlem to maintain an absolute dictatorial control every year by electing 16 of the Third Ward's 20 district leaders. The 16 elected are all white.

The Democratic chairman, a white man, is Emanuel Millman. He was recently appointed as an Assistant Prosecutor of Essex county and is slated to be reappointed some time this week for a term of five years.

Ordinarily, in the real Harlem, such a post would go to a Negro, but such cases are unknown to residents of New Jersey's Harlem where hardly more than a dozen persons hold positions worthy of being termed political patronage.

The white men operating this sort of political trickery keep informed on "Negro affairs" by purchasing drinks for would-be leaders who sit in on meetings where plans for bettering conditions are discussed.

"Stoolies" Take Bribes.

These "stoolies," as they are called in Newark's Third Ward, tell all for the price of a drink. They even go so far as to tell their bribers about the domestic difficulties of various families in the ward.

Recently when a well known dentist had an unfortunate public altercation with his wife, several officials in City Hall knew all about it the following afternoon.

Even in Newark's WPA set-up which is obviously controlled by politicians, Negroes from this area have been sadly neglected. Only the most menial of jobs are given out here. One of the quickest ways to get a WPA job or secure a relief check is to contact certain merchants who in turn "touch certain political wires."

"We Love to Help."

"Oh, we don't mind helping your people out when we can," one merchant explained this week, "we love to help. And since we all must live here together there is no reason why we can't help each other. After all," he continued, "you know the colored people are our friends."

The real reason for such a display of generosity towards Negro residents of the vicinity, it was learned is to place them in a position to continue patronizing the various neighborhood stores.

A system of depending on white men to finance politcal activities is perhaps the chief cause of so much continuous exploitation, politically in this area. On election day, many well known political workers have been known to go on "sit down" strikes until the man with the "bag" (cash) comes around to see them.

As hopeless as political conditions in Newark's black belt might seem, there is a ray of hope. Disgust for the lack of progress on the part of those who are supposed to lead and the fast growth of several militant organization indicate that slowly but surely a political change is in the making for Jersey's Harlem.

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New York

Ten Candidates Also Give Vote Promises In National House

NAACP Questionnaire Brings Favorable Response; Twelve In Senate to Vote Cloture

NEW YORK—(SNS)— Four senatorial candidates tol the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week that they will vote for limitation of debate (cloture if a filibuster threatens passage of a federal anti-lynching bil during the coming session of Congress.

At the same time forty-five Congressional candidates pledged the association their vote to sign a petition in the House to bring the bill to the floor for a vote if the judiciary committee attempts to pigeon-hole this legislation.

The pledges were received in answer to a questionnaire sent out some weeks ago by the Association to congressional and senatorial candidates in the 1938 elections, asking them to register an opinion on the anti-lynching bill, wages and hours bill, social security, and the National Labor Relations Act.

The replies bring the total to date of senatorial candidates who will vote for cloture up to twelve and the congressional candidates who will sign a petition in the lower House, up to 112. Replies are still coming in to the NAACP.

Of the ten replies received from candidates for the U. S. Senate this week, four committed themselves to vote for cloture. Listed by states they are:

MASSACHUSETTS: David I Walsh.
OHIO: Robert A. Taft.
OREGON: Robert A. Miller.
WASHINGTON: Homer T. Bone.
The other six candidates failed to commit themselves on cloture:
MASSACHUSETTS: Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
MISSOURI: Bennett C. Clark.
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NEW YORK: J. M. Mead.
UTAH: William H. King.

The following 45 Congressional candidates pledged themselves to sign a discharge petition to bring the bill directly to the floor of the House for debate and a vote:

CALIFORNIA: Harry R. Sheppard, Charles Wade Snook, Lee E. Geyer, K. L. Stockton.
IOWA: Wilbur L. Peck.
MARYLAND: Irving H. Mezger Daniel Ellison, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr.
MICHIGAN: Archie C. Fraser William Blackney, Louis C. Rabaut, John Dingell.
MINESOTA: John T. Bernard, A. B. C. Doherty.
MISSOURI: Russell J. Horsefield, C. Arthur Anderson, Clarence Cannon.
MONTANA: W. [illegible] Husband, Jerry J. O'Connell.
NEW JERSEY: Robert W. Kean, Vincent Clauson, Walter S. Jeffries, William H. J. Ely.
NEW YORK: Harry M. Brooks, Wallace E. Pierce, Walter H. Liebman, John V. Murphy, Hamilton Fish, James M. Fitzpatrick, Carolina O'Day, Marcellus H. Evans.
NORTH DAKOTA: William Lemke.
OHIO: Frank C. Griffin, William E. Hess, Lawence Imhoff Elsie Stanton. George H. Bender, Emory F. Smith, Homer A. Ramey.
OKLAHOMA: R. R. Wilson, Phil J. Dickerson.
OREGON: Mrs. Nan. Wood Honeyman.
WASHINGTON: John M. Coffee.
WISCONSIN: Thomas O'Malley A. Benson.

Dewey Fails To Carry Harlem; Andrews Re-elected For Fourth Time; Burrows Defeats Rivers

At midnight Tuesday, with approximately 90 per cent of the vote in New York State reported Governor Herbert H. Lehman ahad a lead of 21,000 votes over District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Over 300 election districts in upstate New York were still to be heard from and for that reason Dewey would not concede defeat nor would Governor Lehman issue a victory statement since the districts unreported were in predominantly Republican territory.

Throughout the nation there were numerous Republican gains with Pennsylvania again safely in the G.O.P. column.

Failing again to place their race above the advantages of political party, Harlem once more expressed a strong choice for the New Deal by voting down Republican candidates two to one, and at the same time rejected Rev. Lorenzo H. King, Republican candidate for Congress in favor of Joseph Gavagan, the Democratic incumbent.

Burton Sees Gain

Republican Leader Harold C. Burton of the 21st A. D., although disappointed in the community's lack of race pride, felt encouraged by a larger Negro vote for a race candidate.

"We put up what we feel was a stubborn fight for the election of Dr. King, yet I am greatly disappointed with the Harlem voters who were given a golden opportunity to support for Congress a Negro so outstandingly qualified as Dr. King."

Running on both the Democratic and Labor Party tickets, Congressman Gavagan polled a total of 20,880 votes; in two Harlem Districts in the 19th A. D., 8,694, in the 21st A. D., 12,084. Rev. King polled a total of only 12,880 votes in both districts, i. e., 3,775 in the 19th A. D., and 9,105 in the 21st A. D. These totals covered all election districts except four, which had not reported at 11 p. m. Congressman Gavagan polled almost as many votes in the 21st A. D., alone as did Rev. King in both the 19th and 21st Districts.

Andrews' Fourth Term

The New Deal consciousness of the voters in the 21st A. D., swept William T. Andrews back to the assembly for his fourth term, which is one of the longest periods of time which a Negro has served in the Assembly of this State, as a weapon against Dr. Rivers the fact that both he and Assemblyman Andrews defeated his opponent, former Alderman Conrad A. Johnson, by a plurality of 6,162. Two his brother had taken for themselves the major portion of to-one victories seemed to be the order of the day—12,836 the patronage of the district. So effective was this argument for Andrews, 6,674 for Johnson; four election districts not that at the last minute, the definite trend toward Dr. reporting. Rivers turned back to Burrows.

In an exclusive victory statement to The New York Age, Assemblyman Andrews said, "I thank my constituents for approving my record of honest and efficient service. I am glad that unfair tactics have been repudiated. I shall continue my sincere and best efforts on behalf of my constituents as I have in the past."

Republican strength being greater in the 19th A. D., than in the 21st A. D., the vanquishment of Dr. Mark Rivers was less curshing than two to one. Daniel Burrows polled 10,757 votes against Dr. Rivers' 7,268, giving the Democratic candidate a plurality of 3,489, with all election districts reported. Rivers had been given a good chance to win the election as a result of the dissatisfaction of Democratic captains with the regime of Harry C. Perry, white Tammany leader, but at the last minute, Democratic strategists used

Political—1938
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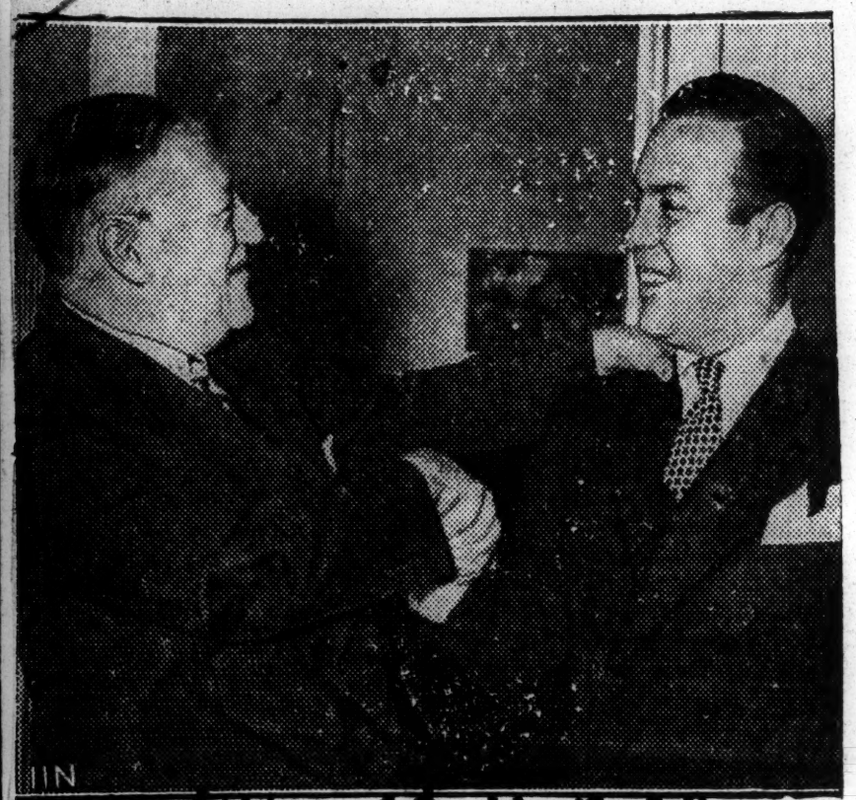
Friend Of Race Winner



New York's Senator Robert F. Wagner, co-author of the federal anti-lynching bill is shown as he was being congratulated by his son, Robert F. Wagner, Jr., shortly after the election.. Senator Wagner was re-elected in a landslide, while young Wagner was elected to the New York state assembly.

HARLEM PHENOMENON

In New York's Harlem-Washington Heights area there is the 21st Congressional District, the largest in population in the United States, with colored people constituting about two-fifths of the total.

Last week a Negro, Rev. Lorenzo King, ran for Congress in the 21st District on the Republican ticket, opposing Joseph A. Gavagan, the Democratic incumbent.

Rev. King got 35,842 votes while his white opponent got 85,027 votes.

From the almost exclusively Negro districts, Rev. King got over 12,000 votes while Mr. Gavagan got over 21,000 votes; from the white districts it would seem that Rev. King got almost twice as many votes as from the solid black districts.

Here, indeed, is political phenomenon, showing that Negroes vote according to party and not according to color.

Nor do we believe this situation is peculiar to New York City.

KING, CROSSWAITH BEATEN BY AUTHOR OF ANTI-LYNCH BILL

BY EDGAR T. ROUZEAU
(Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK, Nov. 17—Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, Democrat, who successfully steered the last Anti-Lynching bill through the House of Representatives, was returned a victor over two opponents in the Congressional election returns here Tuesday.

Gavagan, who had the endorsement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, enjoyed a plurality of better than 3 to 1 over the Rev. Dr. Lorenzo H. King, Republican colored nominee and Frank R. Crosswaith, Negro Socialist, in returns from the 21st Congressional district.

REAPPORTIONMENT PLAN STILL IN DOUBT

The state-wide vote on the amendment for representative reapportionment, embodying a plan to give Harlem a colored state senator, was still in doubt at a late hour.

The amendment was carried in some down state counties and defeated in some, but the up-state vote was expected to swing the tide in favor of its proponents.

WILLIAM T. ANDREWS DANIEL BURROWS, WIN

In other Harlem contests, Assemblyman William T. Andrews, Democratic incumbent, defeated Conrad A. Johnson, Republican nominee in the 21st Assembly district.

Another all-colored fight in the 19th Assembly saw Daniel Burrows, Democrat, defeat Dr. Mark E. Rivers, Republican. Burrows succeeds to the Assembly seat of Robert Justice, Democrat, who was shelved by the Tammany machine.

Governor Herbert E. Lehman was re-elected.

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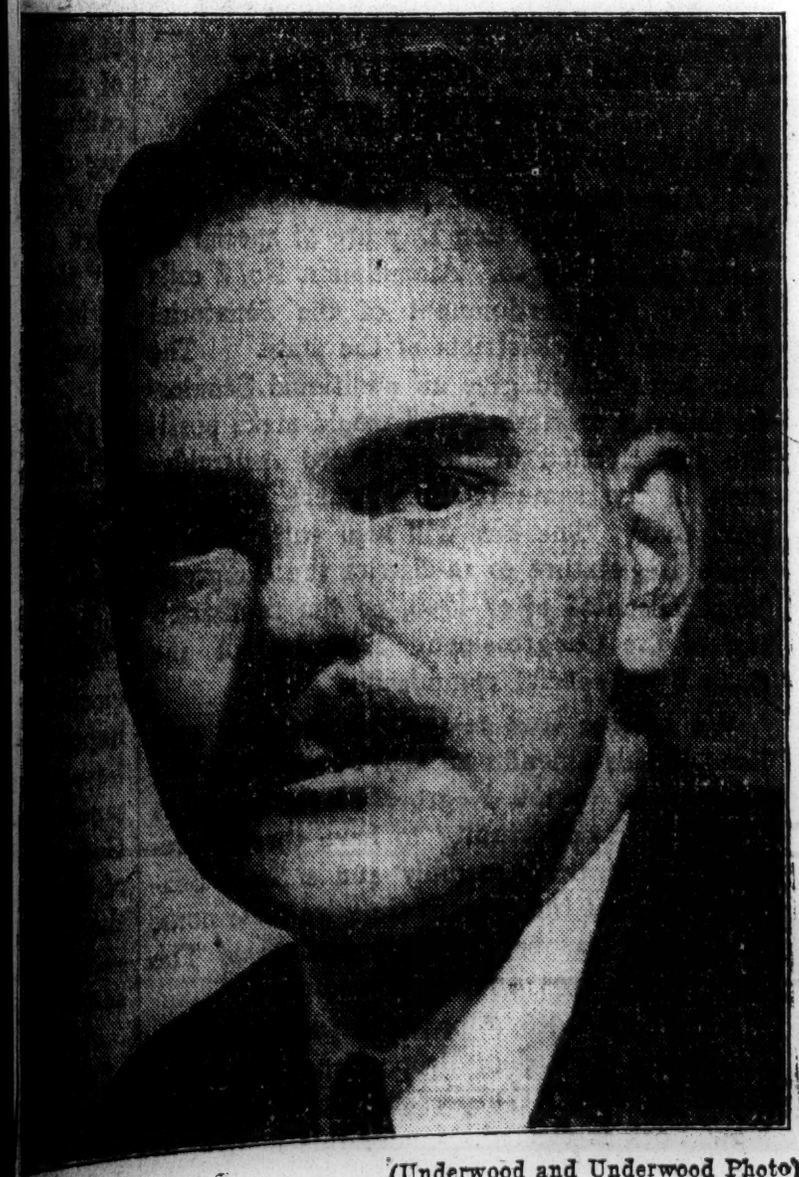
ELECT THOMAS E. DEWEY



(Underwood and Underwood Photo)

DEEDS NOT WORDS

Liye
11-5-38

DEWEY: Two Negroes to his staff in high position before he took office—not five long years after.

DEWEY Supports reapportionment; insuring a Negro Congressman and State Senator for Harlem and a Negro Assemblyman for Brooklyn; — fought by Democratic "Friends of Negro."

DEWEY Tore mask off organized crime "syndicate" which terrorized Harlem life during years of Democratic Control.

DEWEY'S Plan for unification of Relief and Unemployment Insurance will end red tape and gaps of want.

DEWEY'S Courage, administrative genius and fairness at State Capitol assures Negro that laws passed to aid him will cease being dead letters; Dewey will make those laws a living reality.

The Republican Party under DEWEY leadership can be relied on to carry out its platform pledge: "To the colored citizen who in unemployment, denial of civil rights and otherwise has suffered disproportionately from the evils of racial discrimination, we pledge ourselves to strive for the eradication of such evils."

ELECT

THOMAS E. DEWEY, Governor
FREDERIC H. BONTECOU, Lieutenant Governor
JULIUS ROTHSTEIN, Comptroller
ARTHUR V. McDERMOTT, Attorney General

AND

VOTE ALL EAGLES

EDWARD F. CORSI
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN } United States Senators
HELEN Z. M. RODGERS
RICHARD B. SCANDRETT, Jr. } Representatives At-Large
LORENZO H. KING, Congressman–21st District
JOHN A. ROSS, Jr., Assemblyman–17th District
MARK E. RIVERS, Assemblyman–19th District
CONRAD A. JOHNSON, Assemblyman–21st District

Paid for by REPUBLICAN COUNTY COMMITTEE of New York County

Political — 1938
Elections -

New York.

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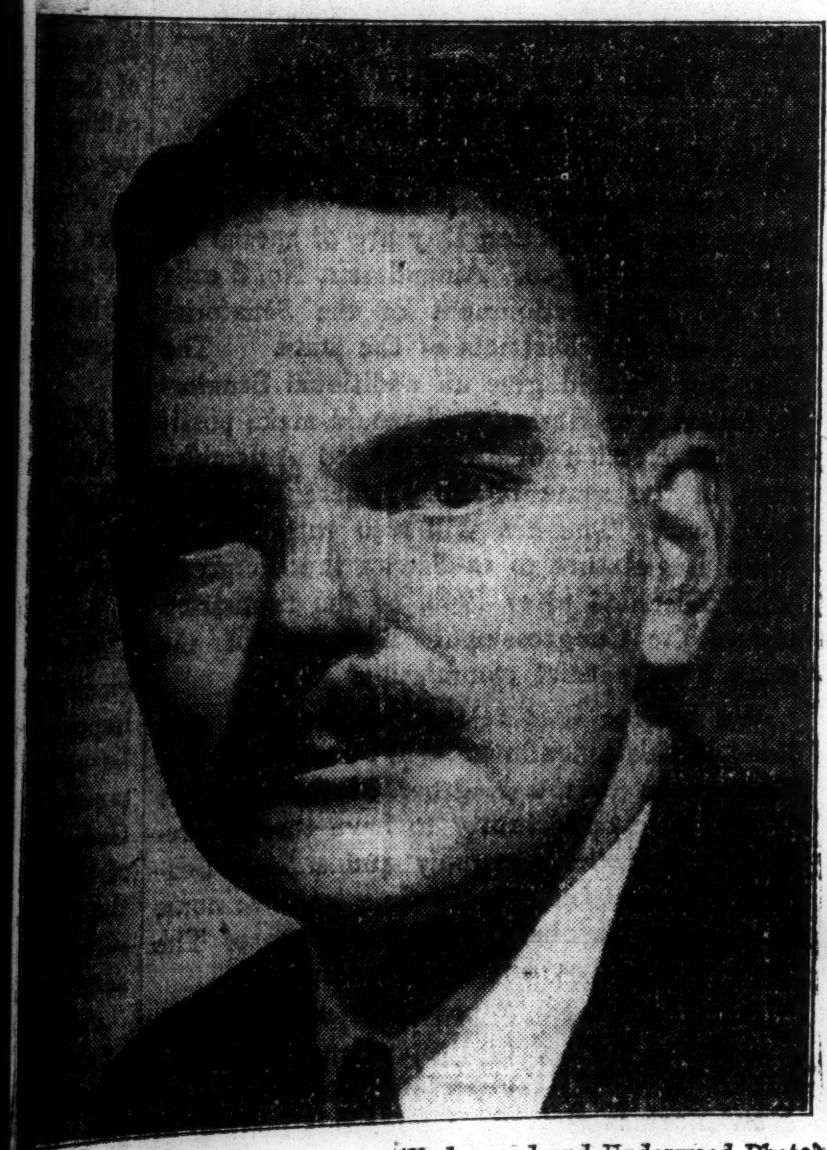

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HARLEM MUST WAIT FOR RACE CONGRESSMAN

Democrats Too Strong

NEW YORK, Nov. 24 — (ANP) — Now that it over, it can be told — that is, the story of the third failure of the voters of Harlem to send a Negro to congress to represent the 21st Congressional district. At the beginning of the campaign, the Rev. Lorenzo King, a minister of St. Mark's Methodist church, was selected as the Republican standard bearer.

All indications pointed to a successful drive to send the first Harlem Negro to congress, but when the battle had cleared, Rev. King finished a poor second, the present holder of the office, James A. Gavagan, Democrat, with the former polling 18,000 to Gavagan's 85,000.

This 70,000 plurality indicates the strength of the Democratic vote in Harlem, plus the whites who resented the candidacy of a Negro for the office of congressman. There were hundreds who voted the Democratic ticket rather than see a Negro enter the Capital building from this section.

So falls another Republican stalwart. First, it was former Assemblyman Edward A. Johnson, who played hob with the voters in the district and polled an unusually strong vote in the days when the Republicans meant something in Harlem; then it was Hubert Delaney who followed in the path hewed by Mr. Johnson making a poorer showing than did Johnson, but creditable enough to show that he did pull some in the districts.

But those days have passed and gone — and the Republicans in Harlem are shadows of their former selves. Dr. King can blame no one for his defeat in particular — just the strength of the Democratic party and the failure of the people of his own race to support his appeal for votes.

In the assembly contests, Daniel Burrows won his first office in a district preponderantly Democratic, swamping Mark L. Rivers most convincingly down in the 19th district. In the 21st district, William T. Andrews won over Conrad A. Johnson, a very able man, in much the same manner.

The vote for governor showed that the 19th and 21st districts are still safely Democratic and will be until the "jobs" begin to fall off.

Among the older Republicans in the districts, there was great rejoicing over the recapture of many states by the G. O. P. and indications point to a bitter battle in 1940 with the G. O. P. making a determined stand to recapture the once solid ground of Harlem.

Rev. King In Bitter Attack On Republicans

NEW YORK—(C)—Rev. L. H. King, Republican candidate for Congress in Harlem, blasted his own party as he suffered an embarrassing defeat at the polls on election day.

Rev. King said the party failed to support him properly in a financial way, and declared that headquarters gave him the "run around" when he called on business.

He charged that Thomas E. Dewey, candidate for Governor on the Republican ticket who also lost in Harlem, failed to mention his name during the campaign. Rev. King was bitter in his denunciation, and said he would go through the country and tell the colored people that the GOP had let him down.

ELECTION WILL BENEFIT NEGRO, WHITE SAYS

NAACP Head Sees Chance for Race

NEW YORK, Nov. 23 — The close margins in the November 8 election offers the Negro an opportunity for effective work for the race, said Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. secretary, this week. The complete statement:

"The results of last Tuesday's election are of enormous significance to the Negro. A minority group has its best opportunity to fight effectively for what it wants when the margin of victory between political parties is narrow. We are not able to make ourselves heard as effectively when any one party has an overwhelming majority.

"The November 8 elections indicate unmistakably that a hard fight will be made by both parties to capture the country in the 1940 presidential election. The Negro must concern himself not so much with parties and labels as with men and issues. We must keep firmly in mind the things we want: (1) Employment without discrimination and without wage differentials based on color. (2) The ballot for all qualified Negroes in the South. (3): A federal anti-lynching bill with teeth in it. (4) Abolition of discrimination in the civil service. (5) More an better schools and equal salaries for teachers in the separate school systems.

"We can make progress on each of these objectives if we will use our political strength wisely during the coming years. But if we are to profit we must exhibit greater political maturity and sagacity. We must not be selfish. While attacking local problems, we must not limit our vision to local issues. We must beware of purely racial hysteria, remembering that the world is now suffering because of prejudice and race hatred. We must not be bought off with a few jobs scattered here and there.

"Ours is a fight for justice. It belongs to us because we are citizens and have earned it many times over. The next two years offer us great opportunities. We have only to make the right moves."

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A GRIEVOUS MISTAKE

FOR THE PAST month The New York Age has been following with interest the campaign being waged in Mt. Vernon, N. Y., by Rev. P. K. Fonviele, pastor of the Centennial A. M. E. Zion Church, in his campaign for election as the first Negro member of the local Board of Education.

Last week Rev. Fonviele put his foot in it and stirred up a mess of trouble, according to reports from correspondents, by refusing to accord the privilege of his pulpit to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary of the Negro Division of the National Council Y. M. C. A., and an ordained Methodist minister for 30 years.

4-23-38

Almost immediately the campaign of Rev. Fonviele suffered the loss of some of its most substantial backers. In a few minutes time all the good that had been accomplished was undone by an ignorant act. The offending pastor showed that besides being a poor politician lacking the tact and diplomacy, he was likewise a poor minister lacking the true christian spirit of tolerance and understanding. His actions stamp him as unfit to represent the race in the position which he is seeking, for he lacks those qualities most needed. It is unfortunate.

AS NOMINATED FOR CONGRESS

Rev. Lorenzo H. King To Be Candidate In 21st Congressional District

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN

Rev. Dr. L. H. King, pastor of the St. Mark's M. E. Church, was endorsed by the Coalition Congressional Committee as first choice for candidate for Congress from the 21st Congressional District, following a meeting held last Tuesday evening in the lecture room of the church.

Those present at the meeting, representing all political shades of opinion, expressed themselves as feeling confident that Dr. King would make a commendable showing in the Congressional race. Dr. King was reluctant to accept the nomination and said that he was not seeking such a designation. Other choices named were Rev. J. H. Johnson, rector of the St. Martin's P. E. Church, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

J. Dalmus Steele, in his report, said that he had made an effort to contact the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties in an attempt to get their attitude on the question of naming a Negro candidate for Congress. He said that the Republican leaders had reacted favorably to the suggestion and had indicated that they would readily endorse a Negro candidate for Congress. Mr. Steele said that the Democratic leaders had not reacted favorably to the suggestion of designating a Negro candidate from the 21st Congressional district.

Harold C. Burton, Republican leader of the 21st Assembly District, said that the Republican party in the Constitutional Convention had pledged itself to work for reapportionment which would change the Congressional and Senatorial lines and make it comparatively easy to elect a Negro to Congress.

The Coalition Congressional Committee began the movement to create sentiment for the election of a Negro to Congress at a mass meeting held at the St. Mark's M. E. Church on Sunday afternoon, May 1st, when Congressman Hamilton Fish was the principal speaker. The movement started when Dr. King sent out a call to representative citizens of all political shades to meet in a conference and discuss the advisibility of forming a non-partisan committee that would work towards the election of a Negro to Congress.

The officers of the committee are Dr. King, chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Haynes, vice-chairman; Miss Virginia Griffin, secretary; Attorney Eardlie Johns, financial secretary and Benjamin F. Thomas, treasurer.

Macon, Miss. Beacon
August 26, 1938

A Native Negro Of Macon is Candidate For Congress in New York

The Beacon is in receipt from Mr. Ed. P. Cooper of Anniston, Ala., a clipping from some paper with a New York date line which states:

"New York City Republicans designated their first Negro candidate for congress—the Rev. Dr. Lorenzo King, pastor of St. Mark's Methodist church in Harlem.

"For the first time it seems we are reasonably sure that the Republican party intends to translate its promise into factual action," said the candidate.

"Dr. King was born 59 years ago in Macon, Miss. He lived in Atlanta, Ga., until eight years ago when he came to New York."

Lorenzo is a grandson of the late Aunt Leah who lived on Baptist Hill and who was well liked by everybody in Macon especially the women. In those hard times, in the 70's and 80's when there was no such thing as "government relief "Aunt Leah sold second hand clothes for the ladies of Macon. Lorenzo, according to one who remembers him well, was said to be unusually bright as a youth.

Lorenzo is not the only Macon negro who is prominent in the Republican party in the north. Roscoe Conklin Simmons, a son of Dicey Hannah, is an orator of exceptional ability.

PERRY'S SON

Charles D. Perry, regular Tammany candidate for senatorial nomination in 19th district, and son of Harry Perry, Tammany leader of 19th A. D.

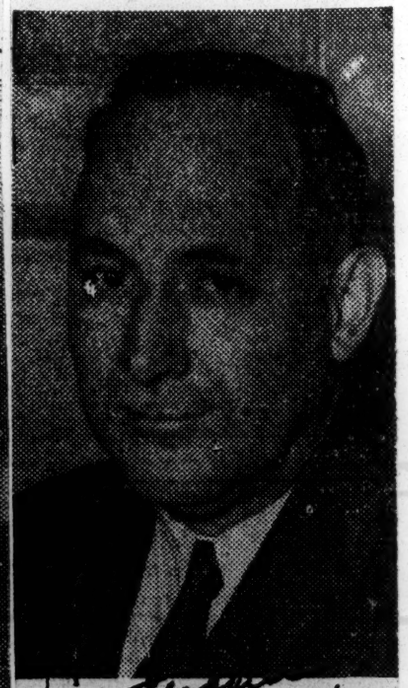
PERRY'S "EX-BOY"

Robert W. Justice, candidate to succeed himself as the Democratic nominee for the Assembly in the 19th A. D. He is backed by the Attucks Club.

PERRY'S "BOY"

Daniels L. Burrows, regular candidate for Tammany nomination for the Assembly in the 19th A. D.

LONE WOLF



Dr. L. B. Capehart, Democratic candidate for the Assembly nomination in the 19th A. D., and leader of the Citizens Democratic Club.

NAACP ANNOUNCES IT WILL AID REV. KING'S OPPONENT

Ministers and Other Groups Condemn Association For Statement It Is Supporting His White Opponent: Political Activities Increasing In Harlem

With the gubernatorial campaign in its final stretch and election day November 8th, less than a week off both political parties launched unprecedented activity in Harlem to capture the Negro vote, the importance of which has become increasingly important in what looks like the closest fight in years.

But while Harlemites are showing interest in the statewide ticket, the campaign of the local candidates is of greater importance to them. Widespread interest among all groups and organizations in the candidacy of Rev. Lorenzo H. King, Republican, for Congress in the 21st District, has eclipsed all else. His candidacy also put the N. A. A. C. P. in the worst spot of its entire existence for that organization on Friday issued a statement announcing its support of his white opponent, Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan.

That there will be widespread resentment against the N. A. A. C. P.'s "let-down" of a Negro candidate in favor of a white candidate, was indicated on Monday at a meeting of the Baptist Minister's Conference of New York and Vicinity held at the Metropolitan Baptist Church. The ministers severely scored the association and declared that it "should change its name to the National Association for the Advancement of White People."

All Leaders Confident

Republican and Democratic district leaders alike were confident of the success of their respective tickets. The Republicans feel that an awakened consciousness on the part of Negroes to the fact that they have placed a Negro on their ticket for Congress will draw considerable strength to the entire ticket and lead to the election of his local running mates, Dr. Mark E. Rivers and Conrad A. Johnson, respectively, candidates in the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts for Assemblymen. Equally confident of success, however, were Daniel Burrows and William T. Andrews, their Democratic opponents in the same district.

Teas and luncheons were the order of the week with the Republicans getting the largest turnout at a luncheon Saturday noon in the Y. W. C. A., in honor of Edward F. Corsi, candidate for United States Senator. Besides Mr. Corsi, other speakers at the luncheon, which was presided over by Attorney Sara Pelham Speaks, included Miss Jane Todd, vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee; Dr. Lorenzo H. King, Assistant District Attorneys Francis E. Rivers and Eunice H. Carter, Henry W. Pope, relief administrator; Dr. Alma Haskins, Attorney Norman Johnson and Attorney Conrad A. Johnson.

The Republicans follow this up with a mass meeting at which the entire state and local ticket will appear at Mother A. M. E. Zion Church on Wednesday evening. The Democrats follow at the same church with their state ticket on Thursday evening.

NAACP STATEMENT

The N. A. A. C. P. officially explained its position, Friday, at the request of several individuals and the Interdenominational Ministers' Meeting of New York. The statement follows:

"The N. A. A. C. P. has been asked by several individuals and by the Interdenominational Ministers' Meeting of New York to express an opinion on the Congressional Campaign in the 21st Congressional District of New York.

"The Association, through its Committee on Administration, is glad to do this because of the issue in the current campaign involves the question as to what should be the political philosophy and strategy of the Negro voter. This campaign also involves the question of long-range as well as immediate objectives and, in doing so, is more important than the personalities and party labels of the candidates concerned.

"Because the N. A. A. C. P.'s objectives must of necessity encompass the interests of all Negroes, the Association's position in the present campaign is clear.

"For the Reverend Lorenzo H. King, the Republican candidate, the N. A. A. C. P. has a high regard as a fine citizen whose services and talents have for many years been devoted to the spiritual and material well-being of his people. Dr. King unquestionably would be the intellectual and moral superior of many of the present membership of the House of Representatives. But it is unfortunate that Dr. King should have been chosen as a candidate in

NAACP Aids His Opponent

Rev. LORENZO H. KING, Republican candidate for Congress, 21st Disirict, whose white opponent is being aided by N.A.A.C.P. in campaign.

the Twenty-first Congressional District this year. Negro and white Americans owe a debt of gratitude to Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan who not only made but won the fight in the House of Representatives for passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill, doing so in the face of vicious and arrogant southern oligarchy.

"Disfranchisement of Negroes in southern states and the creation thereby of the 'rotten borough' system of government has led to the elevation to posts of great national power of southern demagogues who have bitterly fought in the Congress every attempt to end lynching or to better the lot of the Negro in any fashion. Disfranchisement has made possible for men of the type of Cole Blease, Heflin, "Cotton Ed" Smith and Tom Connally to get themselves elected and reelected to office with little difficulty. Then by reason of length of service they have achieved the chairmanships of important Senate and House Committees, which has given the South a wholly disproportionate control of national legislation because of the unscrupulous and vicious tactics which they have used they have been able to intimidate Northern Senators and Congressmen.

"It was not until Congressman Gavagan organized and led the fight that this southern leadership was challenged and defeated. This defeat revealed the vulnerability of the southern leadership, and it was largely because of this revelation that the Wages and Hours, Housing and other bills were later passed in the 75th Congress.

Fear Charge of Ingratitude

"What will be the effect in the next Congress of opposition to Mr. Gavagan? Should he be defeated southerners will jubilantly and incessantly remind other Congressmen and Senators of the fact that at the very first election after he made the fight and won, Mr. Gavagan was defeated by the very people for whom he had fought. Negroes would be justly charged with ingratitude. In the next session there will be continuation of the fight for the anti-lynching bill, for amendments to the Social Security Art, to extend its benefits to agricultural and domestic workers in which so many of our people are engaged; amendments to the Wages-Hours Act to prevent geographic differentials and to include agricultural workers in the benefits of that legislation; for air-tight and iron-clad provisions against discrimination in federal aid to education legislation which will be passed by the next Congress; and for amendments to the National Labor Relations Act which prohibits unions which deny membership on account of race, creed or color from being recognized as the bargaining agency for workers in given industries. If, when we approach members of Congress and urge them to resist the Southern opposition to these bills, we are charged with having voted against or perhaps defeated a Congressman who had fought courageously and successfully for us during the last session of Congress, you can imagine what chances of sucess we would have in getting enough Congressmen to go to the front to secure these needed pieces of legislation.

"We Negroes must take more than a narrow and immediate view. To jeopardize legislation for the benefit of the great masses of people simply to have one more Negro member of Congress, desirable as this is, would reveal, in our opinion, a failure to see the picture as a whole. Thus, in the 21st Congressional District race, Mr. King and Mr. Gavagan become symbols rather than individuals. And because of the greater good for the greater number of Negroes, we must not let our vision be obscured nor must we surrender the greater gains simply to have one more Negro member of Congress even when that member is so excellent a person as Dr. King."

Political — 1938 Elections. New York

The Battle for Democracy

The 1938 Elections in Harlem

By JAMES W. FORD

Executive Secretary, Harlem Division, Communist Party

This is the second of a series of three articles by James W. Ford on the 1938 election issues facing Harlem.

III. THE PROGRAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The program of the democratic front must be a basis for developing the election campaign, and assuring victory to the people. The American Labor Party is the center of the democratic front in New York. Comrade Browder, reporting to the 10th National Convention of the Communist Party, said that the program must be such as the majority of the people understand. Let me quote that part of Comrade Browder's speech:

"The democratic mass movement arising in the United States must not only be organized, it must also know quite definitely where it is going. It must have a program. A mass movement without a program would quickly be divided and smashed by the forces of reaction, operating with demagogy, terror and Red-baiting. It would be brought under the control of the fascist elements. The program of the democratic front is of the most vital importance.

In Harlem, we believe that these conditions have been met to a degree. We believe that the masses understand the issues in Harlem. They have already struggled for them. We believe that there exists a great possibility for consolidating the forces of the people for progress. The Communist Party in Harlem loyally supports the American Labor Party. We accept its discipline, and do everything in our power to advance a program of the democratic front through which to unite the people around a program of labor and progress. We fully supported independent political action which was begun in 1936.

1. PROGRESSIVE ACTION BEGUN IN 1936.

A movement for progressive independent political action, participated in by wide masses, was begun in Harlem in 1936 in the initiation of the All People's Party. Mr. Vito Marcantonio took a leading and active part in this movement. The preamble to its program of action declared:

"The time has not come when the people of Harlem should remove political barriers and differences of race, color, creed and nationality, and unite in the body to better express the will of the people and to work unitedly for the realization of such a will."

The platform of the All People's Party contained the following planks: (1) Re-Apportionment. (2) Better Educational Facilities. (3) Public Health and Safety (4) Problems of Youth. (5) Demands of Labor and the Unemployed. (6) Against War and Fascism. (7) Anti-Lynching Legislation. (8) Taxation of the Rich for the Benefit of the Poor. (9) Enforcement of Constitutional Guarantees for Civil Liberties.

It was in the shaping of this policy and program of action that the All People's Party played a role in the elections of 1936, and polled a large progressive vote.

2. 1937 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

This progressive movement started by the All People's Party was extended into the municipal elections of 1937, by a merging of these forces with the American Labor Party, and which in turn brought about a grouping of forces involving progressive Republicans, Democrats, the forces of labor, and the progressive forces generally. Under the slogan, "Defeat Reaction!" a shattering blow was delivered to Tammany.

3. THE HARLEM LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

One of the most interesting developments in Harlem is the Legislative Conference. Picture how really astounding and significant was the action of four State Assemblymen: two Negro Democrats, Assemblymen W. T. Andrews and R. W. Justice; a Puerto Rican Republican-Laborite Assemblyman, Oscar Garcia-Rivera; and an Irish Republican-Laborite Assemblyman, Walter Fitzgerald, in inviting the voters of Harlem to express their legislative desires in an assembly under the chairmanship of Mr. Vito Marcantonio, an Italian-American, the present Congressional candidate—after these Assemblymen had already been elected! Such a democratic procedure was unheard of, up until now. This uniting of the different national groups in Harlem: Negroes, Italians, Finnish, Latin-American, Jews and Irish, is all the more unusual and hopeful because reactionary politicians have so often used the trick of setting such groups snapping at each other's throats.

The program of the Harlem Legislative Conference was worked out on the basis of the following issues:

(1) Relief. (2) The Right of Labor to Bargain Collectively. (3) The Protection of Civil Rights. (4) Better Hospitals, Schools, Parks and Playgrounds. (5) Slum Clearance, the Building of Decent Houses, and the Elimination of Firetraps. (6) Wiping out of Discrimination against Negroes and other Un-American Practices. (7) Peace and Democracy.

A Town Hall Conference, similar to the Harlem Legislative Conference, was organized in Washington Heights to work out a community program for the people of the Heights. Its first session took up the Problem sof Youth.

4. THE JOB CAMPAIGN

In Harlem, the democratic front is on the march. In the Job Campaign, a committee under the leadership of the Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Jr., directs a large movement to obtain jobs for Negroes in the big corporations which take thousands of dollars out of Harlem every month. An attempt to turn the campaign into an attack upon small Jewish storekeepers in Harlem was frustrated, and Jewish and Italian support was enlisted in the fight on the Utilities by these national groups who are also discriminated against in employment. The Job Campaign "cracked" several of the utilities, and many of the big stores, and has signed an agreement with the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, calling for one-third of all employes in Harlem to be Negroes.

The Job Campaign and the Legislative Conference are examples taken from a number of united front activities in Harlem, and I am proud to state that the Communist Party of Harlem plays an active role in all of them. An important move was undertaken which is of particular interest to those who live in Washington Heights. That was a move to unite all the progressive white voters in the Heights behind the thoroughly just demand of the Negro voters to elect a forward-looking Negro to Congress. Such a man as A. Philip Randolph, president of the Pullman Porters Union and the National Negro Congress would be an asset in the United States Congress, not only to his own people but to progressive America as a whole.

Let me now approach the concrete situation on the basis of the relation of forces and the program of the masses, in the Assembly Districts.

IV. ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS IN HARLEM

1. 17th Assembly District

The 17th Assembly District is made up mainly of two of the most exploited sections of the oppressed masses, namely, the Puerto Rican people and the Negro people. The incumbent Assemblyman is Mr. Oscar Garcia-Rivera. The program of the democratic front appeals strongly to these groups, as well as to all the exploited. That is why the masses broke away from Tammany in the 1937 elections and rallied to Assemblyman Garcia-Rivera. He offered them through the coaltion of progressive forces the outlook of a "New Deal." **The A.L.P. endorses Mr. Garcia-Rivera in the present campaign.** It is the second party to Tammany in the district. It has an enrollment of 2989, and the Republican Party has an enrollment of 2834. This combination offers the only possibility of defeating Tammany. By all standards and rules of the game, Mr. Rivera is the best and logical candidate to defeat Tammany in the 17th A.D.

But the reactionaries in the local Republican organization, influenced by Republicans higher up, refused to designate Mr. Garcia-Rivera for re-election, although he was their nominee in the last election. The Republican Party designated a young Negro attorney, although they knew he has no chance of victory in the election.

A policy of "divide and rule" is being carried out by Tammany and the reactionary Republicans of the district. In estimating the 1937 municipal elections, the Communist Party warned against these unprincipled maneuvers and betrayals, and advocated the strongest unity between the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. We stated at that time: "The election of Garcia-Rivera defeated Tammany, and created a base for Negro and Puerto Rican unity."

The reactionaries have been alert to this, and are doing all they can to break this unity. That is why they dropped Garcia - Rivera and endorsed a Negro candidate. This betrayal is already creating wide resentment among the Puerto Ricans and is beginning to penetrate the Negro masses, particularly since it brings out in clear light another act of betrayal of the Negro people by the Republican Party.

The territory bounded by the 17th Assembly District is populated in the great majority by Puerto Ricans and Latin American people. It is but fair and just and democratic for a Puerto Rican to represent this district. Oscar Garcia - Rivera has been the first Puerto Rican so elected. He should be supported by

the Negro people.

The next consideration is to win the Jewish vote in the territory for support to Oscar Garcia - Rivera. There are about 2,000 Jewish voters in the district, workers, middle class, merchants, and small shopkeepers. In the past they have almost solidly supported the Tammany leader, Alterman. We must convince the Jewish masses in the territory that their best interest lies in supporting the progressive incumbent, Oscar Garcia-Rivera.

Why should the people of the 17th A.D., and all the progressive forces, including the Negro people support Garcia-Rivera?

Negro Woman Leader Urges Amter Support

Audley Moore Lashes False 'Friendship' of GOP for Negroes

In a fervent appeal to Negroes to vote for Israel Amter, Communist candidate for Congressman-at-large, Audley Moore, leading Negro woman Communist of Harlem, told her people "a man like Israel Amter in Congress would be a credit to our nation."

Mrs. Moore, who is one of the few Negro women speakers on the air, explained the necessity for voting Communist for Congressman-at-large and labor and progressive for the rest of the candidates. She exposed the demagogy of the Republican Party in its appeal for the Negro vote.

"The National Republican Party is making a bid for the Negro vote," she said, "and in so doing, it invites us to abase ourselves ignobly to dig our own grave. It is significant that when the Tory Hamilton Fish came to Harlem to woo the Negro people, he threw into our own teeth the full responsibility for our own oppression. 'What the Negro needs is a Teddy Roosevelt,' Fish said. I answered him then, as now: 'What the Negro needs is more Frederick Douglasses like James W. Ford and Angelo Herndon.'"

FRIENDSHIP LAPSES

Citing a few of the Republican Party's glaring "lapses in friendship" for the Negro people, Mrs. Moore pointed to the recent Constitutional Convention.

"If the Republican Party is such a friend to the Negro people," she declared, "how can it explain that at the State Constitutional Convention, which it controlled, the civil rights amendment was diluted so as to deny the Negro people their social, economic and political rights? Let it explain, if it can, why in giving Harlem a fake reapportionment, it denied the 60,000 Negroes of Kings County the benefit of any reapportionment whatsoever. Let it explain, if it can, how the Negro people are going to benefit from their false reapportionment when it denies the rest of the people of New York City adequate representation, and thus prevents the passage of those progressive laws which are so badly needed by the Negroes."

"There is already a spirit of liberation at work," she declared, "the spirit which ended chattel slavery and tyranny in the United States. There are outstanding progressives in our country today who are beginning to see and feel the humiliation placed on our country by the inhuman oppression of fifteen million black citizens. The speech of Secretary Ickes to the National Negro Congress, the brilliant address of Mrs. Roosevelt at Hampton Institute, and the progressive stand of the President are laying the foundation for progress in our nation."

BILL ROBINSON BACKS JUDGE ANNA KROSS FOR HIGH POST

Magistrate Anna M. Kross last week received the vigorous endorsement of Bill Robinson in her campaign for election as the first woman Justice of the New York State Supreme Court. The endorsement came in a wire from Los Angeles, California, to Judge Kross' Harlem Headquarters, 2260 Seventh Avenue, and stated:

"I strongly indorse Magistrate Anna M. Kross for the New York State Supreme Court. Her splendid record of advancement in social welfare and her humane judgment merits the support of all who want progress."

Robinson's endorsement signalizes the wide backing Judge Kross has received throughout the entire Harlem area. Outstanding welfare and civic leaders, leading clergymen and businessmen, together with Harlem groups and organizations have joined in supporting her candidacy. Prominent among such groups are the New York Urban League, the Harlem Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the Consolidated Tenants' League, the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the Colored Professional and Business Women's League, and the Federated Youth Clubs of Harlem.

That Judge Kross has aroused wide interest in her candidacy among the colored people is apparent from the number of public addresses she has made in Harlem before large audiences. She has already spoken at the Mount Moriah Baptist Church, 2050 Fifth avenue before an audience of 3000 people; at All Souls Church, 88 St. Nicholas avenue, and at a monster mass meeting sponsored by the Federated Youth Clubs at St. Phillip's Church at 134th street near Seventh avenue.

Harlem leaders backing Mrs. Kross include Dr. Lorenzo King, Minister of the St. Marks Church; Dr. Julia Coleman Robinson; Mr. Earl Miller; Mr. W. A. Traynham; Dr. Alma Haskins; James E. Allen; Rev. J. S. Givens; Rev. John W. Robinson; and James A. Hubert.

The enthusiasm in Harlem for Judge Kross' candidacy received impetus from the large amount of social and welfare work she introduced in that vicinity. When last year she organized the Magistrates Courts Social Service Bureau she launched a program which has accomplished valuable rehabilitative work among the delinquent women and girls of Harlem. Her establishment of the Harlem Health Center, under the supervision of colored physicians, as an agency for treating social disease has won the praise of all progressive public health ocicials. At present she is developing a project for providing shelter for homeless youth of Harlem.

THE ELECTION RESULTS

Nationally

THE ELECTION of November 8 resulted in a definite swing to the right on the part of the voters of the country. The Republicans gained 81 seats in the House of Representatives and 8 new Senate seats, which should prevent any further attempts at dictatorial powers by the President.

Although the Negro failed in attempts to elect members of the race to Congress from Philadelphia, Detroit and New York City, we made gains in minor offices in various parts of the country. The most notable of these was the election of Edward M. Sneed as Democratic County Commissioner for Cook County (Chicago), the first Negro county commissioner since Oscar DePriest was a member more than thirty years ago. Before DePriest, the late Edward H. Wright had served as a member of the Commission and for a year, as its president pro-tem.

Pennsylvania leads all other states with six Negroes in its state legislature —— five from Philadelphia and one from Pittsburgh. Detroit has a state senator in Charles Diggs; New York has two assemblymen and Indiana one. Indianapolis also sent Attorney F. B. Ransom to the City Council.

Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell was re-elected for his third term. Also elected in Illinois were two state senators and three state representatives.

While the New Deal maintained its grip on New York and Illinois, many of the other important states such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Indiana, Minnesota and Michigan have swung back to the Republican party. Their repudiation of the New Deal and the close elections in other pivotal states should cause the President to realize that the people are tired of experimentation and want a definite policy in the handling of the affairs of government.

Locally

In New York State, the election was the source of keen disappoinment to Negroes following the Republican party for it saw a few chosen individuals, catapulted to leadership through devious means, so mismanage and conduct the campaign that on their shoulders directly may be placed the blame for the party's failure to capture the biggest prize, the Governorship. Had as much energy been expended in Harlem — where the largest Negro vote is cast—as in such outlying sections as Albany, Troy and other towns upstate where Negroes vote by hundreds rather than thousands, the story probably would have been different.

Instead, basking in the limelight that accrues to persons designated by whites as "Negro leaders", they frittered away their time with pink teas and posing for pictures and sending out high-sounding publicity releases instead of seeing that the ordinary voter was contacted and sold on their candidates. And whereas Thomas E. Dewey, the personable "racket-buster", last year carried every district in Harlem by sizeable majorities, this year through his chosen Negro representatives he lost miserably the vote of the Negro. The same number of votes he received in Harlem last year would have been sufficient to change the picture and send him to Albany.

Equally surprising was the attitude of the Republican high command to the candidacy of the Rev. Lorenzo H. King, seeking election over the incumbent Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan. It was admitted in all quarters that with the present lines of the Congressional district it would be next to impossble to elect a Negro to Congress from the district unless both parties had Negro candidates, but the Republican party having selected Dr. King as its candidate should have stood by him in his fight. Early in October an effort was made to secure party funds for Rev. King's campaign but this resulted in a flat turn-down by the Congressional Campaign Committee which declared itself disinterested and by the County Chairman Kenneth F. Simpson who said no money was available. Left on his own resources and without the financial assistance of the organization, Rev. King did well to poll the 35,842 votes that he received to the 85,027 votes for Gavagan. Analysis shows that Rev. King received the straight organization vote but far too few Negroes in other parties voted for him.

By being elected for his fourth term, Assemblyman William T. Andrews, Democrat in the 21st A. D., becomes one of the senior Democrats in the state legislature and should be an important figure. The election of Daniel L. Burrows to the Assembly and of Charles Perry to the State Senate is not so much a tribute to the political acumen of Harry C. Perry, white Tammany leader of the 19th A. D., as it is a rebuke to the Republican leadership of the district. When even members of Perry's own organization openly knifed his candidates in a revolt against his leadership and came out for the Republican candidates, the surprise is the number of Republican workers who openly worked for the Democratic candidates in reprisal against the domination of the district by the Rivers brothers. While the Democrats were admittedly less capable than their Republican opponents, yet the Republicans were more vulnerable and were openly attacked for taking for themselves the major portion of the district's patronage. Such an attack, understandable to the man in the street, resulted in Republican loss of the district and a further set-back to Negro Democratic aspirations for leadership, for had the district gone Republican a change most certainly would have taken place in the Democratic leadership. As it stands now, the district will remain Democratic just as long as the present Republican leadership continues.

The New York Age particularly regrets the defeat of Amendments 2 and 7 which respectively would have re-districted Harlem and abolished Proportional Representation. The defeat of these two amendments is a defeat to the race's political future and means that no additional members may be elected to Albany as Assemblyman, nor may there be elected a Negro State Senator or a Congressman unless both parties have Negro candidates.

Flush with victory, the Republican high command downtown should take time out to analyze the returns in Harlem and realize that there must be a change not only in local and state Negro leaderships but in the party's attitude in this state if it hopes to bring Negroes back into the fold.

Political - 1938 Elections.

New York.

The Battle for Democracy --- The 1938 Elections in Harlem

This is the last of a series of three articles by James W. Ford on the 1938 election issues facing Harlem.

By James W. Ford

Executive Secretary, Harlem Division, Communist Party

Mr. Garcia-Rivera is (1) a progressive, and has made a splendid record in the State Assembly at Albany. (2) He represents and expresses the feelings and desires of one of the most exploited sections of the population, namely, the Puerto Rican people, who heretofore have had no representation in the governmental councils. (3) He supports the issues of the Negro people and introduced a Civil Rights Bill in the State Assembly, against discrimination. (4) He wholeheartedly supports, and was one of the initiators of, the Harlem Legislative Conference. (5) He is the only candidate around whom a broad campaign can be organized to defeat the Tammany nominee, Alterman. (6) His candidacy is closely connected with the candidacy of Vito Marcantonio, in the 20th Congressional District, against the reactionary Lanzetta.

2. 18th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

In the 18th A.D., Joseph A. Boccia has the Republican and the A.L.P. designation. Boccia is an anti-fascist. The A.L.P. enrollment is 3,039; the Republican, 5,10[illegible]. Mr. Boccia has a chance to defeat Ferenga, the incumbent, who is a reactionary.

3. 19th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

The 19th A.D. is one of the most complicated in Harlem. It is practically a solid Negro district. It has been one of Tammany's strongholds, dominated by Harry C. Perry, the notorious Tammany leader who contemptuously refuses the legitimate demand of the people of the district for Negro leadership.

NEGRO WOMAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER REPUDIATES PERRY

Mrs. Jeanne Wells, Negro woman co-leader in the 19th, and for twenty years active in Democratic Party politics, recently broke with Harry C. Perry on the question of Negro leadership. In breaking with Perry, she issued a public statement in which she said:

"Being deeply interested in the economic, social and educational and political welfare of this district, after deep consideration I have reached the most grave decision of my life. . . . I feel that it is my duty to take a firm stand against the injustices that have been imposed upon this district by our present leader.

". . . If any Negro leadership is to come to this district, it is my sincere belief that the present leader must be stopped from imposing his dictatorial policies upon this district."

Perry refused to consult the organization in choosing candidates for offices in the district. He gave no consideration to the captains of the organizations or the people in the district. This is a case of "behind the door" nomination and control. On this point, Mrs. Wells went on to say:

"Two of the most important offices in this district, viz., the candidates for the State Senate, and the State Assembly, for some reason the leader saw fit to change his candidates."

That is how Harry C. Perry used his usurped power to throw the incumbent 19th District Assemblyman Robert W. Justice, overboard, and place in nomination Daniel Burrows. On this point, Mrs. Wells said:

"It is Harry C. Perry's wish to force his candidates upon the electorate of this district. If Charles Perry and Daniel Burrows are elected, then the hopes of Negro leadership will be passed on forever.

"Assemblyman Robert W. Justice has been a contributing factor to the economic, educational, social and political welfare of this community and district for a period of thirty years. He has been a member of the Assembly for the past three years. He has given us the very best representation that this district has had."

Robert W. Justice was thrown overboard by Perry and the Tammany machine because of his support of the Harlem Legislative Conference, because of his repudiation of the McNaboe Bill, and because of his progressive stand on most issues in the last State Legislature.

Negro leadership in the 19th A.D. is a just democratic demand of the people. But a corrupt Tammany machine has imposed a leadership that does not represent the people. On this issue alone, Tammany needs to be driven forever out of Harlem. A democratic mass organization of the people is needed in Harlem to fight for the needs and demands of the people.

In the last elections, for example, there was a five-way split among the Negro aspirants for leadership. Many individuals worked energetically for unity among the groups and united action around one candidate. This was not effected, and consequently Perry was successful in maintaining his leadership. But there has been considerable advance since last year.

The situation is about as follows in the Democratic Party in the 19th Assembly District, today:

1—There is a group around Dr. Capehart, who is a supporter of Jimmie Hines. Capehart is running in the primaries for nomination to State Assembly. He is thoroughly reactionary, in addition to being associated with Jimmie Hines.

2—The second group in the district is the Harry C. Perry group. The Perry group and the Capehart-Hines group, is the Tammany combination in the 19th A. D. What divides them temporarily is an inner factional Tammany fight between the Jimmie Hines Harlem bloc, and the Chris Sulivan-Harry C. Perry bloc, in the "Hall," downtown.

3. There is a third group in the Democratic Party in the 19th A.D., capable of defeating the Hines-Capehart and the Perry-Burrows combination. That group is the Crispus Attucks Club, headed by Attorney Darwin A. Telesford, Mr. Fred DeMendez, Dr. Charles A. Porter, and Attorney Louis C. Gibbs. These men are progressives. They agree with the Democratic Front program and support President Roosevelt's New Deal program.

A step forward was made by bringing the Crispus Attucks Club, and other groups led by Messrs. Dickens, Lynch, and Steele, into one bloc. It is now possible to unite the majority of enrolled Democrats around this candidate.

4. A fourth group in the district are the supporters of Robert W. Justice, incumbent Assemblyman. The Crispus Attucks and the Allied Clubs are united behind Justice for the Assembly. It may be said in all fairness to Mr. Justice that the high-handed action of Perry was because of Mr. Justice's progressiveness. This summarizes the relation of forces in the Democratic Party in the 19th Assembly District.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE 19TH A.D.

The struggle for democracy in the 19th A.D. consists in defeating the Hines-Perry combination by all means possible. The defeat of Tammany will strengthen the A.L.P. and open up the way for rapid development and consolidation of the progressive movement. Labor organization and unity can be considerably advanced by an all-sided struggle at this moment to break the strangle-hold which Tammany has held over Harlem for a number of years. This is a matter which is of extreme concern not only to the people of Harlem, but to the whole of New York. The Jimmie Hines trial reveals a grip held on all New York, which the blood money and corruption of the policy racket game have placed in the hands of the Tammany machine.

In the second place the Perry-Tammany group in Harlem is unalterably opposed to President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Yet the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Harlem is for President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Tammany's machine control of the Democratic Party in this district prevents the people from effectively expressing their will for President Roosevelt and the New Deal. The primaries offer a splendid chance for the enrolled Democrats to clean out their Party, so that the masses can be mobilized behind Roosevelt and the recovery program, and open up the way for real progress in Harlem.

4. 20TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

In the 20th A.D., Walter Fitzgerald is the incumbent Assemblyman. The situation in this district is important because of its connection with the candidacy of Vito Marcantonio, of the 20th Congressional District. Mr. Fitzgerald has supported the A.L.P. and progressive action in Harlem. He is one of the initiators of the Harlem Legislative Conference. He supported progressive measures in the State Assembly in Albany. He voted against the McNaboe Bill, and supported the Child Labor Amendment.

In the Republican primaries he is unopposed; he is opposed in the A.L.P. by Tammany's candidate. A Tammany clique has been operating in the A.L.P. clubs to demoralize the organization. The progressive forces face the danger that the Tammany candidate may capture the A.L.P. primaries.

5. 21ST ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

The 21st A.D. is another district predominantly Negro. Its present Assemblyman is Attorney William T. Andrews, who is widely known not only in Harlem but throughout the city and state for his progressive record in the State Assembly. Mr. Andrews has received the Democratic nomination.

He is also one of the initiators of the Harlem Legislative Conference. Mr. Andrews has the Democratic and A.L.P. nomination. Mr. Andrews favors the New Deal program. He is at present supporting a campaign to secure jobs for Negroes on the PWA and the housing projects to be opened up in Harlem. Mr. Andrews has proved himself a man of broad vision, able to represent the democratic interests of ALL the people, white and Negro, in his district.

22ND-23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

In these two districts, Tammany

could have been effectively challenged by a Republican-A.L.P. alliance. The situation in the 22nd and 23rd A.D.'s has been complicated by the failure of the County Committee of the A.L.P. to collaborate with the local A.L.P. Clubs and work out a policy for uniting the A.L.P. and Republican Party to defeat Tammany.

In the designation of candidates, the local A.L.P. was not consulted, and designations were made to satisfy certain interests of the County Committee which were wholly at variance with the interests of the local clubs, in the light of the general local situation. Huss certainly should not have been designated by the County Committee over the objections of the local A.L.P.

13TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

The 13th A. D. which is in the general neighborhood of Amsterdam Avenue, south of 125th Street, is a powerful Tammany-Hines district. There are three section: 1, A Negro population around Seventh and Eighth Avenues, constituting about 25 per cent of the total vote. 2, In the Morningside Heights section there is a white middle class population with a good government outlook. 3, In and around Manhattan Avenue there is a large Irish Catholic population.

Recently, the Rockefeller interests served notice to evict tenants, mostly Irish Catholics, in order to "tear down the property to conserve profits by saving taxes." Two hundred families are threatened with eviction. Resentment is running high. Delegations are being organized to see Mayor LaGuardia and Borough President Stanley Isaacs.

The A.L.P. is very active. Large meetings have been organized to hear Councilman Quill speak. The Hines trial is having tremendous effects in exposing Tammany corruption. The incumbent Assemblyman, Sheldrick, is a reactionary. He is opposed by Thomas E. Stone, who has the Republican-A.L.P. designation unopposed.

20TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

The present incumbent to Congress in the 20th C. D. is Lanzetta, a Tammany reactionary. Lanzetta went into Congress in the 1936 election, on the coat-tails of President Roosevelt's landslide. It was only by his demagogic support of President Roosevelt that he defeated Vito Marcantonio by a few hundred votes.

During the past two years he gave lip-service, and that is all, to the New Deal. His Tammany outlook and alliance made him thoroughly opposed to the New Deal and President Roosevelt's good neighborhood policy. He associates with fascists. He has done nothing to solve the burning problems of the people of the district: unemployment, housing, jobs and discrimination against various groups Lanzetta deserves to be defeated in the coming election.

Mr. Vito Marcantonio, who served with great credit, two terms in Congress is the progressive candidate in the 20th C. D. Mr. Marcantonio is opposed in the Republican primaries by a man with a very unsavory record—Kupferman, who has the support of Irving Levy, a reactionary Republican leader. Mr. Marcantonio is designated by the A.L.P., but is opposed by Lanzetta. This opposition has been instigated by Mr. Piscetello, who "strangely" shows collusion with reactionary Tammanyites. Mr. Marcantonio is accused of being a Communist, a "Red," and a radical.

Mr. Marcantonio is chairman of the All Harlem Legislative Conference, a keen student, and energetic fighter for the needs of all of the people of his district. He is a lover of democracy, and in the U. S. Congress can render inestimable service to democratic America.

21ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

In the 21st C. D. there are no primary struggles. The situation calls for no immediate formulation of policy for the primaries. The Communist Party will, in the near future, analyze the situation in detail.

Joseph A. Gavagan, Democratic Party candidate and the present incumbent, is supported by the A.L.P. Doctor Lorenzo H. King, is the Republican Party designee.

V

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Resolution of the 10th Convention of the Communist Party declares:

"The main objective of Labor must be to secure at all costs defeat of the candidates of reaction and fascism. For this purpose labor must strive in every way for the unification of all democratic forces behind a single progressive candidate for each office."

This analysis gives a general estimate of the relation of forces in Harlem.

CONDUCT OF INDIVIDUAL PARTY MEMBERS

The great majority of our Party members have loyally and energetically fought and worked for the line of the Communist Party in the democratic front. They deserve great praise.

However, in certain cases, individual Party comrades have placed personal aspirations above the interest of the Party line. Some comrades have sought out nomination for themselves in the A.L.P. and other parties, when such nominations would work to the disadvantage of the A.L.P., and hamper the Communist Party in its struggle for unity.

These actions are to be condemned, and if continued will be met with the sharpest Party discipline.

There are three main tasks for Communist Party members in the elections that stand before us:

1. In every Election District the Communist Party should conduct its independent campaign (a) bringing forward the full position of the Communist Party; (b) solidly establishing the Communist Party; (c) supporting the progressive forces in the district, but not losing the identity of the Communist Party, and (d) recruiting members into the local Party branches.

2. All Communists must help build and strengthen the A. L. P. so that the policies and agreements reached by its State Committee, as to coalitions with the Republican Party and support to progressive Democrats in given situations may be carried out. Communist Party members should do everything to defeat reactionary invaders in the A. L. P. primaries.

3. Communist Party members should (in every case where designations have been made by the Harlem Division Bureau of candidates of progress who are to be supported in any of the old parties,) do everything possible to help nominate these candidates, in the primaries. Communist Party members should be further guided as to concrete activity, by Section and Branch Bureau executives.

We should, in our contact with voters, make friends with them; and in the light of our struggle for the democratic front, help the progressive forces and aid them toward getting a fuller understanding of the whole struggle for the democratic front. We should strive to recruit members for the Communist Party.

Careful attention to the above three points will build the Party and effectively rout and dispel Red-baiting. The Communist Party has nothing to hide. It works as an organization committed to the support and defense of democracy, and thereby to the realization of socialism.

Political — 1938
Elections

New York

2,000 Voters Hear Browder and Ford On Harlem Election

Browder Questions Lanzetta on Support of New Deal—Marcantonio, ALP Nominee, Good Choice

More than 2,000 Harlem voters who heard Earl Browder speak Wednesday night at the Manhattan Odd Fellows Temple were weighing the Communist leader's keen analysis of the election campaign issues of the 20th Congressional District.

"All the old guides, the old sign-posts, landmarks and banners that the American people learned to depend upon for their political direction," Browder said, "are no more."

He pointed out that everybody knew that there were "reactionary anti-New Deal Republicans and progressive pro-New Deal Republicans."

"The same thing about Democrats," Browder declared. "There are New Deal Democrats and there are anti- New Deal Democrats. And the label doesn't mean anything until you know whether he is for the New Deal of against the New Deal."

QUESTIONS TO LANZETTA

He characterized the American Labor Party as "99.44 per cent pro-New Deal," but warned that everybody who got their names on the A.L.P. primary ballot are not New Dealers.

Urging the voters to be skeptical of political promises and to look underneath party labels, Browder pointed to the case of Rep. James J. Lanzetta, Tammany nominee for Congress in the 20th district, who is also running in the Labor Party primaries against Vito Marcantonio, regular A.L.P. designee.

Reading from a Lanzetta campaign throw-away, the Communist spokesman showed how Mr. Lanzetta had declared he was a "100 per cent supporter of President Roosevelt and the New Deal."

"Let's begin to ask him some questions," Browder continued. "Congressman Lanzetta, if you are a 100 per cent supporter of President Roosevelt and the New Deal, where do you stand on the re-election or defeat of Congressman O'Connor? Congressman O'Connor—the leading Democrat in Congress from New York City. The product of Tammany, chairman of the House Rules Committee. A member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee and the man whom President Roosevelt has denounced as one of the main sabotagers and obstructionists of the New Deal. Congressman Lanzetta is in favor of the re-election of O'Connor. But he asks for your vote in the American Labor Party primary as a 100 per cent supporter of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. You see, it is very important not to trust anybody's word."

AGREE WITH A.L.P. PLATFORM

Browder then proceeded to analyze assertions of Lanzetta and Samuel Kupferman, Tory Republican opponent of Marcantonio, charging that the A.L.P. candidate is a "Communist." He said:

"Now, of course, candidate Marcantonio is not a Communist. He is the selected candidate of the American Labor Party, a selection in which the Communists did not even have a choice. The American Labor Party does not permit us to take part in selecting candidates. We support the American Labor Party ticket, but we have to take it the way it is handed to us.

"But we agree with platform and strategy and tactics of the American Labor Party. Although we do not always agree with their selection of candidates, we must say that in the 20th Congressional District they did a good job when they picked Vito Marcantonio. Marcantonio doesn't have to worry very much about being called a Communist, however. You know, some of the 'best society' in America is called Communist."

TORIES BECLOUD ISAACS

Browder estimated that 75 per cent of the American people are New Dealers. He said the reactionaries know this and they want to becloud the issue by insisting that the people vote on Communism.

"We are not going to oblige them," he declared. "Communism is not the issue in the United States. The majority of the people do not agree with us. But we agree with the majority of the people."

James W. Ford, chairman of the Harlem Division of the Communist Party, preceded Browder on the platform and stated clearly the position of the Communist Party in Harlem. He said:

THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE

"The principal issue in the general elections in November, and therefore the principal issue in the Sept. 20, primaries, is the selection of candidates who support President Roosevelt's New Deal and Recovery Program. Those candidates who oppose President Roosevelt and the New Deal, and therefore the living interests of the great bulk of the people for jobs, security, democracy and peace, such candidates must be defeated at all costs. These are the tasks which face the masses of Harlem.

"In the overlapping districts, the 20th Congressional District, and the 17th Assembly District, we find concrete examples of candidates and issues of which I have spoken. We believe that Messrs. Vito Marcantonio and Oscar Garcia-Rivera, candidates in these two districts are progressives, and we call for voters to support them (as well as the other designees of the American Labor Party). They have fought for the issues of the masses. The reactionaries in the Republican Party have put obstacles in their paths. Naturally, Tammany does not like these men either. Mr. Marcantonio has had the bitterest opposition from reactionaries in the Republican Party, and he is opposed by a candidate of the reactionaries, Kupferman, who is acceptable to the reactionary Republicans because of his unsavory record.

"In the case of the Honorable Oscar Garcia-Rivera, the reactionaries try to kill two birds with one stone. Instead of renominating Mr. Rivera, their choice for last year, they nominated in opposition a young Negro attorney, Johnny Ross, who does not even live in the territory. This single shot is fired against two targets: (1) First, to defeat Mr. Rivera and facilitate the election of the reactionary Tammanyite, Alterman. (2) Second, to deceive the Negro people by designating a Negro candidate where he has no chance of election. Such deceit is the stock-in-trade of the reactionary Republicans."

Major Parties Nominate 5 in N.Y. Primary

Anti-American

5 for Assembly, 1 for Congress, Name 3 in Dist.

10-1-38

NEW YORK — Harlem nominated five major party candidates for the Assembly and one for Congress on Tuesday, while Brooklyn nominated one for the Assembly on the American Labor ticket.

In the Nineteenth Manhattan district Assemblyman Robert Justice and Dr. L. B. Capehart, Democrats, were defeated for the Assembly nomination by Daniel L. Burrows. The successful candidate was the selection of Charles Perry, white leader, whose son was named for the State Senate.

On Two Tickets

In the same district, Dr. Mark E. Rivers, dentist, was nominated for the Assembly by the Republicans and the Labor party.

Assemblyman William T. Andrews of the Twenty-first district, received the Democratic and Labor nominations for re-election. T. R. Poston unsuccessfully contested for the Labor designation.

Conrad A. Johnson was nominated for assemblyman by the Republicans in the Twenty-first and will oppose Mr. Andrews.

In the Seventeenth district in Harlem, Assemblyman Oscar Garcia Rivera, Puerto Rican, was defeated for the GOP renomination by John A. Ross, Jr. Mr. Ross will oppose Meyer Alterman, white Democrat.

The Rev. Mr. King Named

The Rev. Lorenzo H. King, pastor of St. Mark M..E Church, received the Republican nomination for Congress in the Twenty-first district without opposition. He will oppose Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, Democrat, co-author of the antilynching bill.

Frank R. Crosswaithe, labor leader, was also nominated on the Socialist ticket for Congress from the same district.

Mrs. Crosswaithe Named

Mrs. Alma Crosswaithe was nominated on the Socialist ticket for Assemblywoman in the Seventeenth, and Noah C. A. Walters, Crosswaithe associate, in the Twentieth Assembly District.

The Rev. Theophilus J. Alcantara was nominated Labor candidate for the Assembly in Brook-

lyn's Seventeenth district.

Hargrave Faces Lee

In New Jersey, Dr. Frank Hargrave of Orange won the Clean Government Republican nomination for the Assembly. Standing second on the list of twelve assemblymen nominated and polling 46,089 votes. Dr. James Ballou of Montclair, Suburban Republican, lost, polling 30,623 votes.

Dr. James E. Lee was unopposed in the Democratic nominations for the New Jersey Assembly. He will oppose Hargrave in the November elections.

GOP Picks Woman

Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas of Jersey City won a Republican nomination for the Assembly in Mayor Frank Hague's Hudson County.

In Newark's Third ward leader-candidate race in which twenty district leaders are elected and in turn elect their ward leader, there were 64 district leader candidates. Of the 10 men and 10 women who won the Republican election, four are white and 16 colored. In previous years, however, the colored majority always named a leader of opposite race.

White Leader Seen

The outstanding colored candidate for ward leader is Prosper Brewer, who fought to elect twenty candidates committed to elect him. Of his slate three won: H. D. Scotland, Napoleon Sanford and Cornelius Matthews.

Samuel Bernhaut, incumbent Republican ward leader, saw seventeen of his district leader candidates elected. Thirteen of these are colored.

Loses for Freeholder

In Newark, J. Lansing Nevius, candidate for Essex County freeholder, lost the nomination. Mr. Nevius is a retired bank teller and worked for many years in one of the city's largest white banks. He is now in the insurance business.

J. Finley Wilson Will Run For Congress In 1940

NEW YORK, Sept. 30—J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, was endorsed as a 1940 congressional candidate at the recent testimonial of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

Wilson said he would run from the Harlem district.

New York Republicans To Push Candidacy of Negro For Congress Next Year

Dr. Lorenzo H. King to Make Fight for First Congressman from Harlem

Slogan To Be "Swing Along With King"

NEW YORK.—(C)—Announcement this week by the Harlem Correlating Committee for the Election of a Negro Congressman, of the selection of Rev. Lorenzo H. King, pastor of St. Mark's M. E. Church, as the Republican candidate for congressman, was followed closely by the statement that J. Dalmus Steele, City Marshal of New York, had been chosen to manage his campaign.

The Sorrelating Committee had three names from which to select —A. Phillip Randolph, Dr. John H. Johnson, and Dr. King. Careful consideration proved to them that Dr. King would be the most likely candidate to win and secure for the Negroes of Harlem, representation in Congress.

J. D. Steele, an astute politician, and a man who has won the esteem and admiration of thousands in New York, stated Monday that: "In Dr. King we have a candidate who, because of his outstanding ability and knowledge, should transcend all party lines and should be given the support of both white and colored voters. It will give the whites an opportunity to prove their gratitude to the Negroes for their many years of loyalty to the whites. While he was nominated by the Republicans, we feel that he is a candidate of the people and as such should be given the votes of New Yorkers as a whole."

Candidate King said that he was presenting himself from an unselfish standpoint and he intended to make a good race, since he had been drafted by the people and party.

"There is no doubt in my mind as to the whole-hearted support of the ministry," said Campaign Manager Steele. "The Harlem Correlating Committee is not interested in the 1939 campaign for leadership nor in the 1940 presidential campaign, but only in the King-for-Congress battle," he concluded.

The group states it does not, at this time, deem it advisable to give or make any indorsements of any other candidate, feeling that a division of their efforts would militate against the election of Dr. King. But this does not preclude members of the committee from supporting other candidates.

Dr. King has been pastor at St. Mark's M. E. Church, 137th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, for the past five years and in this time has won for himself numerous admirers and friends. He is a former editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate of New Orleans, taught English at Clark University, Atlanta, is a member of the Grand Lodge, York Rite Masons, is an Odd Fellow, K. of P. and received his B. D. degree from Union Theological Seminary and his D.D. from Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

"Swing Along With King" is to be the battle cry throughout Harlem during the coming weeks.

Dr. King Challenges Rep. Gavagan's Right

Challenging the right of Democrat Congressman Joseph Cavagan to claim the support of the Negro community within the 21st Congressional District and urging his hearers to vote a Negro into Congress here for the first time as a measure of protection and self-defense, Dr. Lorenzo H. King, Republican candidate for Gavagan's seat in the House of Representatives, was guest speaker last Wednesday night at the regular monthly meeting of the Heights Community Club.

For Congress

The Rev. Lorenzo H. King

The Rev. King, who is pastor of St. Marks M. E. Church, questioned his white opponent's ability to think and feel black, then asked to what extent had the democratic nominee, whose constituency is partly colored, participated in either the solution of the Negro's community and civic problems, or in supporting and promoting Negro institutions. "To which one does he belong?" Dr. King queried.

Awakening Of Negro

"It is not the requiem of the Democratic party we come to sing; but it is the resurrection of Negro hopes we seek," the speaker said, as he promised a non-political leadership, if elected, based rather on statesmanship which "includes the adjustment of the colored people in their rightful position in the body politic."

He inferred that he would do a better job than Gavagan in obtaining larger positions for Negroes in Federal jobs, in working for better hospitalization, in seeking to stop the Bronx "slave market," in devising legislation to destroy the bar set up by the public utilities against colored employees. He promised to fight against the disfranchisement of 8 million Negroes in the South. "The South is in the saddle when the Democratic party is in power and when the South is in the saddle the Negro is in the dirt," he declared.

J. W. Streety, president of the club, introduced Dr. King as "the type of representative Harlem needs" and declared the time was never so ripe to place community above party and send a Negro to Congress.

Political - 1938 Elections.

New York

The Battle for Democrac

The 1938 Elections in Harlem

By JAMES W. FORD

Executive Secretary, Harlem Division, Communist Party

This is the first of a series of three articles by James W. Ford on the 1938 election issues facing Harlem.

I.

The Communist Party joins with the broad masses in the 1938 election campaign to defeat reaction. The first stage of that campaign, that is the primary elections, will end in New York on Sept. 20.

The primary elections of 1938 will be more decisive than all previous primary elections. The primary election system was instituted and made legal mainly because of the corrupt practice of political machines. The masses must take the fullest advantage of the primaries to select progressive candidates of their own choosing.

Where primary elections have taken place so far we can observe that the struggle has sharpened between the progressive forces and the reactionaries, in particular, between those who stand for President Roosevelt's New Deal program, and the reactionaries who oppose the New Deal. The reactionaries oppose the burning interests of the democratic masses and all that progress means to them: the workers and farmers, the professionals and middle classes, and the Negro people.

The issues have become more clear: Jobs, Security, Democracy and Peace. The National Committee of the Republican Party opposes these issues by subtle subterfuge, by deceitful masking of their party's reactionary character, and by open attack upon President Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Republican leadership united supporting reactionary, anti-New Deal Democrats in New York; Talbings in Maryland; George in Georgia; Smith in South Carolina, against President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Upstate reactionary Republicans and Tammany Democrats united to abolish proportional representation in the Constitutional Convention.

The reactionaries of the Democratic Party are lining up with the reactionary Republicans to hamstring progressive legislation and to prevent new legislation being enacted in the next Congress of the United States. Reactionary Republicans are invading the Democratic Party primaries to defeat progressive Democrats and secure the election of reactionary Democrats who will fight Roosevelt and the New Deal.

HOW REACTION WORKS IN THE PRIMARIES

The Texas Democratic primary struggle between Congressman Maury Maverick and the local corrupt Democratic machine is a lesson for progressives and liberals, not only in Texas but throughout the country. In conceding defeat, Congressman Maverick stated:

"Get rid of the political machines, Democratic or Republican, wherever they are!

"The 'machine' here," warned Mr. Maverick, "is on a level with that in Jersey City."

What more warning do we need?

"I voted for such national reforms," said Mr. Maverick, "as the minimum wage act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

"The silk stocking districts voted against time.

"Many in the East probably think that it was because I voted for the Anti-Lynching Bill," said Mr. Maverick. "True, the opposition raised the issue, and said I was for 'social security,' but that inissue did not lose me any votes."

This undemocratic, one-party system in the South, where a reactionary minority controls the election machinery, hog-ties the progressive forces, which are not strongly organized. If the democratic masses were united around labor and had independent means of organizing all progressive forces, the Democratic primary struggle would not be their last resort. Or, if the Negro people, who are denied the right to vote in the primaries, had the possibility of joining their forces with those of labor and the progressives, there would be a different story in Texas.

IMPORTANCE OF PRIMARY ELECTIONS

In the primary struggles in South Carolina and Georgia, the reactionary Democrats "ganged up" on President Roosevelt. They raise the Negro issue to inflame politically undeveloped masses against Roosevelt. They accuse President Roosevelt of challenging white supremacy and advocating Negro domination. The same people who make as their campaign slogans opposition to the Anti-Lynch Bill and opposition to Hours and Wages for the South, accused the President of being a Communist. That is how they fight against the burning problems that face the South. That is the only way they can meet President Roosevelt's declaration: **The South is Economic Problem Number One of the entire country.**

The primary election struggles represent a battle for democracy. It is not alone in Texas and the South that the primary elections take on such decisive importance; this is also the case in Northern states. The reactionary-controlled Democratic machine in Texas is no different from the Tammany Hall machine in New York. The lessons of Texas and of the primary struggles that have already taken place, in many parts of the country, drive home this point.

Let us summarize the decisiveness of the primary struggle, as it was so brilliantly and prophetically stated by Comrade Browder in his Report to the 10th Convention of the Communist Party, in May of this year.

"The primary elections within the major parties, already over in a few states, continue through the next months up to the middle of September. These elections will be a major test of strength between the two main political camps in the country, of reaction moving toward fascism on the one side and of progress and democracy on the other. The two vital political camps cut across the old party lines, and therefore the struggle in the party primaries becomes equally important with the final elections."

The Communist Party sees the Democratic Front as the most effective means of gathering all forms of the democratic mass movement to defeat the reactionaries and the monopolies, and as a means of consolidating the people for broader democracy. The Trotzkyite and Lovestoneite disrupters try to deceive the masses and make them believe that the Communist Party is abandoning socialism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

The Communist Party has no interests other than the interests of the masses of the American people. Our Party is a minority Party and will never seek to impose its ideas on a majority. We hope to convince the majority to accept them of its own free will. **The Communist Party believes in the expression of the will of the majority of the people.**

Is there a contradiction, in the fact that the Communist Party believes in Socialism and Democracy at the same time? No! Because Socialism is only a higher form of democracy. Democracy was defined by Lincoln as a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." It is the rule of the majority, in the interests of all the democratic people. The Communist Party says if what we have already of democracy in the United States is preserved, and political, social and economic rights are extended in an ever-widening circle, this extension will bring us to the transition to Socialism, the highest form of democracy.

Fascism has brought about a new situation. The enslavement of the working class, the impoverishment of the middle classes to whom fascism made such elaborate promises, the denial of the findings of science, and the kindling of wars in three continents—**that is what democracy has to fear from fascism.**

II. ORGANIZING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN HARLEM

In Harlem, the primary elections present complicated problems in State Assembly and Senatorial Districts, and in Congressional Districts. Our central task in Harlem is to defeat reaction, which is centered in Tammany Hall, at all costs.

All activity during the last several months has been directed toward uniting the democratic front forces in Harlem.

1. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Tammany is still the first Party in all Harlem districts but two. The decline of Democratic Party enrollment shows a shifting of voters and a definite weakening of Tammany domination, however. There are factional differences in almost every local district organization of the Democratic Party. These differences arise in the main because of the domination of the party by corrupt Tammany leaders, which the Jimmie Hines trial is already bringing to light.

The most pronounced difference in the Democratic Party in the Harlem area are:

1. The struggle for leadership in the 19th A.D. against the domination of Harry C. Perry, the Tammany chieftain.

2. The Tammany organization threw the incumbent Assemblyman of the 19th A.D., Robert W. Justice, and State Senator O'Brien, of the 19th S.D., overboard.

3. The organization in the 17th A.D. of an independent "New Deal Democratic Club." This group intended to run a Puerto Rican in the Democratic primary.

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New York

John J. O'Connor

But this would have split the Puerto Rican vote and aided Alterman, the Tammany nominee in the Democratic Party, with the likelihood of defeating Oscar Garcia-Rivera.

4. Tammany engineered a three-cornered fight in the 17th by securing the Republican designation for a young Negro attorney, against Oscar Garcia-Rivera, in order to help the election of Alterman, who was defeated by Garcia-Rivera in the last elections.

5. In the 20th Congressional District, Piscetello, leader of the A. L. P. in the 18th A. D., is "strangely" surrounded by erstwhile leaders of the Pocasset Club, like Di Bassi, Bianci, and Carbonete This movement is clearly aimed to split the A. L. P. and assist Lanzetta, the reactionary Tammany incumbent, for which Mr. Piscetello shares condemnation together with his associates.

2. REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Republican Party enrollment has increased slightly in Harlem, as compared to a decline in the country as a whole. It is the second party to the Democratic Party in all districts except one (the 17th A. D., where the A. L. P. is the second party), and this fact favored a coalition between the A. L. P. and the Republican Party to defeat Tammany reactionaries. In New York there are outstanding progressives in the Republican Party; however, one must never lose sight of the fact that there are strong reactionary forces around the Republican Party.

3. AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

In its first enrollment the American Labor Party registered 41,000 in New York. In Harlem the figures are:

17 A. D. 2989
18 A. D. 3039
19 A. D. 1165
20 A. D. 1184
21 A. D. 1483
22 A. D. 1376
23 A. D. 3828

In the 17 A. D., the A. L. P. is the second party in enrollment strength. Organizationally, however, the A. L. P. is extremely weak in every district but the 23rd A. D., and even there a splitting movement was organized by the former chairman. In the 18th A. D., the struggle against Vito Marcantonio by Luigi Antonini weakens and divides the A. L. P. In the 17th A. D., there is friction between the East Side and the West

JAMES W. FORD

Side Clubs. In the 19th A. D., the organization has just been reestablished with an excellent trade union basis. In the 13th, 21st, and 22nd A. D.s, it is growing slowly. The A. L. P. in the 20th A. D. is very small.

Considering the relation of forces in all parties—and we can point out particularly the progressive current in the Republican Party here in New York, and on the other hand the fact that the progressive forces in the Democratic Party were not able because of the domination of Tammany to make agreements with the forces of labor—it was correct for the A. L. P. to seek agreements where possible with the Republican Party for the advantage of labor and progress.

Mr. Alex Rose, Chairman of the A. L. P., stated the basis of agreement and coalition between the A. L. P. and the Republican Party, as follows:

"We will make coalition with the Republicans where we can be assured that the Republican nominees will be progressives, and will be the type of public servants upon whom labor and the Republicans found it possible to unite in the past, and also who will confine their campaigns to local issues."

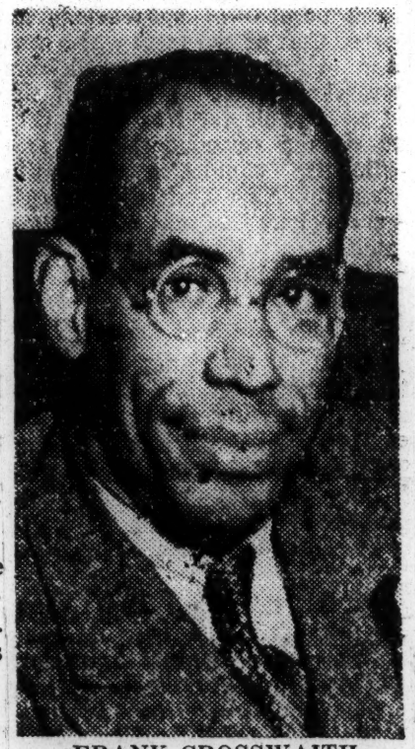
This was a wise move on the part of the A. L. P. The Communist Party thinks that on the whole this agreement is to the advantage of labor and the progressive forces. It would have been fine if in certain localities, agreements could have been made with progressive Democrats. But the Democratic Party rejected such coalition, because they considered the A. L. P. of little significance or that its support of the Democrats would be automatic. This move on the part of the A. L. P., if energetically followed up, will advance the interest of labor and the progressive forces and aid in extending the democratic front in New York.

CROSSWAITH IS CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE SEEKER

Labor Leader Is Named By Socialists for Seat

11-15-38

The Negro Work Committee of the Socialist Party, headed by Mrs. Margaret Lamont, Sunday issued an appeal to the voters of Harlem



FRANK CROSSWAITH

to support the candidacy of Frank R. Crosswaith for Congressman in the 21st Congressional District. Mr. Crosswaith is the Socialist candidate in that district.

Citing Mr. Crosswaith's record as chairman of the Negro Labor Committee and as organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the statement describes him as "the only genuine labor candidate in the field."

The text of the statement follows:

"The men and women of Harlem can do themselves no greater service than to elect Frank Crosswaith to Congress. Both as a distinguished figure in Negro life and as a leading trade unionist, Mr. Crosswaith's election will be a genuine contribution to the deliberations of a Congress which all too often is characterized by a failure to understand the needs of the people.

"Mr. Crosswaith is the only genuine labor candidate in the field.

"The labor movement of Harlem experienced a new birth as a result of Mr. Crosswaith's activities. Because of his efforts, there now exists a Harlem Labor Center, which is the headquarters for some 50,000 workingmen and women in that district.

"As a Negro and labor lecturer, he has addressed hundreds of thousands throughout this country who have responded to the keen social understanding which is his. As a candidate for public office on previous occasions, having run for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the state of New York and Controller of the City of New York, he has contributed to the political knowledge of thousands."

Anna Kross Opens 7th Avenue Office

Out to make history as New York's first woman Supreme Court justice, Magistrate Anna M. Kross opened her Harlem headquarters at Seventh avenue and 133rd street, Tuesday night.

Magistrate Kross told The Amsterdam News this week: "I have implicit confidence that every colored man and woman in Harlem will give me a square deal, irrespective of party. I have given the colored man a square deal, both as magistrate and social worker."

"As a judge I have been aware of the high delinquency rate in the Harlem area, but as a social worker I know that juvenile delinquency and crime in this section have grown out of bad housing conditions, the lack of proper play space and parks, and the great economic insecurity under which tens of thousands of people live in this congested part of Manhattan," Magistrate Kross declared, adding:

"It was this understanding that it is futile to try to check crime until its basic causes are removed, which prompted me to organize the Magistrates Courts Social Service Bureau, a voluntary public agency, which undertakes medical and social rehabilitation of women brought before the Magistrates Courts on charges of prostitution."

The Social Service Bureau in Harlem was organized eight months ago and is located in the Seventh District Court building, 465 West 151st street. It is under the management of Miss Edna Kaalund, a graduate of New York University School of Social Work; with Misses Rita Morrison and Stella Brown as assistants.

According to Miss Kaalund, the bureau was given $1,000 through the efforts of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia from the W. W. Cohan Fund; and during its operation it has rehabilitated seventy-five girls and found lucrative employment for fifteen others.

Operating with a staff of forty Negro physicians, under the direction of Dr. Ernest R. Alexander, the bureau pays the room rents of girls released from prison or hospital until they get home relief or find employment, and are provided with clothing, if necessary, it was said.

Political – 1938

Elections

Ohio

Dr. R. P. McClain Elected President Pro Tem Of Cincinnati City Council

CINCINNATI, Jan. 13 — (By James T. Whitney for ANP)—The Republican party honored Councilman R. P. McClain on New Year's day, by electing him president pro-tem of the City Council. It is the first time in the history of the city, that a member of the race has received this honor.

Dr. McCain, on Jan. 1 began his second term as a member of the council. He was appointed to the Welfare Committee and Chairman of the Committee on Highways and Sewers. The Republicans regained control of the city hall for the first time in 12 years.

Robert L. Vann Boosted for Bench

AKRON, Ohio — President Roosevelt was urged by the past exalted rulers of the Ohio Council of Elks to appoint Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh attorney, to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mr. Vann, a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, was a Republican until 1930, when he became a Democrat.

DEMAND NEGRO APPOINTMENTS TO KEY POSTS

Ohio Negro Democrats, meeting as the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Democratic League at Columbus last Sunday, launched the beginning of a vigorous campaign for increase in the number and calibre of federal appointments in the state. The Executive Committee is composed of one representative from each congressional district in the state, and will meet quarterly in accordance with the new constitution and by-laws set up since the recent incorporation of the organization.

Last Sunday's meeting was the first under the new organization plan, and the body immediately proceeded to the election of permanent officers. Attorney Emmer Martin Lancaster, Akron Democratic leader and chairman of the Akron NAACP Legal Committee, was elected president. Another attorney, Joseph E. Bowman of Columbus was elected vice-president, and Mrs. Zephyr Newlan, vice-president of the Negro Democratic Council in Cleveland, was elected secretary.

After prolonged deliberations, during which the need for greater federal patronage was the burning issue, the Committee drafted the following resolution to be submitted to James A. Farley, Chairman of the National Democrat Committee, and to national Democratic leaders throughout the country:

(Whereas, over a period of the last six years of Democratic national rule organized Negro Democrats of Ohio have been accorded practically no recognition in federal patronage, and

Whereas, a great number of the recent federal agencies touch in a vital way the lives of thousands of Ohio Negroes, and

Whereas there is a definite need for Negroes in important key positions to insure justice and fair administration of the high ideals and objectives of the fine Democratic program, and

Whereas our anxiety in perpetuating the success of our Democratic party requires representative and outstanding appointments of Negroes in some of the many new positions of authority and respect which the Negro's constant intellectual progress merits, and

Whereas, we are experiencing now in our preliminary work for Democratic candidates for office greater difficulty than we have known in the past six years. Be it therefore resolved that we, the members of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Democratic League Inc. at its regular quarterly meeting in Columbus, request and urge upon the Honorable James A. Farley, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that immediate and tangible efforts be made to remedy the patronage situation among the Ohio Negro Democrats, and

Be it further resolved that copies of these resolutions be sent to all Congressmen and Senators from Ohio and to the Democratic National Committeeman from Ohio.

After the meeting was over, the committee was entertained at the fashionable Belmont Club with an elaborate dinner by the president, Thomas J. Davis, and State Organizer, S. C. McAllister. In addition to the Committee, the guests who were present at the Club were as follows: Messrs. James Lewis, Akron; Watkins Davis and John Carmack, Cleveland; and Attorney Benjamin Fisher, Toledo.

The Committee is as follows: Attorney Emmer Martin Lancaster, Akron; Atty. Joseph E. Bowman, Columbus; Nelson Zimmerman, Piketon; C. J. McLin, Dayton; Charles Scott, Lima; Mose Haynes, Mansfield; Charles Borden, Gallipolis; Perry Burroughs, Toledo; Atty. Charles Carr, George W. Burden, John A. Cobbs, Dr. J. D. Merida, and Mrs. Zephyr Newlan, all of Cleveland; Leroy Phillips, Edward McReynolds, Cincinnati; Morris Upthegrove, Paulding; Atty. Sully Jaymes, Springfeld; Edward Pettiford, Freemont; Henry Powell, Canton; Mrs. Grace Murray, Steubenville; Dr. Clyde Hall, Youngstown. After being entertained by their genial hosts the committee and guests left for their respective homes. The next meeting will be held in Cleveland April 1.

In line with the expressed protest of the Ohio State Democratic League over the lack of federal patronage in Ohio, a number of Clevelanders entertained at luncheon at the Phillis Wheatley, Wednesday, for Ralph E. Mizelle, attorney in the office of the solicitor of the Post Office Department, and engaged in a round table discussion over the fact that the Democratic Negroes in Ohio get only the merest crumbs of federal patronage while Republican Negroes have cornered the few important positions that have come through.

The luncheon was presided over by Luther R. White, business manager of the Eagle, and was attended by the following: Atty. Charles V. Carr, Mrs. Lena G Brown, Lady Ward Leader of the 18th Ward. Mrs. Grace Reid, Mrs Zephyr Newlan, secretary of the Ohio State Democratic League County Chairman James R. Devitt, County Clerk John J. Busher, Leonard Fuerst, Thomas J. Davis, John W. Carmack, Dr. J. D. Merida, Watkins Davis, Atty. Peter Boult, and Ormond A. Forte.

Seeks Judgeship

Attorney Joseph E. Bowman who has been endorsed by the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Democratic League which met in Cleveland two weeks ago, is expected to make a spirited bid for the short term post on the Ohio Supreme Court during the coming primaries.

Mr. Bowman, an outstanding member of the Columbus Bar, has practiced before the Ohio Supreme Court on a number of notable occasions. Judges of that court reveal that Mr. Bowman has established some outstanding precedents during his handling of cases.

The Ohio State Democratic League, with affiliated organizations in forty counties, plans to take Mr. Bowman's candidacy into every county in the state and thus insure his nomination in August.

Petitions for a Supreme Court candidate must include at least one thousand signatures from at least thirty counties.

Mr. Bowman received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Johnson C. Smith University and his law degree from the Illinois College of Law, now the law department of DePaul University.

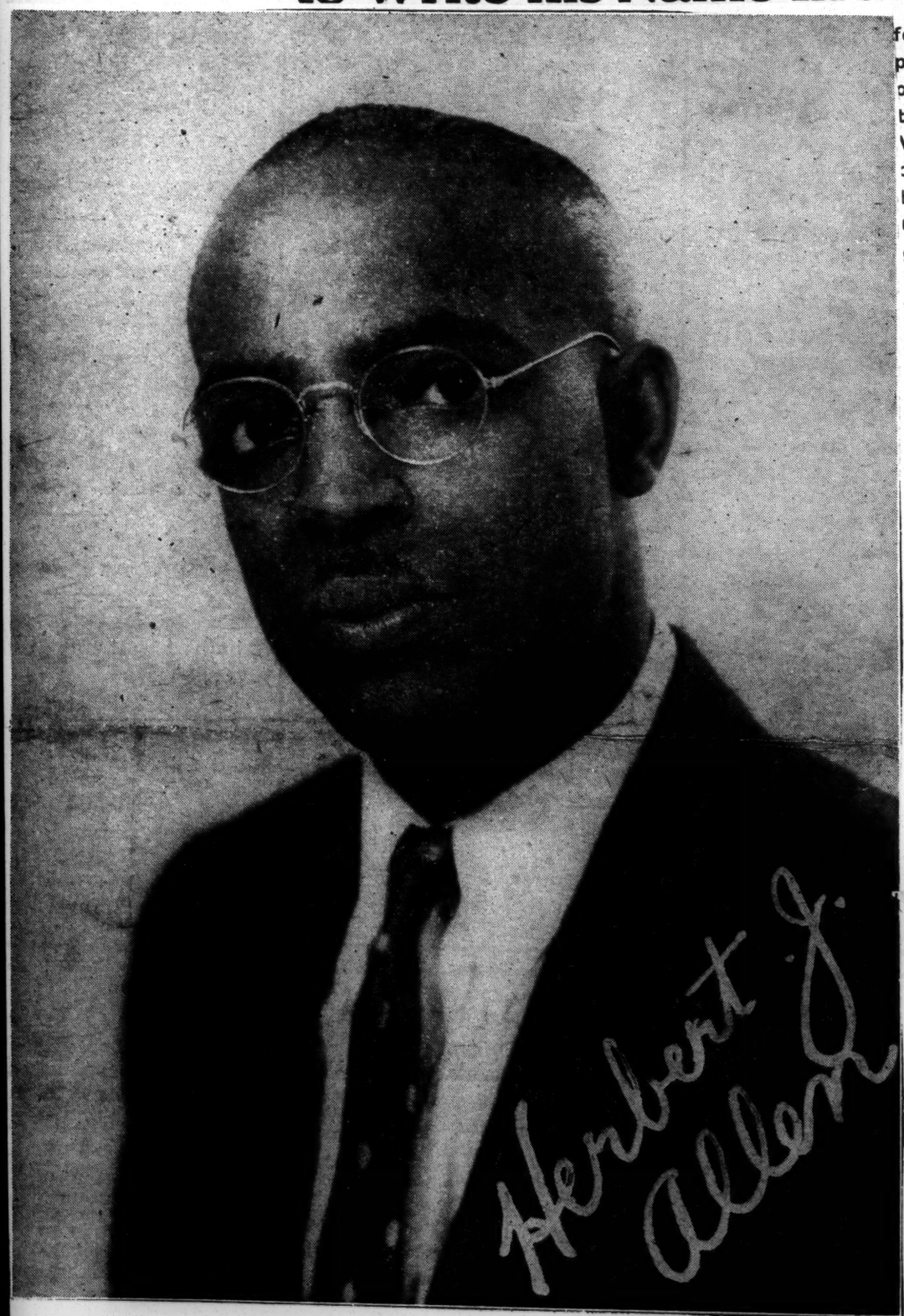
He resides with his wife at 557 East Spring street, Columbus, and is a member and elder of the Bethany Presbyterian Church.

Independent Democratic Candidate !

Herald 8-4-38 Cincinnati Ohio.

For 16th Ward Committeeman !

Vote Primary, August 9th. --- Don't Forget to Write his Name In !



Herbert J. Allen has yielded to his fellow citizens and become an Independent candidate for committeeman of the 16th Ward! His petition was thrown out because of a mistake. Voters for him must write his name on the ballot! He has been endosed by the Colored Council of Democratic Clubs! They know that this is their golden chance to win a place in the limelight of the party, that now holds thousands of colored voters, tired of being used and abused by Republican politicians!

The whites who do not want a Negro committeeman, claim that such few of his people can write that it will be impossible for him to be elected!

BESIDES, THEY SAY, IF ONE IS TO BE ELECTED, THEY WISH TO NAME HIM, SO THAT THEY CAN HAVE AN "UNCLE TOM," HAT IN HAND, RUBBER STAMP, NEGRO SUCH AS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ALWAYS GETS FOR WARD CAPTAIN OR COUNCIL! They will leave no stone unturned to beat Allen. Cheap Negro traitors will be bought, and if any tricks can be turned in the count, there'll be lots of guys on that job.

The election of Herbert J. Allen, whose record is "as clean as a hound's tooth," will send Cincinnati Democratic stock sky high.

HE IS 100 PER CENT DEMOCRAT!

HE IS 100 PER CENT DAVEY!

HE IS 100 PER CENT NEGRO!

HIS FRIENDS WHO BEGGED HIM TO GET IN THE FIGHT,

ARE HUSTLING FOR HIM DAY NIGHT,

AND IF THE CLUBS COUNCIL WILL DO,

THE BEST IT CAN,

THE DEMOCRATS WILL ELECT ALLEN,

THEIR FIRST COLORED MAN!

Bowman Outlines Reasons For Race Support Of Dems

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Joseph E. Bowman, outstanding member of the Columbus Bar and recent candidate for the Ohio Supreme Court on the Democratic ticket, in a statement to the press this week, lashed candidates and those supporting the Republican cause in the coming election for the specious arguments resorted to by the Republicans to fool Negroes back into a party which has betrayed them."

Cleveland Ohio Herald 10-21-38

Relative to these efforts and arguments to fool Negro voters back into the Republican party, Mr. Bowman said: "In an address at a Republican Rally sponsored by the Trumbull County Republican Club in Warren on the 30th of September last, Judge W. P. Kohlmann, Republican candidate for Congress said, "Because the main-stays of the Democratic Party are in the South and because the South refuses to allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic Primaries, Negroes in the North should return to the Republican Party."

"This is one of the specious arguments resorted to by Republicans to fool Negroes back into the party which has betrayed them.

"Only gullible Negroes are deceived by such argument. The intelligent Negro in the North knows that nothing he has ever done has contributed more to freeing his Southern brothers from their political and economic thraldom than his support of the Northern wing of the Democratic Party.

"White leaders of thought, both Democrats and Republicans, North and South, also realize this. Just the other day Mark Sullivan, veteran political analyst, said: 'The New Deal has, as part of its aim and purpose, to bring about greater political power for those in the New Deal terminology spoken of as 'underprivileged'. This means Southern share-croppers and laborers, both White and Negro. This purpose is being carried out along several lines. One is a movement to abolish the poll tax in the eight states where it still exists. The movement has come to success in Florida. In Arkansas it will be passed on in the November election.

" 'In addition to New Deal idealism, there is a practical political reason for assuring suffrage to Negroes in the South. In 1932 and 1936 presidential elections, Negroes in Northern cities voted as a mass for the Democratic ticket. Among the reasons for this was an expectation on the part of Negroes that the Northern Democratic leaders now in control would raise the status of the Negro of the Northern Democratic leaders who now control the party, the South sees ahead the end of the limitations of Negro voting, which the South has had ever since the Civil War."

"Be not deceived fellow Negro Democrats. You can make your ballot as mighty a weapon in freeing your Southern brothers from their economic and political thraldom, as was the sword in freeing them from their physical bondage.

"At the same meeting Dr. Gilbert Jones, former president of Wilberforce University, told the audience the Republican party had neglected them in the past, but now realizes its mistake and that if they would return they would be treated better.

"That reminds the writer of a man who had so grossly neglected and mistreated his wife that she had every ground for divorce known to the law. She remained dutiful and loyal to him long after loyalty had ceased to be a virtue. When she could endure no more she divorced him and married another man who proved a model husband. Under better treatment, the woman became more attractive than ever, meanwhile her divored husband became the victim of one misfortune after another until he was completely down and out. He then "came to himself," and remembering how grossly he had mistreated his ex-wife, proposed that if she would divorce her second husband and remarry him he would treat her better. Is it strange that her answer was, 'You are either as crazy as hell, or else you think I am."

"And that is the answer intelligent Negroes are now giving to the Republican Party.

"When for years that party through Negro support maintained itself in power and control, and could do something for the Negro, it chose to do nothing; now that it is discredited and has nothing to offer, it makes large promises of what it will do, if and when. That is too remote and uncertain. Why release the bird in the hand for the one to be captured in the bushes."

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Ohio

THREE WARDS

Saved For Davey

By Negro Vote, Political Observers Assert.

8-18-38

The Negro vote in the Democratic primary saved three wards in Cincinnati for Governor Martin L. Davey, the official count showed.

In the Ninth Ward, the socalled "white" precincts voted heavily in favor of Charles Sawyer, but the precincts inhabited by Negroes in Walnut Hills registered heavily for the Governor, enabling him to carry the ward, 913 to 818.

In the Sixteenth Ward, inhabited almost entirely by Negroes, and until the day of the Works Progress Administration a Republican stronghold, Governor Davey scored heavily. He carried this ward 445 to 319. The Democrats cast within 40 of the total Republican vote in the district.

Negro precincts in Ward 17 also enabled Governor Davey to carry this ward. The vote was Davey, 596; Sawyer, 411.

Ward 18, another Westside Ward with a large Negro population, but with a majority of white voters, returned a majority for Sawyer. The vote was Davey, 562; Sawyer, 775. Jack Abrams, Democratic Chairman in that ward, was a strong supporter of Sawyer.

Sawyer carried 23 of Cincinnati's 26 wards. An unofficial total of the vote in Cincinnati, which is subject to a final check today, was Davey, 16,242; Sawyer, 23,456.

Sawyer carried Norwood, Cheviot, Reading, Lockland and nine of the 23 townships. Harrison, Miami, Whitewater and Crosby Township went for Davey. In Crosby Township the total Democratic vote was 50, divided 30 for Davey and 20 for Sawyer.

Sawyer carried three of the four wards in Lockland, but the big Negro ward, known as Greenwood, made the race a close one there. The vote in the Negro ward was Davey, 124; Sawyer, 65. Lockland totals were Davey 124; Sawyer 65. Lockland totals were Davey 201; Sawyer 205.

Attorney Joseph E. Bowman, who ran in the primaries on the Democratic ticket for Supreme Court Judgeship, short term, made a wonderful showing, regardless of ultimate results. 8-18-38

The following excerpt is in answer to my request for information:

Columbus, O., Aug. 12.

Editor Dabney.

My Esteemed Friend:

I have your brief letter and am glad to get it. I, like yourself, do not know the actual results of my contest. On the day after the election the first report was as follows:

Bowman, 115,000 plus; Dixon, 110,000 plus. The next report: Bowman, 138,000 plus; Dixon, 134,000 plus. The next: Bowman, 150,000 plus; Dixon, 149,000 plus. And finally: Bowman, 170,000 plus; Dixon, 172,000 plus. At the office of the Secretary of State statement was made that only the official count, which requires several days, will reveal the actual result of this contest.

Personally, I am elated over the results of my efforts. I do not believe it has a precedent anywhere in the history of the country: A Negro aspiring to one of the highest offices within the gift of the people in one of the greatest states and securing such a vote.

When I decided to enter the race I had two purposes in view: First, to become a symbol of Negro aspirations today for the higher and better things.

Second, to reveal how potent the Negro has become as a political factor. How well do you think my efforts have accomplished these purposes?

Yours hastily,

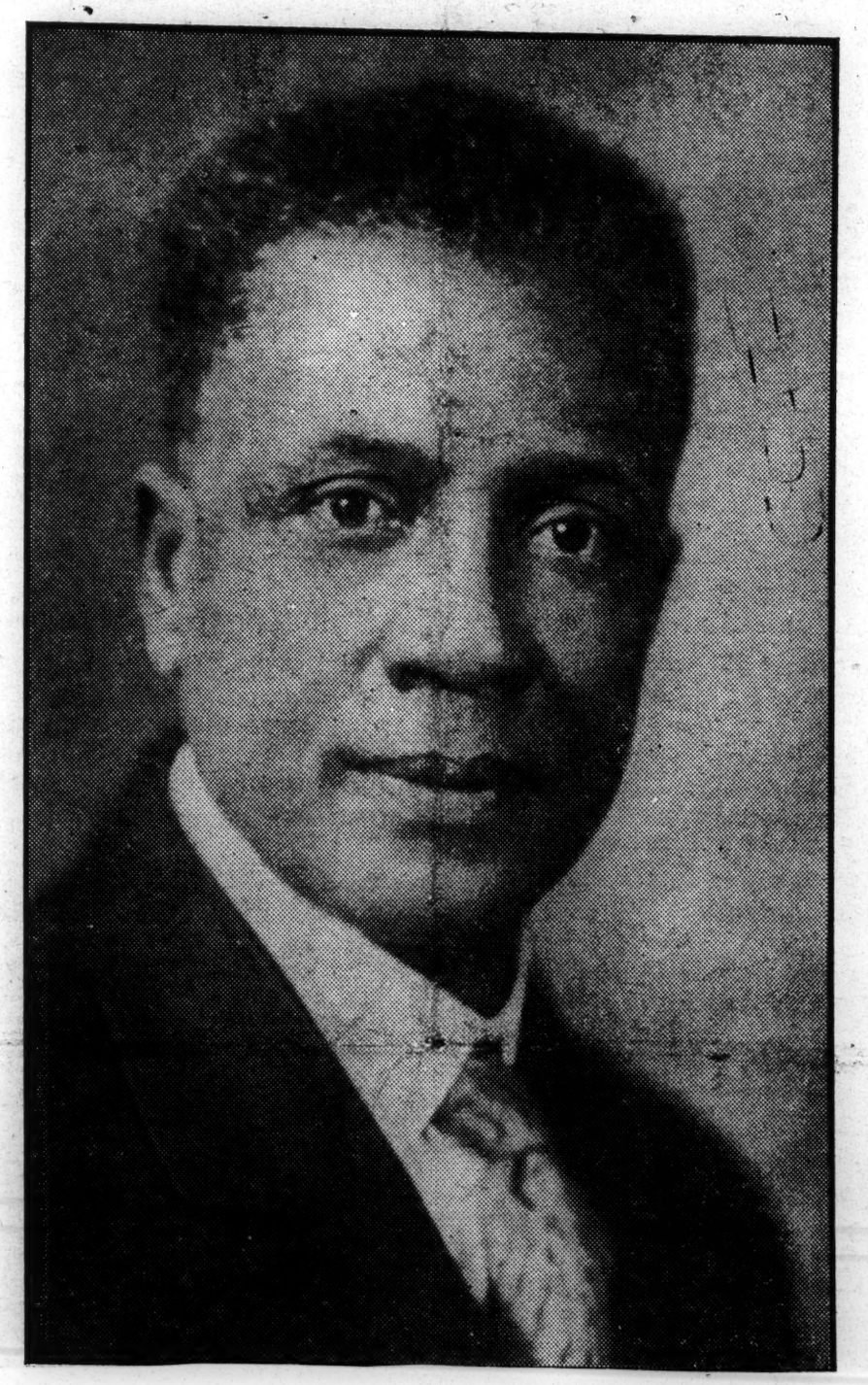
BOWMAN.

* * *

Mr. Bowman merits national commendation, both for his racial aspirations, and the very successful effort he made to illustrate the chance a Negro has to obtain preferment in open competition with white lawyers so eminently qualified for Ohio's highest judicial position. Even though he loses in the count, he has won in public estimation. Fortunately for us, the gentleman is exceptionally well endowed mentally and otherwise to most ably represent his race, his party, his State. And, apart from that, socially speaking, he makes what is extremely rare in these days of modernism, where conversation is virtually a lost art, extremely agreeable company.

Dabney.

Bowman's Record Breaking Racial Achievement!



Political – 1938
Elections.

Oklahoma

Tulsa Negro Up For Commissioner In Spring City Election

TULSA, Okla., March 11—(ANP)—Last Wednesday's rush at the city auditor's office as filings opened for the spring elections was made noteworthy when it was learned that for the first time here a Negro had filed as candidate for city office.

Lafayette I. Wilson, well known hotel keeper, filed on the Democratic ticket in the race for Commissioner of Finance and Revenue. Wilson's campaign manager, Wilbur Moffitt stated that Wilson is not lined up with any faction, but will make his bid for public office strictly "on" his own.

Wilson's filing invoked considerable discussion in political circles as Negroes throughout the country are more and more coming out for public offices. One group of politicians are saying that Wilson was put into race by a white candidate to split the votes, while others cling to the theory that it is political suicide for a Negro to run for office. They say that the time is not ripe, and that the white folks will push the race further back, fire Negroes from their jobs and take away certain political patronage. Still others say that they will string along with Wilson and take their chances because they feel that if the Negro race is to advance, some chances must be taken. They also say that the Negroes pay taxes just as the whites and are entitled to run for public office.

Organizations and clubs are being formed to block a move current that another Negro will enter the race, just in case Wilson steps out too far, so his wings can be clipped. The Negroes here are behind Wilson 100 per cent and any other Negroes who seek to block the play will be doomed in this town.

For a southern city, Tulsa surpasses a number of northern and western cities where there are no "jim crow" laws, when it comes to getting things done for Negroes. One significant point of progress here is the employment of Negroes by the Public Service Company as bus operators.

Ragsdale In Council Race At Muskogee

MUSKOGEE, Okla., April 1—Theodore R. Ragsdale, 35-year-old mortician of this city, made history here when he entered the six-cornered race for city council thereby becoming the first member of the Race in Oklahoma ever to enter a race for city council.

The only Race entrant in the primary with five white men, Ragsdale, showed surprising strength when he came in third. He had entered as an independent and is still waging a battle as an independent. He is given a better than even chance by competent political observers to win in the run-off which comes April 5.

Ragsdale has been a lifelong resident of Muskogee, attended schools in this city, entered the funeral business, which his father, W. M. Ragsdale, established in 1902. He is married, has one child, Ted Jr. and is well known to all residents throughout Muskogee county.

Muskogee Man In Councilmanic Race

MUSKOGEE, Okla. — (ANP)—Theodore R. Ragsdale, 35-year-old mortician of this city, made history here when he entered the six-cornered race for city council.

The only colored entrant in the primary with five white men, Ragsdale showed surprising strength when he came in third. He had entered as an independent and is still waging a battle as an independent. He is given a better than even chance by competent political observers to win in the run-off, which comes April 5.

Securing the support of the Women's Federated clubs, Ministerial alliance and the Commercial Business club, Ragsdale was able to bring out the largest Negro vote in the city's history. At present an organization of workers is busily engaged in enlisting and registering other voters. They plan to have fully 4,000 voters registered by April 4.

Ragsdale has been a lifelong resident of Muskogee, attended schools in this city, entered the funeral business, which his father, W. M. Ragsdale, established in 1902. He is married and has one child, Ted, Jr., is well and favorably known to all residents throughout Muskogee County. Civic minded from early childhood, he belongs to every organization in the city.

His brother, L. E. Ragsdale, is campaign manager for Ted and thru his efforts has secured support for him both from whites and colored.

The firm of Ragsdale Brothers, morticians, is known thruout eight counties surrounding Muskogee.

Political - 1938
Elections.

Oklahoma

Negro on Tulsa City Ticket for Spring Elections

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Political - 1938
Elections

North Carolina

Durham, N. C., Morning Herald
April 26, 1938

Durham Negroes Hope To Place More Names On Election Books

Filing Of Members Of Race For Two Important Political Posts Indicates Interest In Making People More Politically Conscious

Durham Negroes, who for the first time in the city's history have entered Democratic candidates in two of the principal primary contests, hope to increase the number of their registered voters to 5,000 or more as a result of their participation in the election, leaders said yesterday.

At present there are approximately 3,500 Negroes on the registration books in the city and county. Within five or 10 years this number should easily be increased to 10,000, Negro leaders declared.

The two principal Negro candidates are M. Hugh Thompson, attorney, who is running for the board of county commissioners, and L. E. Austin, editor of a local newspaper, who is seeking election to the board of education. Two other Negroes, William Kelly and Frederick K. Watkins, are running for justice of the peace, but their election is automatic due to the large number of magistrates permitted by law.

The appearance of Thompson and Austin on the Democratic ticket is a distinct departure from the political role played by Durham Negroes in the past, leaders said yesterday, and presages the beginning of more active participation in primaries and elections.

Most of the political activity among the race in the past, Negro leaders said, has been promoted by white candidates desirous of support from the colored sections of the city. As a result the Negro population has grown more and more politically conscious until it is no longer content to play only a passive role but desires its own candidates, it was pointed out.

Durham, N. C., Morning Herald
June 4, 1938

NEGROES URGED BY WASHINGTONIAN TO VOTE FOR REYNOLDS

Reports that a Negro official from the U. S. department of the interior arrived in Durham recently and spent yesterday conferring with many of the prominent Negroes in behalf of Senator Bob Reynolds' candidacy received wide circulation late yesterday. Inquiries revealed that the visitor had spoken with many of the Negro leaders in behalf of Senator Reynolds, that he holds a prominent post in the department of the interior, and that he came to Durham in an unofficial capacity to help Reynolds. He told a number of supporters of Representative Hancock of Oxford, Reynolds' opponent in today's Democratic primary, that he was not sent to Durham by the administration but came here purely out of friendship for Reynolds.

Sanford, N. C., Herald
April 25, 1938

FOR OFFICE

A negro tailor of Burlington filed on Friday as a candidate for the North Carolina House of Representatives on the Alamance county Democratic ticket. The negro, M. K. Tyson, is a World War veteran, past secretary of the National Association of Negro Tailors and Dressmakers, and former commander of the Alamance county negro war veterans post.

He is believed to be the first negro candidate in Alamance county and one of the few in the state since reconstruction days.

1,600 Vote For Race Candidate

Journal and Guide
6-11-38

Special to Journal and Guide

Durham, N. C.—Mr. Hugh Thompson, local attorney, polled 1,600 votes in the June 4, Democratic primary election for the office of commisisoner of Durham county and some of these votes were cast by white voters in this section. The majority of Mr. Thompson's support came from predominantly colored precincts.

Louis E. Austin, editor of the Carolina Times, is a candidate for an office on the Durham county school board and his name will be considered by local voters in the general election.

All of the other candidates endorsed by the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs at the recent political mass meeting, led in the primary.

Leaders of the committee expressed themselves as satisfied with the showing of Lawyer Thompson in the primary race. It was observed locally that white people of the community took the candidacy of the Negro lawyer as a matter of of course and political leaders in the city have heard very little adverse criticism. This was interpreted as an indication that race relations in Durham were improving and political observers are greatly encouraged about the prospects for electing race leaders to important political jobs.

Loses Election For Second Term As Magistrate

RALEIGH, N. C.—(ANP)—After serving one term as a magistrate, H. C. High, only member of his race entered in the primary, was defeated for reelection, according to official county returns tabulated Tuesday by the county election board.

The city is entitled to nine magistrates and there were exactly nine persons and High running for office, with High polling 2,813 votes for last.

When he was first elected two years ago, Raleigh was entitled to 40 magistrates and High won automatically when less than 40 filed for the positions. His work as a magistrate won favorable comment from white and colored attorneys.

RACE BALLOT ELECTION KEY IN N.C. TOWN

Defender

Inspired By Victory, Group Plans Greater Use Of Vote

6-11-38

WILSON, N. C., June 17—Race voters are jubilantly celebrating their first political victory achieved here when they were instrumental in defeating all office holders considered unfavorable to Race citizens at the County election held last Saturday.

The defeat of Tom Ellis, county commissioner, was viewed as the outstanding upset of the election. Race voters were particularly opposed to Ellis because of his anti-Race record.

Rev. Richard A. G. Foster, pastor of St. John A.M.E. Zion church, and militant leader, is actively working to get every Race person in the city qualified to vote at the next election. If this movement is successful Rev. Foster and other leaders hope to run a Race man for some county office.

In a recent sermon Rev. Foster told his congregation that "the only hope for political salvation lies in the vote." Continuing he said, "Vote for your friends and defeat your enemies and the day will come soon when Race persons will be running for public office."

Loses Election for Magistrate in N. C.

Courier
June 18

RALEIGH, N. C., June 15—After serving one term as a magistrate, H. C. High, only member of his race entered in the primary, was defeated for re-election, according to official county returns tabulated Tuesday by the county election board. The city is entitled to nine magistrates and there were exactly nine white persons and High running for office, with High polling 2,813 votes for last.

When he was first elected two years ago, Raleigh was entitled to 40 magistrates and High won automatically when less than 40 filed for the positions. His work as a magistrate won favorable comment from white and colored attorneys.

Place In Politics For Women, Believes First Race Woman Elected To Pennsylvania Legislature: To Represent All

By BERNICE DUTRIEUILLE-SHELTON

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)—We found her . . that dynamic little person, Crystal Byrd Fauset, the first Negro woman ever to be sent to the state legislature in the history of Pennsylvania . . just outside her district polling place the night of elections.

It had blown cold and stormy. The exquisite platinum moon which had shed radium-like rays over all the city raising the hopes of Republican stalwarts and anti-New Dealers, suddenly stole swiftly and quietly behind murky clouds blown hither and yon in the heavens by unheralded gusts of November winds.

CRYSTAL SMILES

"Democratic weather!" someone cried. We couldn't determine if it was a tone of dismay or rejoicing. But Crystal smiled, because she was a candidate on the Democratic ticket! Turning to the woman whose five feet few inches and personality punch had smashed through against all opposition and won for her the congratulations she was now receiving, we asked:

"How does it feel, being the first colored woman to go to the state legislature?"

"I do not consider it a personal honor at all," she said solemnly and with characteristic deliberation. "I consider it rather a recognition of Negro womanhood. I think it is a tribute to them....to their earnestness and their own efforts. It is a tribute to the growing consciousness of colored women's increasing enlightenment; to their corresponding awareness of their own sense of responsibility in taking an active part in the affairs of this country's administration." She paused.

"I feel no personal elation over the matter," she resumed. "I am not in the least excited over the prospect of going to the state legislature. On the contrary, I am very calm. It is the women who deserve all the credit for the success in making the force of their numbers and voice felt and heard, and placing a representative of their own choosing in office.

FOR ALL WOMANHOOD

"Of course my interest is not for my own group alone. It is for womanhood in general, and my efforts shall be directed toward the further development of women of all races.

The most significant fact about it all, she felt, was that Negro women were "making history for themselves in helping to send a woman of our race to the state legislature. And to make history in our own life time," she cried with fervor, "is a fine step forward!"

Did she prefer politics to YWCA work?

"Unquestionably, my experience in YWCA work has been invaluable to me. It has given me a broader outlook on social problems.....locally, nationally and internationally. It was an experience which I personally would urge young women to try to have who plan to go into public life at all.

It was inevitable, too, she would have us know, that woman should enter politics because that machine threatened to become absolutely inhuman and needed the softer, gentler, subtler "Woman's touch." Representative Fauset's hobby is music. "I love the piano and voice, and long miles in the open country," she smiled. "But you see what precious little time I've had to give to a hobby. I've been so busy trying to inculcate in my women a spirit of political consciousness for their own sake. Politics do not necessarily take the woman out of the home, she wanted that point made clear.

HAS GREATER OPPORTUNITY

"As a matter of fact," she philosophized, "a woman who is, or has at any time been engaged in public life, has a greater opportunity for taking something very fine back into that home with her. They have seen the scheme of things as they really are.

"They know what is of value and what is non-essential to the development of both home and government. They know pretty well the worthwhile people and those who are fakers and fourflushers. In addition they take back into the home poise, broadmindedness, tolerance, because of the wisdom that comes with understanding and knowledge such as they could never have gained under any other circumstances. They are refined gold!

"Mrs. Roosevelt has set a precedent! She is an excellent illustration of my point, exactly."

It seems that everything Crystal Byrd Fauset has done in a public way in her life work has been fashioning her for her present position as the first woman to represent her people in the state legislature.

CAN HOLD AUDIENCE

In the first place, she has the type of voice and personality to hold audiences and great masses of people spell-bound. She has ability, aggressiveness and an indomitable will—not to mention training and wide and varied experiences; first, as national colored Girl Reserve secretary with the National YW board in New York, during which time she traveled all over the nation directing and helping to organize different branches of this Girl Reserve movement; then, as interpreter of Negro life for the American Friends Service committee, lecturing at high schools throughout Philadelphia, and in 1933 as chairman of the transition committee of the YWCA, introducing the modern trend in the set-up.

In private life she is Mrs. Arthur Huff Fauset, wife of a Philadelphia school principal. "And I can do anything around a home that any other housewife can do," she assured us.

FIVE NEGROES TO LEGISLATURE IN PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA — Five Negroes, including one woman, were elected to the Pennsylvania state legislature in Tuesday's election

They are: 11-18-38

Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Democrat, the first Negro woman ever to sit in the legislature in the history of the state.

Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, Democrat, reelected.

Hobson R. Reynolds, Democrat.

William A. Allmond, Democrat.

E. Washington Rhodes, Republican, who defeated Samuel D. Holmes, Democratic incumbent. He was the only Negro Republican elected

Reynolds is a former Republican member of the legislature.

LADY LAWMAKER

MRS. CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSET
of Philadelphia who was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives last week. The 1st Pennsylvania's, and probably the country's, first colored assemblywoman.

The first of her race to ever be elected to a state assembly, Mrs. Crystal Bid Fausett of Philadelphia, will take her seat when the legislature convenes in January. Mrs. Fausett was elected to represent the 24th, 34th and 44th wards of Philadelphia, a district in which white voters outnumber colored two to one on the democratic ticket.

Political - 1938

Elections

Pennsylvania

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
January 13, 1938

DEFEATS ITS OWN PURPOSE

Negro Elks have called upon the President to consider 15,000,000 Negroes in considering a Pittsburgh Negro attorney for the vacancy on the supreme court bench.

There is nothing whatever to bar the Negro from this position, if the President sees fit to appoint him, but we dislike the suggestion of considering 15,000,000 Negroes or 15,000,000 of any group in making judicial appointments.

A supreme court justice, like his fellows of the lower benches is there to serve every class and group of socity, not to protect the interests of a certain faction. The Negro appeal is therefore untenable in its own language.

Shepard To Run For U. S. Congress

Pittsburgh Courier 2-17-38

Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, at present a member of the State Legislature, last Thursday announced his candidacy for Congress.

Shepard will make his fight in the 2nd district, composed of the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 24th, 27th, 30th, 36th and 44th wards. The district is now represented by Gongressman James P. McGranery.

Philadelphia Record

Shepard was the first colored Democrat to be elected to the House. He is now serving his second term.

CAMPAIGN FOR NEGRO ON HIGH COURT BENCH 'MAKING HISTORY'

Says "Unified and Growing Support" for Courier Editor Marks Significant Step In Race's Progress.

Pittsburgh Courier

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N-!

TRENTON, N. J., Mar. 31—Lawyers of the Fourth Regional District of the National Bar Association, comprising the States of Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey, met here today with President William L. Houston and unanimously endorsed Robert L. Vann for appointment on the United States Supreme Court.

The secretary of the conference was directed to forward President Roosevelt and the U. S. Attorney General the resolution of endorsement.

4-2-38

Pittsburgh, Pa

NEW YORK, March 31—The movement to have Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh lawyer and editor, appointed to the next vacancy on the bench of the United States Supreme Court is making history, declared Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a prepared statement issued last Monday.

Mr. Houston is a graduate of the Harvard Law School. He was the first colored student to serve on the editorial board of the Harvard Law Review. The only other was Judge William H. Hastie, of the United States District Court for the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Houston was awarded a Sheldon traveling fellowship as the result of a competitive examination and his scholastic record while a post-graduate student at Harvard. Under this fellowship he studied civil law at the University of Madrid for eight months and traveled in France, Italy, Greece, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt for four months, visiting courts and studying legal procedure. He is a Phi Beta Kappa from Amherst.

He was a member of the faculty of the Howard Law School for eight years, four years of which he was its vice dean.

The full text of his statement follows:

"The growing support among Negro citizens for the nomination of the Hon. Robert L. Vann by the President to fill the next vacancy on the United States Supreme Court marks a significant step in the progres of our race toward full citizenship rights.

"It is the first time that a Negro has been seriously advocated as a candidate for the highest court in the land. It means that as Negroes, we have reached the point where we believe that we have the right to representation on every level in every branch o government. This is significant because we have to convince ourselves before we can hope to persuade anybody else.

"Regardless of what happens, the movement to have Mr. Vann nominated as a justice of the Supreme Court is making history. It will make it all the easier for Negroes to receive appointments as Federal district judges and Federal circuit judges. I can think of many Negro lawyers who would be a credit to the Federal judiciary, and if we are intelligent enough and persistent enough, we can win these judicial honors for them.

"When Negro judges sit on the courts, both State and Federal, throughout the country, we will no longer have to worry about Scottsboros and the denial of our citizenship rights."

Henry Drive For Congress Is Launched

Inquirer

Senator Salus Pleads For Unity In Turbulent 30th Ward

4-7-38

ELK HEAD IN LINE

Democrats Join In Expressing Hopes For Success For Veteran

Philadelphia Inquirer

By ORRIN C. EVANS

It wasn't a political affair, in the strictest sense of the word but there was a whale of a lot of whooping it up for Republicanism.

Even John D. M. Hamilton chairman of the Republican National Committee, sent not only greetings, but the indorsement of the candidacy of Magistrate Edward W. Henry for Congress in the Second Congressional District. Republican National Committeeman Perry W. Howard, of Mississippi, brought the official Hamilton okeh.

Every shade of political opinion was represented at the Budweiser Tavern, 1605 South street, on Tuesday night, whei pledges of support and expressions of hope for success were given this city's veteran member of the minor judiciary.

It was a convivial and hale-fellow-well-met get-together, with no political holds barred.

Howard, tall, suave and with the true bearing of a politico, started the ball rolling when he pleaded for Henry's debut in Congress.

PLEADS FOR UNITY

And then State Senator Samuel Salus, a candidate for reelection, made an impassioned plea for unity within Republican ranks in the 30th ward, in recent years the scene of turbulent internal Republican strife.

"The Negro doesn't need any white man to fight his battles for him," he said. "He has enough strength, intelligently applied, to fight his own battles."

Senator Salus predicted that William A. Upshur, veteran Republican committeeman in the 30th ward, and a recent recruit in the Pinchot insurgent ranks of the ward, would return to the fold of regular Republicanism.

"Don't worry about Bill Upshur," he said. "He's coming back home again."

A highlight of the evening of oratory was an obviously sincere gesture of friendship expressed by Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, Democratic member of the minor judiciary.

Philadelphia Inquirer 4-7-38

Rainey, risking possibility of misinterpretation by experts in the art of verbal contortion, placed himself squarely in red ranks as a personal friend of Henry, pointed to the bowline of racial ties being stronger than any superficial banyard of political party affiliation and extended a patently deep-seated desire for Henry's success in his campaign.

REMEMBER PINCHOT?

GIFFORD PINCHOT is seeking the Republican nomination for Governor of Pennsylvania. The people of Pennsylvania have on two former occasions elected Mr. Pinchot to the position of Governor. He was Governor for eight years. His record is established. What he will do, if again elected, may be determined with a degree of certainty from what he did during his two terms as chief executive of Pennsylvania.

It is not necessary to guess about Pinchot. His record stands for all who will to read. What does that record show? Was he fair and just in dealing with minority groups? How many of the thousands of State jobs were given to colored people during his administrations? Did he keep faith with those who vigorously supported his candidacy?

During Mr. Pinchot's two terms as Governor only a baker's dozen of jobs were given to colored people. He was urged to have his Attorney General appoint a Deputy Attorney General. He refused. He frowned upon the Equal Rights Bill. Tribune 4-7-38

Looking over the entire record of the former Governor as it affected colored citizens, we find only the appointment of Chas. Fred White as Athletic Commissioner during his first term and Robert J. Nelson to the same position during his second term. These appointments prevent his record from being a total blank. Philadelphia, Pa.

It is difficult, in the face of that record, to understand how many colored people can work for the nomination of Pinchot. What a man does speaks so loud that it is impossible to hear what he says. Pinchot had eight years to prove what he would do for colored citizens.

This newspaper suggests to its readers that they look carefully at the record of Mr. Pinchot. Check carefully his promises as they tie in with his actions. If they are then satisfied that the man who has been Governor for two terms treated the colored citizens fairly, then they should support him in the Primary Election. On the other hand, if they reach the conclusion that they were not given a square deal they should vigorously oppose his nomination.

FOR CONGRESS

	Votes
Edward W. Henry	18585

FOR LEGISLATURE

John W. Harris	1968
E. Washington Rhodes	1552
Paul F. Keene	3708
Samuel D. Holmes	921
William A. Allmond	1481
Dr. Edwin F. Thompson	4981
Crystal Bird Fauset	10918
Hobson R. Reynolds	3665

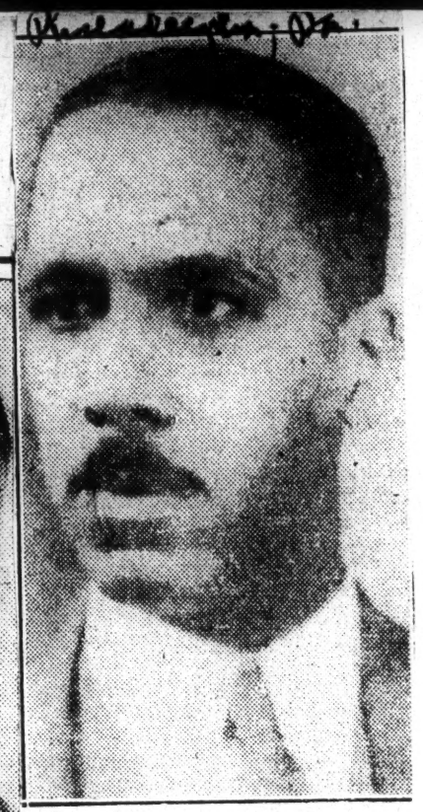
Tribune 5-19-38 Philadelphia Pa

VER FIRST HURDLE

Tribune

EDWARD W. HENRY

5-19-38



JOHN W. HARRIS, Jr.

CRYSTAL B. FAUSET

PAUL KEENE

— They swept aside op position and won thei party nominations.

"My Election Was Tribute to Woman"

Does Not Consider It a Personal Victory

PHILADELPHIA (ANP) —"How does it feel, being the first colored woman to go to the State Legislature?" Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, newly elected Pennsylvania legislator, was asked this week.

"I do not consider it a personal honor at all," she said solemnly and with characteristic deliberation. "I consider it rather a recognition of colored womanhood. I think it is a tribute to them—to their earnestness and their own efforts.

"It is a tribute to the growing consciousness of colored women's increasing enlightenment; to their corresponding awareness of their own sense of responsibility in taking an active part in the affairs of this country's administration." She paused.

"I feel no personal elation over the matter," she resumed. "I am not in the least excited over the prospect of going to the State legislature. On the contrary, I am very calm.

"It is the women who deserve all the credit for the success in making the force of their numbers and voice felt and heard, and placing a representative of their own choosing in office.

"Of course, my interest is not for my own group alone. It is for womanhood in general, and my efforts shall be directed toward the further development of women of all races."

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Politics Preferred

Did she prefer politics to YMCA work?

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"Politics does not necessarily take the woman out of the home, however," she emphasized.

"As a matter of fact," she philosophized, "a woman who is, or has at any time been engaged in public life, has a greater opportunity for taking something very fine back into that home with her. They have seen the scheme of things as they really are.

"They know what is of value and what is non-essential to the development of both home and government. They know pretty well the worthwhile people and those who are fakers and four-flushers.

"In adition, they take back into the home poise, broadmindedness, tolerance, because of the wisdom that comes with understanding and knowledge such as they could never have gained under any other circumstances. They are refined gold!

"Mrs. Roosevelt has set a precedent! She is an excellent illustration of my point, exactly."

In private life the first woman legislator is Mrs. Arthur Huff Fauset, wife of a Philadelphia school principal.

"And I can do anything around a home that any other housewife can do," she declared.

WHO'S TO BLAME?

OVER IN THE CITY OF Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, last Tuesday, a Negro candidate, nominee of the Republican party for Congress, was nosed out by his white opponent by only a small vote, causing our brethren of the "north" to bemoan the fact that "we are denied the privilege and advantage of having another member of our racial group in Congress." But read what the Philadelphia Tribune has to say about the vote:

"The defeat of Henry Edward Henry, well qualified and representative Negro magistrate was the candidate,) partially lies in the fact that he suffered his most severe losses in wards with heavy colored vote—the 24th, the 30th, the 36th and the 44th wards.

And yet, certain of these "brethren of the North," will denounce a lack of solidarity among Suothern Negroes, and pity their "plight," in failing to hold public office. Jut another instance of the apparent need for removing the beam.

Forward or Backward?

[AN EDITORIAL]

Forward or backward, up the ladder or down the ladder,—that is the big question which colored voters will decide on November the eighth. They will decide whether any political party can ever again exclude them from high elective office. When they march to the polls on Tuesday, they will decide whether or not a member of their race will be elected to Congress.

If they decide to defeat Edward W. Henry for Congress on Tuesday, they will decide at the same time that no colored congressman will be elected from Pennsylvania for the next twenty years. If they elect "Ed" Henry on Tuesday, they will assure themselves representation in the future. That is why their decision on Tuesday is so important. It means more than the election of "Ed" Henry to Congress. It means colored people have taken another step forward.

Here is the situation: The Republican leaders nominated Henry because they thought that a colored candidate for Congress would strengthen their ticket. They were told that colored citizens were demanding an opportunity to vote for colored candidates for high elective office the same as other groups; that colored citizens wanted a Congressman. Henry was the unanimous choice of the Republican Ward leaders.

THE DEMOCRATS REFUSED TO NOMINATE A COLORED CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS. THEY DID NOT THINK IT WAS NECESSARY. IF HENRY IS DEFEATED, THE REPUBLICANS WILL REASON THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO NOMINATE COLORED CANDIDATES; THAT INSTEAD OF A COLORED CANDIDATE GIVING STRENGTH TO THE TICKET, HE WEAKENS IT.

If Henry is elected, the Democrats will conclude that they were wrong in not nominating a colored candidate for Congress; and when the next election comes, they will be forced to nominate a colored candidate. The Republicans will do the

"My Election Was Tribute to Woman"

Does Not Consider It a Personal Victory

PHILADELPHIA (ANP) —"How does it feel, being the first colored woman to go to the State Legislature?" Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, newly elected Pennsylvania legislator, was asked this week.

"I do not consider it a personal honor at all," she said solemnly and with characteristic deliberation. "I consider it rather a recognition of colored womanhood. I think it is a tribute to them—to their earnestness and their own efforts.

"It is a tribute to the growing consciousness of colored women's increasing enlightenment; to their corresponding awareness of their own sense of responsibility in taking an active part in the affairs of this country's administration." She paused.

"I feel no personal elation over the matter," she resumed. "I am not in the least excited over the prospect of going to the State legislature. On the contrary, I am very calm.

"It is the women who deserve all the credit for the success in making the force of their numbers and voice felt and heard, and placing a representative of their own choosing in office.

"Of course, my interest is not for my own group alone. It is for womanhood in general, and my efforts shall be directed toward the further development of women of all races."

The most significant fact about it all, Mrs. Fauset feels, is that colored women are "making history for themselves in helping to send a woman of our own race to the State legislature. And to make history in our own life time," she cried with fervor, "is a fine step forward!"

Politics Preferred

Did she prefer politics to YMCA work?

"Unquestionably, my experience in YWCA work has been invaluable to me. It has given me a broader outlook on social problems—locally, nationally, and internationally. It was an experience which I personally would urge many young women to try to have who plan to go into public life at all," she declared.

It was inevitable, too, she stated, that women should enter politics, because that machine threatened to become absolutely inhuman and needed the softer, gentler, subtler "woman's touch." Representative Fauset's hobby is music.

"I love the piano and voice, and long hikes in the open country," she smiled. "But you see what precious little time I've had to give to a hobby. I've been so busy trying to inculcate in my women a spirit of political consciousness for their own sake.

"Politics does not necessarily take the woman out of the home, however," she emphasized.

"As a matter of fact," she philosophized, "a woman who is, or has at any time been engaged in public life, has a greater opportunity for taking something very fine back into that home with her. They have seen the scheme of things as they really are.

"They know what is of value and what is non-essential to the development of both home and government. They know pretty well the worthwhile people and those who are fakers and four-flushers.

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same thing and a colored congressman will be assured just the same as is now the case in Chicago.

It is self-evident, therefore, that when we vote on Tuesday we have the opportunity to do more than elect "Ed" Henry to Congress. The opportunity will be ours to assure representation in Congress for a long time in the future.

IT IS UP TO THEM TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT IS FORWARD OR BACKWARD. WE HAVE BEEN SAYING, "SUPPORT THE PARTY WHICH GIVES US THE BEST OPPORTUNITY." DID WE MEAN WHAT WE SAID? THAT QUESTION WILL BE ANSWERED TUESDAY. REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT IS, IT CAN NOT BE CHANGED AFTER THE VOTES ARE COUNTED. HEED YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE. AND LET YOUR BALLOT PROVE THAT YOU WANT TO GO FORWARD NOT BACKWARD.

Chas. McIntyre Follows Collier In 'Negro' Ward

Negroes Now Without Representation In G. O. P., Dems Councils

By EDGAR W. ROSTER

The 30th Ward Executive Committee met on Monday night and broke an eight-year precedent when they elected Charles McIntyre, white, to the City Committee, which carries with it the leadership of the Ward.

McIntyre is a Personal Tax Assessor at a salary of $5,000 a year. He carried his division by 15 votes for James and the Republican ticket.

For eight years there was a colored member of the Republican City Committee. John Carey was first. John C. Asbury succeeded Carey. The late B. G. Collier was a member of the City Committee until his death a few weeks ago.

EX-G. O. P. STRONGHOLD

The 30th Ward, formerly a Republican stronghold, has been in the Democratic column within recent years. The voters are approximately 85 per cent colored. There are 23 colored committeemen and 13 white. Twelve colored committeemen do not have jobs and 3 white are unemployed.

Edward Williams nominated McIntyre. George McClain presided. Only three committeemen voted against the election of McIntyre; Assistant District Attorney William H. Fuller; John W. Harris, Jr., recent Republican candidate for the State Legislature, and William A. Upshur.

The meeting was held without the official o.k. of Jay Cooke, Republican City Chairman, according to politicians close to the 30th Ward situation. McIntyre forced the election it is said, to assure his selection before the opposition forces could unite on a candidate.

At the present time, there is not either a single colored member of either Republican or Democratic City Committee.

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Pennsylvania

Henry Bowls Over Opposition Despite Last-Minute Injection Of Plea To Race Emotions

Tribune

"White Supremacy" Cards Distributed Throughout Congressional District Suspected Pinchot Forces Trick

5-19-38

ROUT "DOUBLE-CROSS", RUMORS

Philadelphia, Pa.

17 Colored Candidates In Battle Of Ballots For Posts In The State Legislature

By ORRIN C. EVANS

Magistrate Edward W. Henry, admittedly the most astute figure along the colored political rialto and possessor of a charmed political life, won the Republican Congressional nomination in the 2nd Congressional District with a margin of votes as comfortable as last season's house slippers.

He hurdled all opposition, despite a last-minute, frantic effort to flood him with an avalanche of white votes throughout his Legislative district in a vicious appeal to racial feeling.

He polled a vote of 18,585, overwhelming Oscar Brown, his Jewish opponent, who trailed a miserable second with 6538 ballots. James Banneker, former secretary to Councilman James H. Irvin, who bolted the regular Republican fold, finished a weak third with 1,270 votes.

Despite intense Legislative fights throughout the city, in which 17 colored candidates sought public endorsement, and bitter skirmishes for ward committee posts, the campaign of Magistrate Henry was the highlight of the primaries, so far as the colored electorate was concerned.

The appeal to racial feeling was launched late Monday night when cards were distributed throughout the Second Congressional District urging voters to "Vote for Oscar Brown for Congress and Arthur James for Governor. Uphold White Supremacy."

SEE PINCHOT HAND

However, canny political strategists saw the hand of Pinchot forces behind the printing and distribution of the canards.

"It's an attempt on the part of the Pinchot people to turn the Negro vote against James, that's all," said one observer. "Of course, it helps Henry's candidacy among the colored voters, but it can also be a two-edged sword, in that it might turn certain of the white element against Henry's candidacy."

A futile effort to swing votes against the ticket headed by Judge Arthur James in colored wards throughout West Philadelphia was attempted by Benjamin Savage, white, a candidate for the Legislature.

Savage travelled throughout the West Philadelphia district in a sound car, advising colored voters to cut the James ticket because of Republican determination to cut Magistrate Henry in his fight for Congress.

An analysis of the vote Henry received throughout his Congressional district indicated no evidence of cutting, however.

Only in the 8th ward, fringing the center city business section, was there indication of the possibility of cutting of the Magistrate. The 8th ward, a "controlled ward," gave Henry slightly over a 400 majority over Brown, his opponent.

Colored committeemen throughout the city carried him solidly, with Pinchot workers forgetting factional loyalty to turn in for the Henry candidacy.

32nd WARD FIGHT

In the 32nd ward, William Kelly, a parole officer in the State Department of Justice, faced a bitter fight to retain his seat in the ward committee. Ten candidates faced him among whom was Raymond Register, a Democratic candidate for the Legislature. Register was defeated by Kelly in the committee fight, and trailed to a poor finish in his candidacy for the Legislative nomination.

Significant throughout the 30th ward hot bed of political fights was that there were no Pinchot workers in many of the divisions. This was attributed to the fact that the Pinchot forces failed to distribute money the night prior to the primaries, duplication of a Pinchot technique of 8 years ago when he left E. Washington Rhodes, directing his campaign here at that time, holding the bag.

This time William Upshur, defeated candidate for the Legislative nomination, was left out on the political limb by the gangling Pike County politician's management.

UPSHUR'S BOASTS FAIL

Upshur's boasts of "taking the ward for Pinchot" turned to a feeble "I'm just trying to make a good showing" on Tuesday afternoon when he realized that the tide of votes in opposition to the Pinchot candidacy had swollen to the proportions of a tidal wave of indignation against Pinchot's broken promises to the colored electorate.

The morning after the returns showed him nominated with a staggering majority, Magistrate Henry said:

"With very, very few exceptions, everyone played fair with me in the matter of support. This has proven to be one of the happiest campaigns I've ever engaged in. My white friends, as well as my colored followers and friends, along with the Republican City Committee, fought all the way down the line with me. I'm extremely happy."

Contacting as many of the candidates for office as was possible previous to press time, the Tribune obtained the following statements:

"The people are tired of Pinchot!"

That was the statement of William Upshur, Republican, who was defeated in his fight for nomination to the State Legislature in the 6th Legislative District, which comprises the 30th Ward. "But I am still a Republican and am going to join the G. O. P. forces to help uproot the Democrats in November," he continued.

Dr. William A. Bragg, defeated candidate in the 18th Legislative District, had this to say: "Negroes divided their vote nicely throughout the wards. The voting strength of the district is 76 per cent white and 24 per cent Negro."

"I am going out here in November and try to go to Harrisburg," commented Paul Keene, of the 21st District, who was nominated on the Republican ticket for the State Legislature.

"I think the people are dissatisfied with the Democratic rule and want to bring Pennsylvania back into the Republican fold for the national elections," he said.

John Brigerman, candidate for Legislature, 47th Ward, said,

"I have no regret over my unsuccessful renomination fight for the Legislature. Jack Kelly knew that I was not particular about the job and promised to replace me in 1937. I am glad that a Negro was successful and I believe Mr. Reynolds is qualified for the position.

"I got no support from Dr. W. Harry Barnes on the ticket. I believe he had his orders. Consequently, I confined my fight to my home division," he said.

John Perdue, candidate for the Legislature in the 18th District, said:

"I feel that the CIO was solidly behind me because, as an instance, I polled my largest vote in the 33rd division of the 24th Ward where there are only about 30 colored families among an overwhelming white majority."

"I didn't spend any money for votes. I didn't have any money to spend."

"One thing that affected the vote in my territory was the fact that Wilson withdrew a lot of funds after Farley declared in favor of Earle and Kennedy. The lack of funds forced many workers to go without money."

Hobson R. Reynolds, who won the Democratic nomination for the State Legislature in the 21st District comprising the 47th and 29th Wards, said concerning his victory: "I feel very happy over my nomination to the party ticket. I feel that the liberal views of the Democratic party will carry the entire ticket in the Fall. I especially want to thank the Negro voters of my district for their loyal support. The Democratic workers have proved their loyalty and race pride by supporting their own for office."

All Negro Board Handles Election In Johnstown's Fourth Ward

By OTIS HOLLIDAY

JOHNSTOWN, Pa., May 26—History was made in Johnstown during the recent primary election, when an All-Negro board served at the polls in the Fourth Ward.

Never before in the history of Cambria County has a Negro served on an election board.

Kershaw Shannon, appointed upon the resignation of O. L. Irby, served as judge of the election, with George L. Chambers as inspector, and Mrs. Georgia Scott Simmonson as minority inspector. Mrs. Bessie Stewart and Mrs. Bertha L. Lewis were clerks at the polls.

Mrs. Simmonson was appointed to the post of inspector when a white citizen, refusing to work with a Negro board, resigned the position.

In spite of the fact that some of the white voters in the ward made it known they would not vote under a Negro board, a decided increase in ballots was noted in that particular ward over the number polled last year.

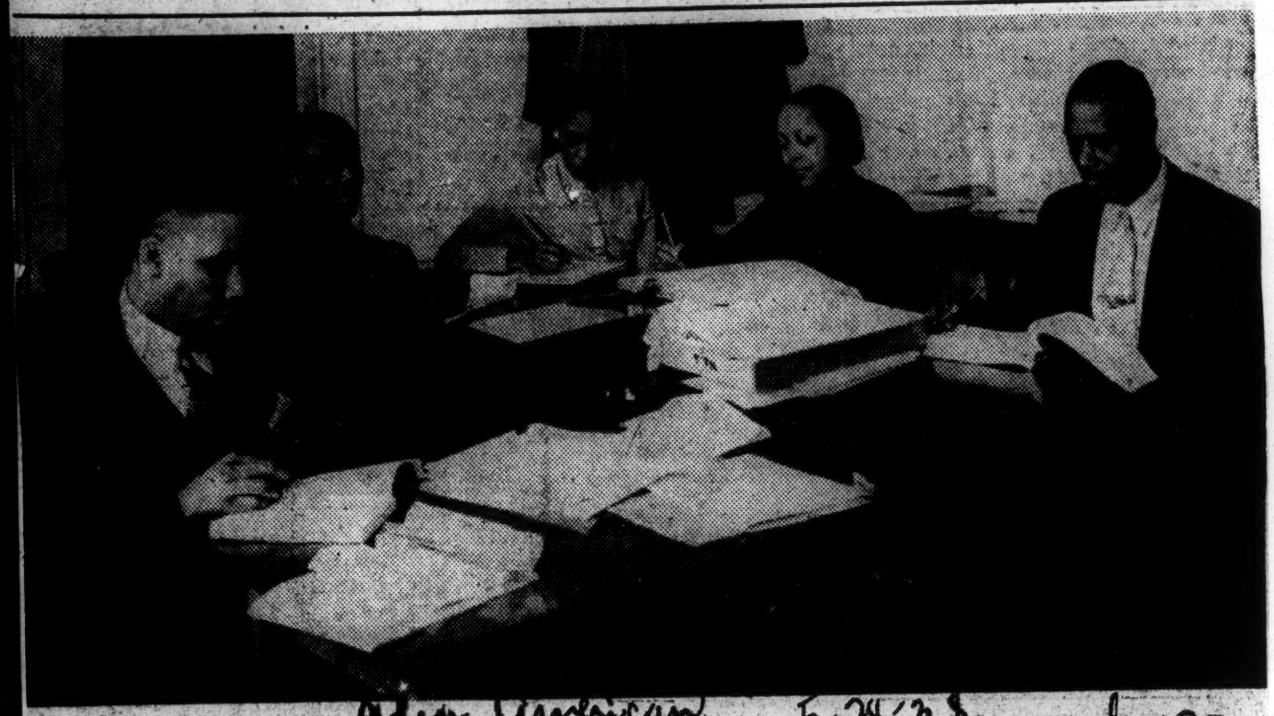
The entire board was very enthusiastic about their work, and performed their duties very efficiently.

Judge Henry Goes Down In Defeat In Pennsylvania Vote

Much work

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(SNS)—Although most of Pennsylvania went Republican in the elections Tuesday, Magistrate Edward Henry was not listed among the winners. He was defeated by the Democratic incumbent, James P. McGranery, in the race for Congressional seat from the second district. McGranery won by 5,911 votes.

ALL-AMERICAN, ALL-COLORED ELECTION BOARD



An All-American, all-colored election board at Johnstown, in Cambria county, Pa., during the recent primary election. This board was the first of its type in the history of the county. Three white women were originally selected to serve with the board, but resigned rather than serve with colored American citizens. The whites had names difficult to pronounce. In the picture above are K. Shannon, Mrs. Bertha Lewis, Mrs. Bessie Stewart, Mrs. Georgia Simmonson and George Chambers.

Judge Edward Henry Named For Congress

PHILADELPHIA, May 27—(Special)—In the record vote polled by Republicans of the Keystone state Tuesday, Magistrate Edward W. Henry swept to victory and was nominated to the U. S. Congress.

E. W. Henry

The nomination of Magistrate Henry is the first time a member of the Race has been accorded such an honor in the

In addition to Magistrate Henry, eight members of the Race—five Democrats and three Republicans—will fight it out in Philadelphia for seats in the state legislature in November, while Attorney Homer Brown of Pittsburgh easily won the renomination.

Democrats who won places on the legislative ticket are:

Samuel D. Holes, sixth district, 921 votes;

William A. Allmond, seventh district, 1,481 votes.

Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, thirteenth district, 4,981 votes.

Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset, eighteenth district, 4,553 votes.

Hobson R. Reynolds, twenty-first district, 2,090 votes.

Republican winners were:

Magistrate Edward W. Henry, for Congress, 17,483 votes.

E. Washington Rhodes, sixth legislative district, 1,552 votes.

John W. Harris, seventh district, 1,552 votes.

Paul F. Keene, twenty-first district, 3,260 votes.

it was learned that E. Washington Rhodes, brilliant lawyer and newsman and widely known editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, had been elected a member of the State Legislature from the 6th district (7th ward). Rhodes, a former assistant and U. S. attorney, nosed out the present colored Democratic incumbent Samuel D. Holmes, by 62 ballots.

Rhodes, running in a normally Republican district was the only colored Representative candidate in the city to be returned a winner. Local Democratic history was made when Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, candidate for the Legislature in West Philadelphia won a decisive victory and thereby earned the distinction of being the first colored woman Representative in history of the state. Mrs. Fauset polled 39,726 votes winning by a majority of 5,789 ballots, over her nearest GOP rival.

Other Democratic winners for the State Legislature were: Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, reelected; Hobson R. Reynolds and William A. Allmond.

When the news flashed across the city that Judge Arthur H. James had defeated Governor Earle in the race for Governor of Pennsylvania, the opinion was freely voiced that the political position of Publisher Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh had been greatly strengthened as he had "bolted" the Democratic party in an effort to retire the Earle leadership in the state. The James victory was being hailed as a Vann victory as well, and old-time political observers stamped the Vann deflection as a masterful piece of strategy.

Woman Is Victor In Philly

First Colored Woman State Representative

PHILADELPHIA.—(ANP)—By a scant margin of 5,911 votes this city's electorate last Tuesday failed to send to Washington a fellow-Congressman to stand beside Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois' first district, sole Negro representative in the Halls of Congress. Philadelphia's Republican candidate for the second district, Magistrate Edward Henry distinguished citizen, and jurist, was defeated by the Democratic incumbent, James P. McGranery.

The G. O. P. electorate later found consolation, however, when

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Rhode Island.

COLOR-BAR CANDIDATE OPPOSED

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—A Mammouth protest mass meeting was held at Odd Fellows Hall, 310 Cranston St., Oct. 17, attended by three hundred colored persons from both Republican and Democratic wards, with delegations from Westerly, Kingston, and Newport, R. I. and representatives from the Paragon, Self Improvement, Race Youth Congress, and other clubs. The meeting was a protest against the candidacy of Bernard Fay, white Republican, for Alderman from the 8th ward.

Bernard Fay for 22 years, as manager of one theatre and owner of another, has wilfully barred colored people in Providence from orchestra seats, insisting that if colored people must see colored vaudeville, let them see it from the topmost gallery. In these years Mr. Fay has been repeatedly sued by colored and Portuguese, has paid fines, and settled other cases out of court, and still continued segregating colored.

At the protest meeting, Republican and Democratic young people condemned his actions and the affront placed on colored people by the Republican party, in placing Mr. Fay's name on their ballot, in the 8th Ward, a heavily populated colored ward.

Miss Anna Lewis, president of the "Julia Ward Howe Republican Club," of this city, and representative from Ward eight to the caucas, when Fay was named for candidate, did not attend the protest meeting, as was hoped by many colored people, to explain why she did not object to his candidacy.

Although the officers and prominent members of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. were invited to attend, their absence was conspicuous. All the "N.A.A.C.P." officials are Republican workers in their own wards.

William Holand, of Codding St., west side, was unanimously elected chairman, and Lydia L. Brown, Boston Guardian, and Afro-Staff correspondent, was elected secretary. Among the speakers at the open forum was a Mr. Jones, who stated while in the U. S. Army during 1918, he applied for orchestra seats for two, was refused and when he insisted, was bodily thrown out of the theatre lobby by Mr. Fay.

Mr. Paul Grandy spoke briefly saying the meeting was non-partisan, but for the group regardless of party, to express their opinions on Mr. Fay's candidacy. Mrs. Helena Dixon, society matron told how when she and her party were finally admitted to the orchestra section of the Majestic theatre the women ushers refused to seat them. When Mrs. Dixon saw seats and went down the aisle to them, she was threatened with a slap in the face by the women usher. Said Mrs. Dixon, "I told her it would be worth the five dollar fine I should get to strike her back."

A letter was read from Rev. Charles Toggie, president of the Youth Congress in which he said "I am in great hopes of a Colored solidarity in defeating this man with such an attitude toward our race. Rev. Ben Williams said "Many colored voters who now has some freedom, and does not use it to defeat this man, may as well pack up his belongings and move back into the deep south."

Other speakers were: Mesdames Alice Allen of the Rhode Island Mothers Chain Club; Rose Bradie, R.N., a former Republican; Mrs. Bertha Higgins, Mesrs. Clayton Carroll of Newport, R. I.; Howard Matthews, Democratic colored candidate for alderman in the 4th ward; Robert, Fisher, Sidney Flanagan, Albert and Theodore Ford, Robert Ramsey, and Carrington.

A resolution was passed as follows:

Whereas—It has pleased the 8th ward Republican Committee to foster the candidacy of Mr. Bernard Fay, as their candidate, for Alderman, and—

Whereas said Mr. Fay has repeatedly been responsible directly or indirectly, for discrimination, segregation and other acts of indignation, against the colored people, through a chain of theatres to which he is connected. Be it Resolved "That we, the colored voters of the city of Providence, and the 8th ward, particularly go on record as unalterably opposed to said Bernard Fay and be it further

Resolved That the colored citizens of the 8th ward and city of Providence pledge ourselves to work for the defeat of said Bernard Fay as Alderman of the 8th Ward, at the coming election November 8th, William Holland, chairman; Lydia Brown, secretary.

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South Carolina

HAMILTON'S LEADERSHIP

It would be a good idea for all the Republican Party' leaders, real or imagined, to try laying down their hammer and taking up their horns, as they view the way the party' affairs are being conducted by the organization now i charge of the National Committee's work of rehabilitation.

Although neither the party's leaders nor its rank and fil are wholly responsible for the present lowly estate of Re publicanism in the nation, it nevertheless is true that thi great party has suffered its most serious setback during th long and eventful years of its history in the period sinc the beginning of the depression and the advent of the Nev Deal. It would have been impossible for any man or an set of men to have taken charge of Republicanism's scat tered forces and to have made headway toward holding them together to the entire satisfaction of all discordant and dis contented elements.

It is mere guesswork for any one to contend that the jo of Republican rehabilitation could have been done mor successfully under others than it has been attempted unde the direction of the Hon. John D. M. Hamilton, the presen national chairman.

It is to Mr. Hamilton's credit, that from the time he as sumed the reins of leadership, he has sensed the need of try ing to rebuild the Republican party "from the grass root up." He has urged that those interested in the party shoul go back to the precincts and interest the rank and file i the duty of enrolling themselves in Republican clubs and i making contributions, however small, to the end that th party members and the national organization would be kep alive and militant.

9-2-38

The vitally needed program committee of the party, heade by the brilliant Dr. Glenn Frank, has been instituted unde the Hamilton administration. The kind and volume publicit that has come from the Republican National Committe headquarters, as we of the press can testify, has been bet ter than ever before. The force and logic with which Mr. Hamilton and other Republicans have attacked the New Deal has been fully up to the standard of that kind of ser vice as expected from an opposition party.

In the person of Mr. Franklyn Waltman, the Republicans have as brilliant a newspaper man as there is in the country and his writings as well as his speeches are a pride of all Republicans and other Americans who delight to have the great issues before the American people competently de bated.

Nashville Tenn

It can be admitted that merely by looking at the efforts o Mr. Hamilton to build up a unit of Republicanism in Ala bama and some other Southern sectors, his work would ap pear to be a waste of energy. It can be admitted by th Negro membership in the Republican party that some o Mr. Hamilton's utterances to the alleged Republicans o Alabama can be construed as an invitation to Southern Lily Whites to continue their work of discrimination toward Ne gro Republicans. On the other hand the national chairman n a spirit of fairness toward him, could be believed as hav ng no thought of making the lot of Negroes in the South harder than it is.

The fact that so many of the alleged colored leaders of the Republican party have for so long neglected to put forth any efforts toward getting for the masses of their people the right to vote in the South and have had no concern for South ern Republicanism except at the time they could muster a number of their race for a mass meeting to elect delegates to national conventions has had its effect in making white leaders of the party believe that the sum total of what the Negro masses wanted was to see a colored leader named a delegate or invited to sit in on a round table conference with the big wigs. It is an undeniable fact that the reason why the Republican party in the South is a very feeble sister is because too many of its leaders, colored as well as white, have shunned the spade work of enrolling the masses of voters, while they sought for themselves the acclaim of great Warwicks, demanding to be deferred to by Republicans from those sections where a Republican leader gains leadership because of his or her success in inducing the masses to vote and to elect members of their party to county, city and state offices.

It is no secret that colored men and women who have won the right of leadership by having thousands of voters elect or support them for offices and have otherwise helped in "getting out the vote," are demanding that they shal have the higher places of leadership in the party council and in the direction of its affairs, rather than follow the lead of men who are Republican leaders merely by self selection.

It is no secret, either, that in undertaking to find out wh there has been such a wholesale desertion of Negroes fron the Republican party in recent years, the leaders of the part are beginning to be impressed with the lack or realism they have shown in choosing colored men to lead who have not demonstrated either in politics or business that they have the confidence of the Negro masses. Assuming that the Hon. John D. M. Hamilton is among the leaders who are getting a better understanding of what modern Negroes desire, and has begun to act accordingly, it is understandable that such action by him will be displeasing and disconcerting to those who crave the persistence of the "old order."

The Coalition ticket is pleading for Harmony. The State G. O. P. is promising to give them something that starts off with the same letter but we are positive it's no such word as Harmony.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Of the victory of Senator Smith in South Carolina one thing can be said with certainty. It demonstrates that the President's influence is not in itself enough to decide the issue of a Congressional primary even in the solidest tier of the Solid South. Mr. Roosevelt threw the full force of his personal and official prestige against Senator Smith's renomination. He failed to persuade a majority of his fellow Democrats to go along with him. Other influences, shaped by local personalities and local controversies, are still strong enough in South Carolina to override the expressed wish of a powerful and popular President on an issue of his own choosing. That much is clear beyond all doubt. It ought to have a sobering effect on those of Mr. Roosevelt's advisers who would make loyalty to the President's personal views the supreme test of fitness for the Senate.

For the rest, the result of the election lacks the significance it would have if a different candidacy were involved. Senator Smith is no Carter Glass. He is no Pat Harrison. He is no Walter George. He is not, in other words, a courageous independent like the Senator from Virginia; or a responsible party leader like the Senator from Mississippi; or a scholarly and thoughtful middle-of-the-roader like the Senator from Georgia, who has gone as far with the President as he thought that he could go, which was very far, but who found it necessary to disagree at certain points.

The Senator from South Carolina is, on the contrary, a political routineer. His name is identified with no major legislation. His point of view is essentially parochial. He was opposed to the President's Supreme Court plan, but he was not one of the leaders of the fight against it. He has played no part, as have others of his Southern colleagues, in the battle for a balanced budget and fiscal responsibility in Washington. He has been a free and easy spender, a willing advocate of such inflationary measures as the Thomas greenback amendment and a variety of silver purchase plans. In his present campaign for re-election he did not add to the dignity of the Senate or the urbanity of American politics when he stooped to raise the old issue of "white supremacy" and to wave the bloody shirt of the Reconstruction Era.

Because they fear the growth of the personal power of a President who now stands at the head of the most highly centralized government this country has ever known, a government spending billions of dollars more than it collects in taxes and constantly resorting to hastily improvised experiments, there are many who will be satisfied with the fact that Mr. Roosevelt's progress toward control of the Senate has met with a check in South Carolina. But it is reasonable to ask for more than this. It is reasonable to ask for the election to Congress of men who are just as able as Mr. Roosevelt to see that progressive social reform is a crying need of the times, but who will approach that task with a spirit of moderation, a sense of fair play and a due recogni-

Considered from that point of view Senator Smith's victory is nothing to cheer about.

Smith of S. C. Ends Drive on Jim Crow Plea

Whole Attack on New Deal Foe Based on Race Hatred

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 28.—As South Carolina's bitterly fought primary campaign neared its end today voters prepared to choose next Tuesday between President Roosevelt's program of extending the New Deal in the South and the "50 cents a day" standard of Southern tories.

The center of the biter contest is the senatorship with died-in-the-wool reactionary, Senator Ellison D. ("Cotton Ed") Smith challenged for renomination by New Deal Governor Olin D. Johnston.

The race became clear cut today with announcement by State Senator Edgar Brown, who campaigned as New Dealer and a third contestant, that he withdraws as candidate. This left the field open to Johnston to rally united New Deal support.

President Roosevelt placed the issue squarely in the primaries when in a few well-chosen words at Greenville delivered from the rear platform of his train he said:

"If you believe in the principles for which we are striving then I hope that you will send representatives to the national legislature who will work toward that end . . . and I don't believe any man can live on 50 cents a day."

The last few words, which came as the train began to move took South Carolina by storm. They were aimed at the much - mentioned speech of Senator Smith in the Senate in which he expressed the belief that a person could live on 50 cents a day.

RAISES RACE ISSUE

With the tide strongly swung against the reactionary program "Cotton Ed" Smith followed the strategy of his similarly pressed colleague Senator Walter George of Georgia and released the "white supremacy" issue with full blast. The Smith forces are counting on the fact that virtually no Negroes are permitted to vote, especially in primaries, and thereby hope that race prejudice can be aroused to a degree that will swamp the fundamental issues.

"This is one time whether you like Ed Smith or not every red-blooded white man should vote for Smith," is a typical campaign speech expression of the Senator," because outside organizations are seeking to defeat me because of my stand for white supremacy."

Featuring chiefly Smith's campaign literature is his anti-Negro program and record in defense of lynch law and Jim Crowism.

"Senator Smith is a white supremacy Democract, his reelection will be a wholesome warning to the East," reads a headline over the front page of his campaign paper over stories and photographs that picture the Senator in his fight against the Anti-Lynching Bill. In the exhibit is a reproduction of the statements of Labor's Non-Partisan League advocating passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

Labor's Non-Partisan League is rallying the forces of the Committee for Industrial Organization especially textile workers, and other unions. But, as George of Georgia, Smith carries the endorsement of William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Cotton mill workers and tenant farmers are expected to show an important influence in the result of Tuesday's primary. In recent years there has been considerable progress in CIO organization of the textile workers. A smaller proportion of the population of this state votes than in any other. A little over 115,000 cast ballots in the 1936 presidential election, in this state of two million people of whom over 40 per cent are Negro.

There are eight in the Democratic contest for the governorship. The Republican Party, drawing less than 2,000 votes, is not much of a factor.

"Cotton Ed" And The Significance Of His Victory

IT is a long story. The nomination of Senator Ellison D. Smith for another term in the United States senate over next door to us in the Palmetto state was inevitable. In addition to being an experienced campaigner, a reactionary of the old schoool, "Cotton Ed" had already fortified himself with safe fences. He started back at the last Democratic national convention when he was among the loudest rabble raisers protesting the opening prayer by Reverend Marshall Shepard. South Carolina led off in the secession parade in the sixties and not a moment since those stirring days has the old rancor escaped her attention.

President Roosevelt showed his hand is no uncertain gestures in the matter. In those slated for the purge, beyond a doubt, "Cotton Ed" was the chief sinner. He had carried on in the senate much of the manner of Tom Heflin, for which Alabama still hangs her head in shame.

The signs of the time in every endeavor call for modern ideas and new ideals. The nation has initiated certain definite reforms peculiar to the conditions necessary for the onward march to recovery. Already in the midst of the struggle the President saw that the whole structure would require the patterns and plans from start to finish designed by the engineers of our great economic system. While having personal liking for many of those who were out of step in the procession, the President had the bravery and open frankness to ask their recall as national representatives. In fact he saw from the overwhelming victory given him in the people's mandate, many of those listed for the so-called "purge" did not represent the people whose mandate they held.

The question arises, then, why do the people, while professing faith in the New Deal and attesting the President's popularity, recommission these reactionaries? The answer is plain.

There is an issue in the South which always brings the blood in any occasion. "Cotton Ed" and his school well know this. No matter how hungry, disposessed and poverty stricken the people are, the bringing of the Negro into an issue never fails to arouse them to the highest tension of prejudice and passion. This was done over in South Carolina, and is being done at this present moment in this state. While the people want recovery and personally like the President, reason and sound judgment leave them when anybody raises the bugaboo Negro question. What a peculiar and baseless fear! A speaker for United States Senator Walter George, stated a few nights ago over the radio that the whole purge system was the result of the anti-lynching "monstrocity." He stated that the court packing bill and anti-lynching bill were as inseparable as the Siamese twins. He intimated that the anti-lynching bill was the objective and the court packing bill was the chaperon meant for helping it to limp along. So it is plainly seen that even those who know better have decided that the only way to embarrass the President in his undaunted courage to point out those who are obstructing recovery, and to make sure the voters are whipped in line. is to hang on the gate post the old records of 1865 and the ever present Negro question.

While the farm bill and other minor issues are lined up in the beginning of the campaign forensic, the Negro question, Walter White and James Ford, the communist, are left for the brilliant and rich conclusion of the rabble raiser who knows how to prescribe a menu of race prejudice.

Unwittingly, those who are sold to the above tactics are contributing to what they do not realize and what thay least prefer—a wide split in the Democratic party. The victors in the so-called

purge will accept their mandates as challenges to the New Deal and its whole social order. On this premise they are beginning a wrestle for control of the Democratic national convention and the naming of some candidate in harmony with their outworn reactionary conservatism. In this grapple all that has been realized will be imperiled. It will forerun also another thing they do not want a civil rights bill, which some of the reactionaries have already contended will grant universal suffrage and wipe out the so-called white primaries. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

How some of the candidates arrange their flowering conclusions in tribute to Thomas Jefferson, equal rights to all and special privileges to none, professing a democracy and in the same breath asking for a government without the consent of certain citizens read out on account of their color is far from reasoning. A democracy cannot exist according to our dictionaries with restrictions and color limitations. That must be a faith and open to all those who profess the belief in a free government with the consent of the governed.

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Political – 1938
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South Carolina

Fair Enough

By
WESTBROOK PEGLER

Adventurous New Dealers Forcing Issue Of White Supremacy To Be Raised Again In South

NEW YORK, Sept. 7.—Cotton Ed Smith, who has just received another mandate from the people of South Carolina, has been denounced for waving a bloody shirt in his recent successful campaign and reviving the issue of white supremacy in the South. He is said to have delivered again an oratorical set-piece of his which is derisively known to his colleagues and the press gallery of the United States Senate as "The Speech."

This oration is not so famous as some commentators apparently believe it is, but they go on an assumption that the public far and wide is familiar with it and give only an inkling as to its contents in saying that it deals with the horrors of the Reconstruction era in the South and, in particular, with personal affront to a female relative of the senator in those terrible days.

It is difficult, however, to see how the issue on which Senator Smith made his campaign can be avoided in future battles within the Democratic Party in the South. For the Roosevelt wing of the party contains a strong element of politically adventurous Northern visionaries and theorists who are determined to apply their beliefs evenly everywhere. In doing this, these New Dealers must, in consistency, raise the issue which Senator Smith used for reasons of political opportunism. He just beat the opposition to the punch.

Issue Cannot Be Avoided

The issue cannot be avoided anywhere in the Deep South without a serious compromise of professed principle. And, if it be pressed out of respect for consistency and principle, and for the appeasement of the Negro vote in the North, it will provoke a widespread revival of the reminiscences and feeling to which Senator Smith resorted in his fight.

Least consistent of those who rebuke Mr. Smith for raising this issue are the Communists and those journalistic fellow-travelers who weep over the tragedy of such a low appeal from the stump, knowing that they have forced the issue by nominating a Negro for the office of vice-President on the Communist ticket.

Anyone with any realism or honesty knows that this was done as a gesture of extreme aggravation and taunt, and was directed at the white population of the Southern states. It was intended to woo the Negro elsewhere, and to enrage the white South, and there was not the slightest notion that the candidacy of the Negro running-mate of Earl Browder should be taken seriously. For that matter, Browder's own candidacy was not serious, although it was grim.

If, however, the Communists and their fellow-travelers be taken literally in this, they should welcome rather than regret the acceptance of their deliberate challenge. In that case, they plainly indicated a readiness not merely to meet but to force the issue, and the acceptance of the challenge by such as Cotton Ed Smith or anyone else in Southern politics should inspire them to attack, not moan.

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Huey Long had such a Legislature in Baton Rouge, and would sit in the governor's office, from which he often ran the governor out like a menial, and watch the vote of his dummies flash in red and green lights on the electrical scoreboard. The lights, except a few, were all of one color on any given proposition, for the legislators got orders from Huey.

Columbia, S. C. Record
December 20, 1938

Young Democrats to Study Motion on Expression Of Negro Groups

A motion "to write a letter to the president in regard to the telegram from several negro organizations expressing opposition to the appointment of Gov. Olin D. Johnston to any federal position" was presented last night at the meeting of the Young Democrats of Richland county by R. Cliff Harper.

The motion was referred to a committee composed of Mr. Harper, chairman, Jimmie Allen, Yancey McLeod and F. Wiley Brown. A report will be heard at the next meeting.

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According to Mr. Harper, another portion of the motion presented by him said "that we take a stand in upholding white supremacy in our state." In his speech following the making of the motion, Mr. Harper cited the attempt of a negro to enter the University of South Carolina recently.

The telegram referred to by the Mr. Harper was sent to President Roosevelt by four negro organizations and declared that the governor has "used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilities of approximately one-half of his constituency." Gov. Johnston returned from Washington this morning after interviews with the president and other prominent officials.

The Young Democrats here are entertaining the new members of the Wade Hampton chapter here tonight with a party beginning at 8:30 in the rathskeller of the Jefferson hotel. Many "senior" Democrats of the county and members of the delegation have been invited to attend the party this evening.

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Tell President of Their Objections to Naming Him to U. S. Post

Opposition to the appointment of Governor Olin D. Johnston to any federal position is voiced in a telegram sent President Roosevelt by several negro organizations.

The telegram cited the following instances of his prejudices against negroes: first, failure to sign the free textbook bill because of the advantages offered negro children; second, his asking negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for negroes and fourth, his failure to provide flags for negro school children on the occasion of the President's visit to Columbia.

"We feel that we have made definite progress in our racial relationships as a result of the liberal attitude of our local press and a larger attempt in some areas to carry out the liberal democracy of the present administration," the telegram says. "Too, we would have you know that there are numbers of fairminded whites within our state who merit appointment within the gift of the government, men of exceptional training combined with a sense of appreciation for the problems of minority groups and the underdogs of labor, a combination of qualities we feel not to be found in our governor."

The telegram also declares that the governor has "used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilities of approximately one-half of his constituency."

The telegram was signed by officials of the following organizations:

Civic Welfare Organization, Dr. A. J. Collins president, and Joseph D. McGee, secretary; Progressive club, Durham Counts, president, and R. W. Mance, secretary; Citizens League, H. D. Monteith, president and L. R. Bailey, secretary; Columbia branch of N. A. A. C. P., R. W. Jackson, secretary.

Governor Johnston has been in Washington for the last several days for conferences.

S. C. Groups Will Oppose Gov. Johnston

Ask President Not To Appoint Him To Any Post

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Charging that Governor Olin D. Johnston failed to sign a bill which would give free textbooks to school children, which would include Negro children, and that he had asked Negroes to leave a public meeting and has committed other acts that are prejudiced toward Negroes, civic groups of this city sent a telegram to President Roosevelt opposing any federal appointment of Governor Johnston.

In the telegram it also charged that Governor Johnston had objected to the establishment of a CCC camp for Negroes and he did not provide flags for Negro children, when President Roosevelt recently visited Columbia.

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The text of the telegram follows:

"We, the undersigned, hope that should you confer with Governor Johnston concerning any federal appointment for him it will not be without cognizance of his prejudices as regards Negroes evidenced first in his failure to sign a free text book law because of the advantages offered Negro school children; second, his asking Negroes to leve a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for Negroes; and finally the recent discrimination in his failure to provide flags for Negro school children on the occasion of your visit to Columbia. In an administration characterized by tolerance and liberality toward all the citizens, it would seem that all major appointees would be schooled in that attitude and would be expected to accept it as their own if they would advance the ends of a liberal party.

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The telegram cited the following instances of his prejudices against negroes: first, failure to sign the free textbook bill because of the advantages offered negro children; second, his asking negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for negroes and fourth, his failure to provide flags for negro school children on the occasion of the President's visit to Columbia.

"We feel that we have made definite progress in our racial relationships as a result of the liberal attitude of our local press and a larger attempt in some areas to carry out the liberal democracy of the present administration," the telegram says. "Too, we would have you know that there are numbers of fairminded whites within our state who merit appointment within the gift of the government, men of exceptional training combined with a sense of appreciation for the problems of minority groups and the underdogs of labor, a combination of qualities we feel not to be found in our governor."

The telegram also declares that the governor has "used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilities of approximately one-half of his constituency."

The telegram was signed by officials of the following organizations:

Civic Welfare Organization, Dr. A. J. Collins president, and Joseph D. McGee, secretary: Progressive club, Durham Counts, president, and R. W. Mance, secretary: Citizens League, H. D. Monteith, president and L. R. Bailey, secretary; Columbia branch of N. A. A. C. P., R. W. Jackson, secretary.

Governor Johnston has been in Washington for the last several days for conferences.

[illegible] C. Groups Will Oppose Gov. Johnston

Ask President Not To Appoint Him To Any Post

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Charging that Governor Olin D. Johnston failed to sign a bill which would give free textbooks to school children, which would include Negro children, and that he had asked Negroes to leave a public meeting and has committed other acts that are prejudiced toward Negroes, civic groups of this city sent a telegram to President Roosevelt opposing any federal appointment of Governor Johnston.

In the telegram it also charged that Governor Johnston had objected to the establishment of a CCC camp for Negroes and he did not provide flags for Negro children, when President Roosevelt recently visited Columbia.

The telegram was signed by the presidents and secretaries of the following organizations:

Civic Welfare Organization, A. J. Collins, president, and Joseph D. McGhee, secretary; Progressive Club, Durham Counts, president, and R. W. Mance, secretary; Citizens League, H. D. Monteith, president, and L. R. Bailey, secretary; Columbia branch of the NAACP, R. W. Jackson, secretary.

The text of the telegram follows:

"We, the undersigned, hope that should you confer with Governor Johnston concerning any federal appointment for him it will not be without cognizance of his prejudices as regards Negroes evidenced first in his failure to sign a free text book law because of the advantages offered Negro school children; second, his asking Negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for Negroes; and finally the recent discrimination in his failure to provide flags for Negro school children on the occasion of your visit to Columbia. In an administration characterized by tolerance and liberality toward all the citizens, it would seem that all major appointees would be schooled in that attitude and would be expected to accept it as their own if they would advance the ends of a liberal party.

'HATE RECORD' OF GOV. JOHNSTON TOLD PRESIDENT

outh Carolina Governor Summoned for Conference By Roosevelt, Will Not Get Appointment If Negroes Have Their Way.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec. 29—Gov. Olin D. Johnston's 'Hate record" was cited against him here last Monday in t telegram dispatched to President Roosevelt by colored or ganizations of this city protesting any Federal appointmen or the governor.

Gov. Johnston is believed to be n very friendly terms with the President. Since the President's visit here, it has been reported that Mr. Roosevelt proposed to elevate he governor to high federal post.

HUMILIATE RACE

Howe in spite of the person l friendship of the two men, their social ide have been a far apa as the poles. No governo n South Carolina's history has s humiliated and injured the sensi bilities of the state's large Negro population as Johnston has done.

The full tex of the telegram sent to the President reads:

"We, the undersigned, hope tha should you confer with Govern or Johnston concerning any fed eral appointment for him, it wil not be without cognizance of his prejudices as regards Negroes, evi dence, first, in his failure to sign a free textbook law because of the advantages offered Negro children; second, his asking Negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for Negroes and, finally, the recent discrimination in his failure to provide flags for Negro school children on the occasion of your visit to Columbia.

"In an administration characterized by tolerance and liberality toward all the citizens, it seems that all major appointees would be schooled in that attitude and would be expected to accept it as their own if they would advance the ends of a liberal party.

HAVE MADE PROGRESS

"We feel that we have made definite progress in our racial relationship as a result of the liberal attitude of our local press and a larger attempt in some areas to carry out the liberal democracy of the present administration.

"Too, we would have you know that there are numbers of fair-minded whites within our state who merit any appointment within the gift of government, men of exceptional training combined with a sense of appreciation for the problems of minority groups and the underdogs in labor, a combination of qualities we feel not to be found in our governor.

SPEAK DIFFERENT LANGUAGE

"As we study the development of your ideals and program and compare your record with the record of the governor, remembering the way in which he has used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilties of approximately one-half of his constituency, we are compelled to conclude that our President and our governor may be friends, but they do not speak the same language as regards democracy."

The telegram was signed by the presidents and secretaries of the following organizations:

Civic Welfare Organization, A. J. Collins, president, and Joseph D. McGhee, secretary; Progressive club, Durham Counts, President, and R. W. Mance, secretary; Citizens League, H. D. Montieth, president, and L. R. Bailey, secretary, and the Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, R. W. Jackson, secretary.

NEGROES OPPOSE GOV. JOHNSTON FOR U. S. JUDGESHIP

COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec.—(ANP)—A number of outstanding colored organizations of this city last week joined in mass protest to a rumored appointment of Gov. Olin D. Johnston to a Federal position and forthwith sent a lengthy telegram to President F. D. Roosevelt appraising him of their opposition.

Opposition of the colored citizenry to the Governor results from his repeated discriminations against Negroes, his refusal to aid in providing free textbooks to colored school children and his objection to establishment of a CCC Camp for Negroes.

Presidents and secretaries of the following organizations signed the telegram of protest: Civic Welfare organization, A. J. Collins, president, Joseph D. McGhee, secretary; Progressive club, Durham Counts, president, R. W. Mance, secretary; Citizens' league, H. T. Monteith, president, L. R. Bailey, secretary, and Columbia branch NAACP, R. W. Jackson, secretary.

The telegram: "We, the undersigned, hope that should you confere with Governor Johnston concerning any federal appointment for him, it will not be without cognizance of his prejudices as regards Negroes evidenced first in his failure to sign a free textbook law because of the advantages offered Negro school children; second his asking Negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county courthouse where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for Negroes; and finally the recent discrimination in his failure to provide flags for Negro school children on the occasion of your visit to Columbia. In an administration characterized by tolerance and liberality toward all the citizens, it would seem that all major appointees would be schooled in that attitude and would be expected to accept it as their own if they would advance the ends of a liberal party.

"We feel that we have made definite progress in our racial relationships as a result of the liberal attitude of our local press and a larger attempt in some areas to carry out the liberal democracy of the present administration. Too, we would have you know that there are numbers of fair-minded whites within our state who merit any appointment within the gift of government, men of exceptional training combined with a sense of appreciation for the problems of minority groups and the underdogs in labor, a combination of qualities we feel not to be found in our governor.

"As we study the development of your ideals and program and compare your record with the record of our governor, remembering the way in which he has used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilities of approximately one-half of his constituency, we are compelled to conclude that our president and our governor may be friends but they do not speak the same language as regards democracy."

Political — 1938
Elections.

South Carolina

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
August 28, 1938

EDITOR PICKS SMITH TO WIN IN CAROLINA

Believes Roosevelt Man Will Lose

Some hours before the third man quit the race, the Charleston News and Courier predicted yesterday that Senator Smith, opposed by President Roosevelt for re-election in South Carolina, would have an overwhelming lead in the primary Tuesday, and that his "election in the first primary would not be surprising."

This slant on the outcome was given by Editor W. W. Ball, of the News and Courier, a veteran political observer, in a telegram to The Tribune, which had asked several South Carolina editors how they figured the vote. Most of the state's newspapers are supporting Smith. But most of them did not answer; they may have heard that Edgar Brown, third man in the race, was preparing to get out, which would have changed their predictions.

Sees Overwhelming Lead

Editor Ball, in his telegram, sent, as stated, before the eleventh-hour withdrawal of Brown was announced —and which means there will be no second primary—said:

"The News and Courier's opinion is that Smith will have an overwhelming lead next Tuesday. His election in the first primary would not be surprising.

"Smith defeated Blease in 1932 by about 35,000. Farmers always vote for Smith. He never loses.

"South Carolinians are alarmed about national democracy's adoption of negroes. Smith's Philadelphia convention walk-out aroused them. While Senator Byrnes has not made a declaration, close friends of his are active for Smith. Byrnes said in the senate in opposing the anti-lynching bill that 'the negroes control the Democratic party' and knows that forces fighting Smith will fight Byrnes next. He has four years to serve, and federal office-holders and employes are for Byrnes before they are for Roosevelt or Hopkins. The President cannot control them against Byrnes. That is why he has shied from South Carolina.

"Had the President attacked Smith in plain words before his train was moving from Greenville he would have been met with a Smith demonstration. Smith's following has been more confident and his speeches bolder since the President made his Greenville insinuation.

"The cotton mill vote is dividing. The CIO is for Johnston. It is a minority. Most textile workers distrust and oppose it. Johnston is not a strong man. Farley knows that, and Farley's reported advice to his chief to lay off South Carolina is convincing that his news from South Carolina is hopeless.

"The fact is that the Washington administration is afraid of Byrnes, knows where he stands and dares not challenge him. Virtually the whole state press is for Smith."

Won't Make Guess

On the other hand, R. Glover Miller, executive editor of the Anderson Mail and Independent, said it was too hazardous to guess.

Editor Miller said in his telegram: "There are so many important factors and cross-currents to be considered in the South Carolina senatorial primary it is impossible to engage in the hazardous business of predicting the outcome of this race.

"There is strong sentiment here that there will be a second race between Senator Smith and Governor Johnston.

"Political prognosticators say the outcome of the senatorial race will depend largely on whether "Cotton Ed" Smith is able to hold his farm vote as it is generally believed that the large industrial vote will go to Johnston. Therefore the turnout Tuesday in this classification may prove a vital point.

"President Roosevelt's visit to Greenville probably had some effect in more solidly lining up labor behind the governor, but he already had strong support in that quarter. There is much discussion in the state pro and con whether the farmers are satisfied with the present farm bill.

"If the farmers are dissatisfied it will be reflected at the polls, but until the ballots are counted none seems able to accurately put their finger on the true sentiment in the agricultural areas. The Roosevelt administration's action today in fixing the cotton loans at 8.30 cents may be reflected in the returns since Smith is chairman of the senate agriculture committee and he had requested loan of 10 cents and the farmers want that and more."

Florence, S. C., Morning News
August 29, 1938

PRESIDENT BOOSTS SMITH

Friends of President Roosevelt among whom we number ourselves, cannot but be sorely disappointed in the stand he is taking in South Carolina politics.

It is evident that the President has been badly advised. It is evident that he has been persuaded to take a chance on a horse that has two-to-one odds against him.

But that is beside the question. The President does not know the temper of the people of South Carolina, else he would never have tried to step into its politics. When the election is over, the President will learn that while the voters down this way may still believe in him, they resent his dictation as to how to vote.

South Carolina may contitnue to vote for Roosevelt, but not for Roosevelt's man, whether he be a Johnston, Brown, Smith or a Johnsmithbrown or what not.

South Carolina voters in national elections have always been solidly Democratic. In local elections such as this they vote as they please.

Voters of the South know their conditions and are better able to choose the men to represent them than any man who sits in the White House surrounded by nudging advisers.

Southern Democrats have been pushed too far by the Rooseveltian idealism and the indication is that they will rise to resent its implication insofar as it attacks white supremacy.

The President's silence on the anti-lynching bill advocated by Walter White and his society for the advancement of the colored people, composed of white and black Northern Democrats; on sit-down strikes, advocated by the C. I. O., which is supporting him to a man, his apparent advocacy of the high tariff, which hits the South hard, his inconsistent stand in trying to hoist the wages in the South to save industries in the North, all these being remembered by the thinking people of the South, who are every day coming to a realization that universal suffrage is on the way under the Roosevelt regime.

We give Mr. Roosevelt all credit in the world for his humanitarian ideals and his sincere efforts to carry them out. We give him all the credit in the world for saving the banking institutions and the deposits of the people in that famous bank closing episode and for all the good things he has done, but there is a limit and we believe honestly and sincerely that the President has gone the limit when he attempts to tell the people of South Carolina who to vote for.

The President has made a bad blunder. He has done just what he ought not to have done. He has given his friend Olin Johnston a bad jolt and his dissenter, Smith, a big boost.

Mr. Roosevelt has forgotten his South Carolina history, if indeed, he ever knew it.

Workers Unite

THE VICTORY of Senator Cotton Ed Smith, the unregenerated rebel, in the South Carolina primaries last week was a set back to those who thought that a backward Southern State had finally arrived at the point where it would overthrow the power of a benighted, prejudiced and reactionary politician of the old school. Again, however, Smith appealed to racial prejudices and the "red necks" fell in line to "keep the niggers down."

President Roosevelt hit the nail on the head recently when he said that the South was the number one economic sore spot of the nation. It is so because of reactionaries like Smith, George, Bilbo and other race hating and baiting politicians who are elected to Congress by a handful of voters. As long as this political oligarchy exists in Dixie there is nothing much that anybody can do about conditions down there. The plantation and absentee mill owners are glad to see Smith and his type misrepresenting the people of the South because they can maintain their stranglehold on the wealth of that section.

9-10-38

The President officially started a revolution in Dixie when he condemned it for its backwardness. He cannot do it all. It is up to the poor blacks and whites in the South to strike hard for economic, political and social freedom. The soundest way to do this is through labor organizations. For through them the white and black workers in the cotton fields and factories can secure for themselves some share of their produce and economic security. Now, they are getting neither. As long, however, as the white workers permit a demagogue like Cotton Ed to wave the red shirt of race prejudice and then succumb to his buncombe they are only tightening the noose of economic suicide around their necks. And as long as the black ones don't demand as citizens their right to vote they are party to the suicide. BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS UNITE!—must be the slogan for salvation in the South.

Aiken, S. C., Standard & Review
September 7, 1938

This Week In Washington---

A political angle which has been largely overlooked, but which definitely figures in the split between the two wings of the Democratic party has been brought sharply to the front by the primary campaign of Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina. That is the racial issue which the South refers to as the "Negro Problem."

Probably nothing has so aroused the antagonism of Southern Democrats towards the New Deal, not even the invasion of state rights by Washington, as the successful efforts of the national party organizations to swing the Negroes of the North away from their traditional allegiance to the Republican party. They have been converted into Democratic voters, and old-line Southern politicians do not like at all the idea of accepting them as political comrades.

"Cotton Ed" in his campaign for renomination made the most of the slogan of "White Supemacy," and his opposition to the Federal Anti-Lynching bill in the last Congress. While he has been more vocal in public on the subject than have most other Southern leaders, there is no doubt that the friendliness of the Administration's supporters toward the Negro as a voter, rather than as an object of charity, has much to do with the Anti-New Deal Sentiment in the party in the South.

PARTY RIFT WIDENING

All the reports reaching Washington continue to indicate that the rift in the party is widen-. The latest bit of Capital gossip is that the differences in outlook between the President and the Vice-President have reached a point where Mr. Garner may take a public attitude of opposition to the President almost any day, if occasion offers.

If that situation should develop, which it is not likely to until after the November Congressional elections, the anti-Administration group in Congress would be materially strengthened. Mr. Garner has a very large personal following in both houses of Congress.

If the elections result, as expect, in a material reduction in the Democratic representation in the House, and increase in the proportion of anti-Administration Democrats, the nation may easily witness a hand-to-hand struggle for personal control of Congress between the President and the Vice-President of the United States.

Such an open break would no only accentuate the battle for party control in 1940, but would have a powerful effect upon legislation by the 76th Congress. The issue between the Administration and its opponents inside the Democratic party is a complicated one, but in the main it is one of expanding or contracting government expenditures.

There is little hope or expectation that the Federal budget can be balanced by 1940, so the question becomes one of whether to meet the deficit by further borrowings or by increasing taxes and reducing expenses.

There are political reasons why it is not likely that the income tax base will be broadened by the next Congress to levy on incomes of "little fellows" who now imagine that they escape taxation because they do not see the toll which the "hidden" excise taxes take from them.

AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

A plan which government tax experts and economists favor, of repealing the manufacturers excise taxes and substituting income taxes on all incomes above $800 a year may be killed off because the first of such new direct income taxes would be payable just before the Presidential election. While Senator Pat Harrison, chairman of the Finance Committee, and Floor Leader Barkley, have both put forth the suggestion of the broader tax base, commentators here regard it as "bad politics" at this time.

The big headache of the Administration right now is its agricultural program, which is not working out as Secretary Wallace planned it. Nature intervened with bumper crops of wheat, corn and cotton. Farm subsidies this year will run to above a billion dollars. The outlook is that this will be "upped" next year to a billion and a half, or more.

While there is little chance of revival of the processing taxes to pay for farm subsidies, there are farm relief schemes shaping up which may be more expensive than the AAA, and which will have strong Congressional support. Among these are cash bonuses for livestock and dairy farmer, government fixing of farm prices and the old domestic allotment plan.

Consideration of methods of financing the export of 100 million bushels of this year's wheat is giving the Agricultural department something to worry about. There is much talk about possible export subsidies fo other crops. Government loans on corn and cotton will be fixed around Nov. 1. Cotton is really worrying Secretary Wallace more than any other crop.

Florence, S. C., Morning News
August 30, 1938

PRE-ELECTION THOUGHTS

This is being written on the eve of a South Carolina primary, the result of which, with particular reference to the race for the United States senate, is being watched throughout the nation.

The candidates are Senator E. D. Smith and Governor Olin D. Johnston. Edgar Brown, state senator of Barnwell, has withdrawn and last night threw his support to Senator Smith. Brown campaigned as a New Dealer as did Johnston Smith campaigned as a man of independent thought and action.

Johnston and Brown both proclaimed themselves as 100 per centers. Smith could not go that far, as much as he wanted to. He has openly declared he could not follow Mr. Roosevelt in his court packing plan, the anti-lynching bill, and the wages and hours law.

Johnston and Brown, in asserting themselves as 100 per centers, obviously declared their approval of the packing of the United States supreme court, the passage of the anti-lynching bill and the wages and hours law.

Senator Smith has said on many stumps he was 80 per cent for the Roosevelt measures but dissented when he thought the Roosevelt measures were not for "the best interests of South Carolina." He was brave enough to say that if elected he would continue to hold to his independence of thought and action.

Governor Johnston has declared by his aproval of all the Roosevelt measures that he would support the President tooth and nail even to the anti-lynching bill.

The governor by his action in the Philadelphia convention tacitly approved the entrance of the negro into the voting councils of the Democratic party.

Senator Smith voiced his disapproval by walking out.

Senator Smith has made the question of white supremacy paramount in his campaign for reelection and from the trend of things in Washington he has been altogether happy in his appeal to South Carolina voters.

Senator Smith has satisfactorily represented the people of South Carolina for the past 30 years From 1909 until today he has proclaimed himself as a Democrat of the true South Carolina type, adhering to state's rights, white supremacy and a just tariff.

In the United States senate Smith has stood for the traditions of South Carolinians as inborn and everlasting.

Times may be changing but the question is, who is attempting to change them and why? There is no doubt about the fact that a concerted effort is being made to break the solid South, the last barrier of true Democracy.

South Carolina

Political — 1938

Elections

8,000 Race Voters Banned In S. Carolina Election

But Burnet Maybank, Whom Negroes Favored, Wins Out over Opponent by More Than 13,000 Votes.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 22—(By I. M. A. Myers for ANP)—Burnet R. Maybank, native of Charleston and mayor of that city, defeated Wyndham Manning by a majority of 13,000 in the Democratic runoff primary for governor in Tuesday's election. The primary election or nomination in South Carolina is the same as an election because of little opposition from an opposite party.

By request of his opponent, Wyndham Manning, state troops guarded the ballot boxes in Charleston the night of the election where Maybank rolled up 21,000 votes in his home county to his opponent's 1,200.

Manning issued the following statement in connection with the impounding of ballot boxes: "The result of the election is unknown to me at this time. I have protested the vote in Charleston county upon reports of irregularities there. I ask the public to wait the result of this protest."

There are 1,505 precincts in South Carolina. All but 21 precincts were reported at noon on Wednesday and this report gave Maybank 160,000 and Manning 147,133.

More than 8,000 Negroes had qualified for the Democratic primary this summer and were getting ready to vote in the August primary. On account of some objections by vote seeking politicians the names of the Negro Democrats were stricken from the rolls. However, many Negroes in the state favor the election of Burnett Maybank, governor-elect.

S. C. New Deal Trick Fails

Plan Was to Beat "Cotton Ed" with the Colored Vote

G.O.P. national committeeman tells AFRO Damn Roosevelts registered 8,000 colored Republicans as Democrats.

By DAVIS DEE
Staff Correspondent

NINETY-SIX, S.C.—How Gov. Olin Johnson and New Deal officials registered 8,000 colored people to vote in South Carolina's recent Senatorial Democratic primary in an effort to defeat U.S. Senator Cotton Ed Smith, only to have the scheme nipped in the bud by Senator Smith and Cole Blease, was told by Uncle Joe Tolbert, white, Republican national committeeman, in an exclusive interview with the AFRO this week.

See Cartoon—Editorial Page

For more than a half century Joe Tolbert who never wears a necktie has been prominent in Republican politics, and has been national committeeman for South Carolina for a number of years. The large colored delegations which he has taken to national Republican conventions always provoked national comment.

Convention on 22nd

Because of that, and because Uncle Joe has called for the State Republican convention to convene in Columbia, Thursday, the 22nd, I hied over to Ninety-six to get the "low down" on the political situation in South Carolina from the man who knows.

Before leaving Columbia I had heard rumors of some changes to be made at the coming State convention. Uncle Joe it seems is holding too many offices, and the delegates are coming to the convention to get Uncle Joe's scalp.

Again, rumor had it that certain colored county chairmen have gone New Deal and have established Democratic clubs. In fact one chairman is said to have been responsible for the registration of the 8,000 colored votes that were thrown out. However, we'll let Uncle Joe tell the story:

Uncle Joe Talks

"Now about some of the chairmen going over to the damn Democrats. I didn't know that till last week.

"Here's what happened. Governor Johnson and some other New Deal Democrats got hold of N. A. Collins, country chairman of Richland county, forced him to give up his chairmanship of our party and head a Democratic club. They also called in the registration judges and clerks and had a definite understanding that all Collins brought in would be registerered without question.

"You see," Uncle Joe explained "under the law here a N—— must either own clear of debt $300 worth of taxable property or be able to interpret certain sections of the constitution.

Republicans Brought in

"Well, those damn rascals arranged to have the registration judges forget all that and Collins sent trucks out in the country and brought in all our Republicans and registered them as Democrats.

"The scheme was this," Uncle Joe explained.

"Johnson and his New Deal cohorts figured that they would get a lot of N—s registered—which they did, 8,000 of them—then if the race was close between the Governor and Cotton Ed Smith for the Senatorial nomination, they planned to throw those 8,000 N—— votes to Johnson to give him the nomination.

Blease Tipped off

"Well, by golly the scheme didn't work. Somebody tipped Cotton Ed Smith and Cole Blease off. They called in the Democratic committee and told what happened.

"That committee wrote another clause in the by-laws known as section six which bars N—s from voting in a Democratic primary, and they threw out the 8,000 registrations brought in by Brother Collins."

Joe Tolbert chuckled: "I was so glad that Collins could not even vote himself."

Concerning the dissatisfaction of certain sepia leaders anent his rule and control of Republican politics in South Carolina, the old man smiled:

"I'm Their Friend"

"When we go into the convention Thursday, those N—s will be right with me. I've been working with them for fifty years, and they know I'm their friend."

Maurice Words, a prominent contractor in Columbia, told me that Uncle Joe's friends had given a number of delegates $250 each to stand by him at the convention.

Marion Rivers, who operates a filling station explained that one time Uncle Joe's lieutenants gave him $450 to buy votes, but he returned the money.

Joe Denies Vote Buying

Anent his buying votes the veteran politican said: "I've never bought votes. I render service and the N—s in South Carolina know it. I've been a friend to your people for more than 75 years.

"I own 9,000 acres of land, and have over 100 N—— families living on my plantations. Some of them have been here seventy-five years. I couldn't get along without these old N—s, because the young N—s ain't worth a damn.

Would Lose His Job

"I've fought for the N——'s rights. Right here in South Carolina if a registration clerk would register nine N—s in one day he would lose his job. The only way a N—— can get registered in this county, even though he owns the $300 worth of property or can interpret the constitution, is when I force the clerks to register them.

"Then when the clerk issues the registration slips I have to keep them for the N——, if I don't these damn Democrats would buy the slips which means that the black rascals couldn't vote."

Fought With Hoover

Mr. Tlobert paused and then tapped me on the shoulder: "Do you remember the fight I had with Old Hoover and Walter Brown, postmaster general during the Hoover administration?

"Well, Walter and Hoover sent for me to come to Washington. I went up there to see what they wanted. Brown said, 'Joe, we want a white party in Carolina—you've got too many N—s in the party down there.'

"I asked Walter Brown," Mr. Tolbert said, "what he wanted me to do. He replied, 'go back to South Carolina and replace the N—s on the committee with white people.'

I told Walter Brown and Herbert Hoover," Mr. Tolbert said "that I couldn't do that; that had to live with these N—s and they would never forgive me."

Nobody Resigns

The national committeeman explained, however, that Walter Brown directed him to go back to South Carolina and call a meeting and see if he could not get the colored members of the committee to resign. This he did but not one member of the committee would resign. Mr. Tolbert then wired Mr. Brown that his scheme didn't work.

Referring again to the recent Democratic primary, Mr. Tolbert said: "Cotton Ed Smith spoke up here at Greenwood. I went to hear him. You know all this stuff about Cotton Ed hating N—s is just bunk. Of course he wants them to stay in their place.

Mitchell and Smith

"He told me about that N—— Congressman Mitchell at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia. Mitchell was on the rostrum with Senator Smith, and he pointed his finger at Smith and said: 'you're a cracker; you hate colored people and have mistreated my people in South Carolina; and I hate you.'

"Of course Smith didn't like that," Uncle Joe said. "I wouldn't have liked it either.

Damn Roosevelts

"Those damn Roosevelts feel that N——s should say what they please to white folks, and that's what has ruined the N—— in the South. That's what has caused so many black fools to go over to the damn Democrats.

"But what is the Democratic party doing for the N—— in the South? Here in South Carolina the poor whites are getting the cream.

Ham, Flour, Butter

"There's a government truck that comes here to Ninety-Six once a week bringing hams, flour and the best of creamy butter carrying an Elgin label.

"There are lots of white people getting that stuff that have plenty. The N——s here that need it can't get anything but some canned goods.

"I've seen," Mr. Tolbert charged, "white people here get big pieces of side meat, and as soon as the truck leaves they sell it to some old d—— for whatever money he has. But you can't tell these N——s anything—if Roosevelt would run for another term tomorrow every N—— in South Carolina would vote for him."

If They Could

Asked what chance the colored people in South Carolina have of regaining the political standing they once had, Mr. Tolbert replied: "If the N——s in South Carolina would register and vote they could send three Congressmen and two Senators to Washington, and elect members of their own race to State offices."

Greenville, S. C. News
October 2, 1938

TOLBERT SEES CHANCE OF HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR

Republican Candidate Predicts 20,000 Votes For Self November 8

Joseph A. Tolbert, Greenville attorney who is the republican candidate on a dry platform for governor of South Carolina in the general election yesterday virtually predicted his election on November 8.

He said he would receive 20,000 votes. That is more than half of the votes usually cast in a general election in South Carolina.

Tolbert will oppose Burnet R. Maybank, mayor of Charleston and democratic nominee for governor. The democratic nominee for governor hasn't failed of election since 1874.

Mr. Tolbert predicted he would get a large vote in Charleston, home town of Maybank. He also predicted a heavy vote for himself in the Piedmont.

RULE 32 HELPS

As one reason for optimism, Tolbert pointed to changes effected in the famous Rule 32 of the democratic party.

"Rule 32 has been so modified that in general elections qualified electors can cast their ballots for the candidates of their choice regardless of how they voted in democratic primaries," he said.

Registration of negroes in South Carolina has been reported from throughout the state as being much heavier than usual. The negro vote ordinarily goes republican in general elections.

Mr. Tolbert said that if he is elected governor, he will seek the passage of state and national legislation which would set the penalty at death for conviction on charges of lynching.

CONDEMNS LYNCHING

"I condemn lynching in the strongest possible terms and I urgently recommend national and state legislation that will furnish the death penalty for those who participate in this foul and diabolical crime," he said yesterday.

Tolbert's platform also provides for the abolition of legal whisky in the state.

"In making the race of governor of South Carolina, my sole aim, object and purpose is to offer my services to my native state and the state which has been the home of my forebears since 1760," Tolbert said.

"If elected governor of South Carolina, I propose to give my state a constructive, business, safe, sane and sound administration. I pledge to every citizen of South Carolina, regardless of his station in life, a fair, square deal under provisions of the state and federal Constitutions. I appeal for support to the electorate of South Carolina on the basis of my platform."

PLATFORM PLANKS

Tolbert listed among others these planks: To support and defend the Constitutions of the United States and South Carolina, to preserve the independence of the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government, to oppose any increase in state paternalism, to promote the principles of more business in government and less government interference in business, strict and impartial enforcement of the laws of the state, development of a cooperative system of marketing agricultural products, legislation that will abolish the sale of liquor and other intoxicants, legislation which will provide more severe penalties for maintaining nuisances, enactment of a statute fixing the legal rate of interest at five per cent, enactment of legislation providing a penalty of not less than one year in prison for conviction on charges of usury, abolition of chain gangs, institution of a modern probation system for prisoners and enactment of legislation which will encourage home ownership.

Bishopville, S. C., Messenger
December 22, 1938

Columbia Negroes Oppose Selection Of Gov. Johnston

Columbia, Dec. 19.—A group of Columbia negro organizations sent a telegram last night to President Roosevelt expressing the "hope that should you confer with Governor (Olin D.) Johnston concerning any federal appointment for him it will not be without cognizance of his prejudices as regards negroes."

The alleged prejudices were "evidenced," the telegram said, "first, in his failure to sign a free text-book law because of the advantages offered negro school children; second, his asking negroes to leave a public meeting of Sumter county citizens held in the county court house where he was the principal speaker; third, his objection to the establishment of a regional CCC camp for negroes; and finally the recent discrimination in his failure to provide flags for negro school children on the occasion of your visit to Columbia.

"In an administration characterized by tolerance and liberality toward all the citizens, it would seem that all major appointees would be schooled in that attitude and would be expected to accept it as their own if they would advance the ends of a liberal party.

"We would have you know that there are numbers of fair-minded whites within our state who merit any appointment within the gift of government, men of exceptional training combined with a sense of appreciation for the problems of minority groups and the underdogs in labor, a combination of qualities we feel not to be found in our governor

"As we study the development of your ideals and program and compare your record with the record of our governor, remembering the way in which he has used repeatedly the advantages of his high office to wound the sensibilities of approximately one-half of his constituency, we are compelled to conclude that our president and our governor may be friends but they do not speak the same language as regards democracy."

This paper, as has been said repeatedly, has nothing against the negro race. Negroes, we believe, if let alone by meddlesome whites and officious negroes of the North, are well behaved and get along well with the whites of the South, knowing who their real friends are. We are wondering how much the attitude of the National Democratic party during the present administration has and is having to do with such as appears in the above news item, which went the rounds the first of the week. We are neither condemning nor approving what the president and Governor Johnston is doing or have done in the matter of the judgeship or any other federal office, but we are concerned with the meddling of Northern negroes and Northern whites, principally of the Democratic party, with relation between the two races in the South.

As effect follows cause so effect has its cause. The above action of negroes as printed above, has its cause. Where is it? We might trace back to the politics of the Democratic partyy during the last six years. But let Southern people form their opinion of the above and other matters of a like nature.

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"COTTON ED" BEHIND TIMES
N.A.A.C.P. TELLS S. C. PAPER

Press Service of the N.A.A.C.P.
8-5-38 New York, N.Y.

New York, Aug. 5.- The fight being waged by South Carolina's Negro-baiting Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith for renomination resolves itself into the question of "whether the people of South Carolina wish to continue as their representative in Washington a man who patently is behind the times," Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said in a statement issued here July 26.

The statement was contained in a letter sent to the South Carolina paper, a rabid defender of southern white chauvinism, in reply to two editorials appearing in the News and Courier July 19,20

Warning South Carolinians that "if you vote against Smith you vote for the victory of Walter White of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People," the paper, in its first editorial quoted Frederick W. Wile, Washington (D.C.) Star writer as making it clear that the N.A.A.C.P. "has three separated grudges against 'Cotton Ed'": his two walk-outs from the 1936 Philadelphia Democratic Convention because Rev. Marshall Shephard prayed and Rep. Arthur W. Mitchell seconded Roosevelt's nomination, and his bitter fight against the anti-lynching bill. The editorial was labelled "Smith-or Walter White."

A second editorial, "Smith - or Negro Victory," appearing July 20, said in part:

"The organized Northern Negroes led by Walter White of New York and Labor's Non-Partisan League...are out to remove Smith from public life. The white people of South Carolina cannot allow Smith to be defeated unless they wish to hand victory to Northern Negroes...."

Press Service of the N.A.A.C.P.
8-5-38 New York, N.Y.

Wilkins said the Association objected to the paper's classifying the voting choice of South Carolinians" on the basis of race, when, as a matter of fact, it will be determined solely by their awareness of whether they are living in 1938 or 1878".

Greenville, County, S. C., Observer
August 5, 1938

NEGROES SAY SMITH MUST BE DEFEATED

Demand That He Shall Not Be Re-elected—George Also

By Sara Orr Williams, Washington correspondent of the Augusta, Ga., Chronicle:

That Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina is to be put on the spot by the white house elimination committee is accepted as a foregone conclusion but Washington commentator Frederic William Wile presents another angle to the situation. He said recently that the Carolina senator is to be "purged" not only because he opposed the Roosevelt court plan but because of all the "non-liberals" to be ex-communicated by Mr. Roosevelt, Smith is the "one whom the negroes of the United States are most bent upon removing from public life."

The negroes dislike Senator Smith for his fight on the anti-lynching bill, and also for his spectacular refusal to be present at the Democratic national convention in 1936 when that assembled body was led in prayer by a colored minister It will be recalled that he walked out in a huff, loudly declaring his reasons, which did not add to his popularity with the negroes.

"Executive Secretary Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Elder Michaux, the Happy Am I evangelist (negro preacher in Washington) who is also close to the new deal high command, and colored leaders generally are putting the heat on the Democratic national management to smash Smith in the August primary," commentator Wile said.

Some time ago this correspondent reported that Senator Walter F. George has the strong opposition of northern negroes and Communists, evidenced at the 10th national convention of the Communistic party held in New York in May One negro Communist called the senior senator from Georgia a "Southern Bourbon" and exhorted the delegates to that convention to oppose all candidates who opposed the anti-lynching bill.

Now it seems they are taking out after Senator Smith with equal vigor and animosity, but, Washington observers declare, this opposition to both Southern senators who fought the anti-lynching bill so tirelessly and successfully, will only cement their supporters and incite them to new energies in their behalf.

Columbia, S. C. State
August 6, 1938

PROFESSOR deGOOFUS, FROM MARS.

Prof. Oswald Q. deGoofus, a visitor from Mars without previous knowledge of South Carolina, has been attending campaign meetings. He is, naturally, somewhat confused, yet he has reached a few interesting conclusions. For example:

Bacon is the favorite food of South Carolinians. If this is not true, asks the professor, why do candidates speak of it so often and of other foods so rarely?

Washington is a place where money is manufactured in unlimited quantities, and to which all persons go when they want anything at all.

Candidates are exceedingly great men. "I reach this conclusion," comments the kindly professor, "from their own statements concerning themselves."

Several men are running against an opponent who does not appear at the meetings, but who is described as "The Negro."

Coat-tailing, one of the main issues as the professor sees the situation, must be a kind of sport. "Anyway," says our visitor, "the audiences always laugh when it is mentioned."

There are almost no young people in South Carolina. On the contrary, most of the population is quite old, pathetic and in deep economic distress. "I am certain of this," the professor asserts, "because candidates speak so feelingly of more and bigger pensions for the aged. The aged must, therefore, constitute a majority of all voters."

In South Carolina it is a great honor to be poor, and almost a disgrace to be well off. 'This is clear as can be," the professor said to us. "Candidates praise the poor in the highest terms, and often boast that they themselves have been unable to succeed to any marked degree. This, to me, is strange."

Law enforcement is a policy, or something respected in the rural areas to some degree but scorned in certain cities.

All candidates are optimists. Each one asserts he is positive of his own victory.

These conclusions the professor gave to us in the course of a brief interview. We endeavored to draw him out to greater length but he waved us aside, explaining that he must continue his search for a complete dictionary. Why a complete dictionary? "Because," he replied, "my pocket guide to the English language includes most of the words used by candidates, but not those used by voters who hear the addresses."

"Why, Professor!" we said, "What words are troubling you?"

"'Phooey,' he replied, and 'blah.' I have heard them used over and over by voters, yet have been unable to find them in any dictionary so far located."

"Race Equality" In New Deal Purge, Cotton Smith Tells South Carolinians

New Dealer Alleges Smith Voted to Get Rid of Jim Crow in Home State

Incumbent Says "Poor Whites" Still Want Argument About "White Supremacy"

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—Faced with the possibility of defeat through President Roosevelt's purge of those opposed to his program, Senator Ellison D. "Cotton Ed' Smith of this state and Senator Walter F. George of Georgia are using the old reliable scarecrow of race equality as a means of rallying voters to their banners.

Not only these senators, but also representatives in the "Old South" are using race prejudice with an effectiveness not apparent since the strongest days of the Ku Klux Klan. This was an eventuality apparently not conceived by the president and his advisers when he started the purge.

Candidates, marked for the Roosevelt ax, contend to gullible audiences that the purge is really an attack on white supremacy. Printed material has been distributed condemning the recent anti-lynching bill and much is available nearly everywhere showing prominent New Dealers associating with Negroes.

Easily influenced by this type of campaign are the factory workers, tenant farmers nad other "poor whites" who previously have been the administration's staunchest supporters but who also are in direct economic competition with Negroes. This campaign also intends to smash John L. Lewis's CIO which currently seeks to organize cotton mill and other industrial workers.

Office seekers point out the wholesale defection of Negroes from the Republican to Democratic ranks, aroused interest of colored Southerners in voting the Democratic ticket and abolishing the white primary, the catering of many Northern Democrats to the Negro vote, and similar facts.

Loudest of all the Negrophobists is Senator Smith, foe of Roosevelt. Smith was the senator who walked out of the 1936 Democratic convention in Philadelphia when Rev. Sheppard delivered the opening prayer one session, and also left Congressman Mitchell was scheduled to speak. He has made it appear that the New Deal is really back of the anti-lynching measure, and since his two opponents, Governor Olin Johnston and Edgar Brown, are staunch New Dealers, he has embarrassed them no end by calling upon them to declare themselves on the measure and then reconcile it with their full support of the New Deal.

In retaliation, Johnston and Brown have gone back forty years to the time when Smith, as a member of the state legislature, somehow opposed segregation of the races on railroad cars.

"Why, Ed Smith voted for a bill that would permit a big buck nigger to sit by your wife or sister on a railroad train," Johnston has shouted at several gatherings.

Smith has not bothered even to reply. His record as a Negro-hater for 50 years is too well known. His argument that he stands against Negroes participating in the Democratic party is his best ammunition during the current campaign.

"This is one time whether you like Ed Smith or not every red-blooded white man should vote for Smith,' he tells audiences, 'because outside organizations are seeking to defeat me because of my stand for white supremacy Democrat; his reelection wil be a wholesome warning to the East." On the page is a statement by Labor's Non-Partisan League, formed by John L. Lewis and others, advocating passage of the anti-lynching bill; in the center is a big picture of Smith made on the senate steps of the capitol with the statement that it showed the senator leaving his office a few hours after talking against the anti-lynching bill in the senate.

Poiltical friends early in the campaign advised Smith to soft-pedal the race question, saying the issue was dead and it might draw unnecassary fire from Washington. Smith said he tired to take their advice and deal only with issues of the day, but when he took a lofty speech to the poor white crowd, a farmer interrupted with "Aw hell, Ed, tell us about Philidelfy." Since then he has been feeding them with white supremacy stuff.

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LOOKING AROUND and BEYOND

By

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

DOWN IN SOUTH CAROLINA the welkin was made to ring with the nauseous appeal of "Cotton Ed. Smith," for votes in the recent state primaries Senator Smith, is an admitted leader of the notorious Red Shirts, the organization which left its bloody trail in the Southland during Reconstruction days he wants to be re-elected to the United States Senate where he can continue to draw a Federal salary to dispense patronage and serve generally the forces of reaction, and racial bigotry. Running true to type, the Senator could see no issue in the campaign except the issue of "white Supremacy." This, by the way, is the spurious issue raised by every political, economic and social charlatan in the South since the colored man was given theoretical equality with other Americans following Sherman's famous "March to the sea and Lee's ignoble surrender at Appomatux.

IN ONE OF HIS distribes before members of his Red Shirt organization in the primary campaign, the Senator saw the "superiority" of the white man threatened by the admittance of colored into the Northern wing of the Democratic party and into the C.I.O. It is needless to say, that with "white supremacy" as the absorbing issue the Senator defeated his rivals and is therefore destined to return to Washington for another term in the United States Senate; unless, in the meantime death comes to the rescue of the liberal and progressive forces of the nation.

WHITE SUPREMACY IS ONE of those terms which is bandied about to cover a multitude of sins. Thus far, we have been unable to find any anthropological or biological basis upon which scientifically to justify the term. Albeit, in all fairness to Senator Smith it must be admitted that American life has spawned many biological objects and social behaviors which tend to establish a degree of plausibility for the theory of "superiority" as a human quality to be determined by the yardstick of color or so-called race.

FOR INSTANCE, THUS FAR in American history colored have not engaged in the white, Christian practice of lynching. This we admit is a sign of inferiority. Again, we note that even though the Republican and Democratic parties have been more or less united in manifesting their utter disregard for the rights and interests of the colored man, yet the colored continue to be good Republicans, good Democrats and 100 per cent patriots. Then, too the superiority of white America has been amply demonstrated on two other important fronts. For instance; nobody can prate any louder about "purity of race" than the average white Southern idiot. Yet it is from the South that the bulk of the nation's mulatto population comes. This social phenomenon is indeed interesting when it is recalled that no section of the nation works more indefatigably to keep the "races" apart than the Southland. In order to keep black and white apart, separate schools, separate churches, separate residential districts, separate prisons, and separate cemeteries are provided; yet under cover of darkness and under other covers the South produces more mullattoes than any other section. In the face of that fact, we find the average Southern voter still believing in the myths of "race purity and white supremacy." This is indeed a testimonial to the genius of the Cotton Ed. Smiths and their type of mentality. The other front upon which the superiority of white America demonstrates itself is in the field of politics and government.

DEMOCRACY IS PREDICATED UPON the principle of majority rule. In applying this principle to our political life, we find that our politico-economic masters have done an excellent job by accepting Democracy in theory, while they nullify it in practice. Through numerous subterfuges, such as race, poll tax, the domination of the two political parties by our economic rulers, literacy test and other ways, democracy has been trampled under foot, by a brazen but powerful minority. This minority, has succeded in dividing the majority on the bases of race, religion, sex and what not, with the result that on election day they go to the polls, not as propertyless, exploited people seeking socio-economic and political justice, but as whites versus blacks, good versus bad and so forth.

SOME DAY, WE ARE confident, the people, both black and white — the poor people who work in mills and mine, in factory, on railroads, in the school houses, and on the farms will get wise to the Smith's and others who have kept them consigned to a life of long, hard labor, who have robbed them of their labor power, who have prevented them from getting a full view of life, who have narrowed their vision to a glimpse of life only from behind the squalid walls of the slums. Some day these people will rise up; the scales of ignorance will fall from their eyes, they will learn at last how to appreciate the power which is theirs through their numbers and their vital importance to industry and agriculture. When that day comes, the bogey of race superiority, so attractive today will be exposed for what it is, namely; a device to weaken the ranks of the colored and white working class and thus continue the exploitation of both by a clever, scheming minority. Have your fun while you may Cotton Ed. Smith! Today, you can turn to the past for spiritual strength to win another election in South Carolina. That past belongs to you and your Red Shirts, while the future belongs to the workers regardless of race, creed or color. Their day of victory will come in spite of you.

[In this column Mr. Crosswaith expresses his own personal opinions which are not necessarily the views of The Guardian.—Ed.]

Birmingham, Ala. Post
September 8, 1938

Fair Enough

By

WESTBROOK PEGLER

Adventurous New Dealers Forcing Issue Of White Supremacy To Be Raised Again In South

NEW YORK, Sept. 7.—Cotton Ed Smith, who has just received another mandate from the people of South Carolina, has been denounced for waving a bloody shirt in his recent successful campaign and reviving the issue of white supremacy in the South. He is said to have delivered again an oratorical set-piece of his which is derisively known to his colleagues and the press gallery of the United States Senate as "The Speech." This oration is not so famous as some commentators apparently believe it is, but they go on an assumption that the public far and wide is familiar with it and give only an inkling as to its contents in saying that it deals with the horrors of the Reconstruction era in the South and, in particular, with personal affront to a female relative of the senator in those terrible days.

It is difficult, however, to see how the issue on which Senator Smith made his campaign can be avoided in future battles within the Democratic Party in the South. For the Roosevelt wing of the party contains a strong element of politically adventurous Northern visionaries and theorists who are determined to apply their beliefs evenly everywhere. In doing this, these New Dealers must, in consistency, raise the issue which Senator Smith used for reasons of political opportunism. population of the Southern states. It was intended to woo the Negro elsewhere, and to enrage the white He just beat the opposition to the punch.

Issue Cannot Be Avoided

The issue cannot be avoided anywhere in the Deep South without a serious compromise of professed principle. And. if it be pressed out of respect for consistency and principle, and for the appeasement of the Negro vote in the North, it will provoke a widespread revival of the reminiscences and feeling to which Senator Smith resorted in his fight.

Least consistent of those who rebuke Mr. Smith for raising this issue are the Communists and those journalistic fellow-travelers who weep over the tragedy of such a low appeal from the stump, knowing that they have forced the issue by nominating a Negro for the office of vice-President on the Communist ticket.

Anyone with any realism or honesty knows that this was done as a gesture of extreme aggravation and taunt, and was directed at the white South, and there was not the slightest notion that the candidacy of the Negro running-mate of Earl Browder should be taken seriously. For that matter, Browder's own candidacy was not serious, although it was grim.

If, however, the Communists and their fellow-travelers be taken literally in this, they should welcome rather than regret the acceptance of their deliberate challenge. In that case, they plainly indicated a readiness not merely to meet but to force the issue, and the acceptance of the challenge by such as Cotton Ed Smith or anyone else in Southern politics should inspire them to attack, not moan.

Senator vs. Dummy

Cotton Ed is no great adornment to the Senate, and his victory is a matter of little pride to those who would curb the development of a government by one man's will. Yet he would have been entirely acceptable, and would have been acclaimed as a progressive statesman of the South, like Pepper, of Florida, if he had notified the White House in advance of a willingness to vote exactly as directed on all issues.

It takes no senator to do that, and it needn't cost $20,000 a year in pay, expenses and perquisites of the senatorial office to hire a dummy to perform the simple "yea" and "nay" duties of a man so committed. A page boy could do the job just as well.

Huey Long had such a Legislature in Baton Rouge, and would sit in the governor's office, from which he often ran the governor out like a menial, and watch the vote of his dummies flash in red and green lights on the electrical scoreboard. The lights, except a few, were all of one color on any given proposition, for the legislators got orders from Huey.

Manning's Election Welcomed in South Carolina by Negro

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP)—Burnet R. Maybank, native of Charleston and mayor of that city, defeated Wyndham Manning by majority of 13,000 in the Democratic runoff primary for governor in Tuesday's election. The primary election or nomination in South Carolina is the same as an election because of little opposition from an opposite party.

By request of his opponent, Wyndham Manning, state troops guarded the ballot boxes in Charleston the night of the election where Maybank rolled up 21,000 votes in his home county to his opponent's 1,200.

Manning issued the following statement in connection with the impounding of ballot boxes: "The result of the election is unknown to me at this time. I have protested the vote in Charleston county upon reports of irregularities there. I ask the public to wait the result of this protest.

There are 1,505 precincts in South Carolina. All but 21 precincts were reported at noon Wednesday and this report gave Maybank 180,728 and Manning, 147,133.

More than 8,000 Negroes had qualified for the Democratic primary this summer and were getting ready to vote in the August primary. On account of some objections by vote seeking politicians the names of the Negro Democrats were stricken from the rolls. However, many Negroes in the state favor the election of Burnett Maybank, governor-elect.

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Aiken, S. C., Standard & Review
July 29, 1938

OPPOSITION IS HELPFUL

IN his campaign address here Monday, Senator E. D. Smith (Cotton Ed) Smith, senator from South Carolina who is seeking reelection, said that he and Senator James F. Byrnes "each had an average of 75 per cent in voting on administration measures" and praised Senator Byrnes for opposing some of the administration measures.

A 100 per cent New Dealer would have to advocate measures which are baneful in the South. He would be with the C. I. O. which it is reported is in our state intent on defeating Senator Smith because he has not done its bidding. A 100 percenter would have to vote for packing the Supreme Court and for the wage hour bill. We do not need a 100 per center.

Not only is the C. I. O. after "Cotton Ed" but Walter White's Society for the Advancement of the Colored People are taking out after him as the one whom the Negroes are most bent upon removing from office. As the News and Courier in a recent editorial asked, "Is not South Carolina a White Man's country?

Will not all this opposition only cement Smith's supporters and incite them to new energies in his behalf?

Greenville, S. C. News
July 27, 1938

Smith And Byrnes

Speaking at Aiken one of the candidates for the United States Senate Edgar A. Brown of Barnwell, said that "the reason Jimmie Byrnes had so much influence in Washington is because he cooperates with the President and the administration in power."

Mr. Brown was attacking, as usual Senator Ellison D. Smith, a practice in which he and the third candidate Olin D. Johnston, have engaged in throughout the state.

He failed to note, however, that in the matter of cooperation with the President the record of Senator Byrnes and the record of Senator Smith are similar.

Senator Byrnes has been no coat-tail swinger and no 100 per center. He has constructively supported the President in many matters, as has Senator Smith, but in others he has voted against the President, as Senator Smith has.

Both Byrnes and Smith not only voted against the anti-lynching bill, which was designed to catch northern negro votes by humiliating the South and which gave promise of encouraging rather than discouraging lynchings, but they fought it vigorously—and successfully.

Candidates Brown and Johnston may applaud Senator Byrnes' cooperation with the administration, hoping by implication to reflect on the record of Senator Smith, but it will boomerang. The two records are of the same high type.

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
July 29, 1938

SHOULD COME CLEAN

Brown and Johnston, the two candidates seeking to defeat the veteran senator, E. D. Smith, for re-election in South Carolina, keep harping on the fact that they are for Roosevelt and charging that Smith is not. Why does not Smith cite the votes he cast in the United States senate contrary to orders from the white house and demand that his opponents come clean with statements as to whether or not they would have voted in those particular cases as he did. If they would, then they are no more hundred percenters than he is; if they would not, then they prove themselves unfit to represent South Carolina.

The C. I. O., the Communist-tainted labor organization, demands the defeat of Smith. It says it is going to send a representative into South Carolina to instruct the voters of that state to vote for Olin D. Johnston, their friend, for United States senator. The Association for the Advancement of Colored People also wants Smith defeated, but will hardly send its executive secretary, Walter White, into South Carolina to campaign openly for Smith's defeat. White and his association will work for the defeat of Smith thru the C. I. O., with which they are hand in glove. They have common ideals. The C. I. O. backed White in his fight to have the anti-lynching law passed.

The anti-lynching law will be presented again. The voters of South Carolina should force Candidates Brown and Johnston to say whether or not they will vote for it if sent to the senate. If they say they will not, it will cool the support the C. I. O. and the Association for Advancement of Colored People are giving to the fight to defeat Smith.

Sumter, S. C., Daily Item
July 30, 1938

SMITH—OR A NEGRO VICTORY

(News And Courier)

The organized northern negroes led by Walter White of New York and labor's Non-Partisan League, a political organization of white and black men of northern cities, are openly engaged in an effort to remove Senator Ellison D. Smith from public life.

So far and so impudently has this effort proceeded that labor's Non-Partisan League—to which no one in South Carolina belongs—is actively engaged in trying to defeat Senator Smith for renomination in a Democratic party primary. It would have a right to engage actively against him in the November election, just as the Republican party has no right to engage in a Democratic primary. Neither has labor's Non-Partisan League.

The attitude of Messrs. Johnston and Brown on the "race question" is irrelevant to the issue. No one would say that they are sympathetic with the northern negroes in politics.

A condition has been created by the northern leaders of the negroes whereby the defeat of Smith would be their victory, would be so construed and so hailed throughout the United States. For they are out to remove Smith from public life.

The issue is plain. The white people of South Carolina cannot allow Smith to be defeated unless they wish to hand victory to the northern negroes.

The northern negroes have made the issue such that the white people of South Carolina would be compelled to vote for Smith regardless of his merits or his demerits.

The contest for a senator in South Carolina is now a race question. The northern negroes have made it that.

Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
July 28, 1938

NEGROES AGAINST SMITH

Frederick William Wile, who writes "Washington Observations" in The Washington Star, says that the Rooseveltian fight on E. D. Smith is based "not alone on his opposition to the Roosevelt court plan" but that it is made because "the negroes of the United States are most bent on removing him from public life." The New Deal is dependent on the votes of negroes in the north. "The Society for the Advancement of the Colored People has three separate grudges against 'Cotton Ed'" (we quote Mr Wile), "his objection to the selection of a negro to pray in the national Philadeliphia convention, his protest against the choice of a negro congressman to second Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, these incidents being 'symbols' of the Democratic capture of the northern negro vote and the cause of Smith's walking out of the convention, and his active opposition to the anti-lynching bill, so called.—News and Courier. Charleston.

Americus, Ga., Tri-County News
July 28, 1938

Racial Issue Gets Into Georgia and S. C. Campaign

Activities of National Nergo Organization and Anti-Lynch Bill Aiding Senators George in Georgia and Smith in South Carilina, Says Atlanta Writer

By J. C. WILSON,
Atlanta Political Writer

It is conceded in Sotuh Carolina this week that the prospects for defeating Senator Ellison D. Smith, (Cotton Ed), evaported when the people of that state discovered that Senator Smith had been marked for slaughter by the National Association For Advancement of Colored people.

In connection with the campaign of Senator Smith in South Carolina, there is an interesting Georgia Angle: Possibility of Lawrence Camp defeating Senator George went glimmering when Clark Foreman came from Washington to assist in the Camp campaign. Mr. Foreman, a Georgian, is an attache of Secretary Ickes and advises him on "race relations." His views are perhaps best illustrated by the fact that his two stenographers are negro women. His writings on the subject have infuriated those of his Georgia friends who have read them. For these reasons, Mr. Foreman is decidedly not an asset to Camp's campaign which may account for the fact that he requested the Atlanta newspapers, if they mentioned his presence in Atlanta, to refer to him as "Dr. C. H. Foreman."

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
July 29, 1938

WHAT SAYS WHITE?

"Politics makes strange bedfellows." When McAdoo and Al Smith had their dog fight for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1924, it was generally understood that the K. K. K., then much stronger than now, actively backed McAdoo. President Roosevelt during his present barnstorming political tour gave McAdoo his blessing as a candidate for re-election as United States senator from California. Now, what does Walter White think of that? He is the active agent of the Association for Advancement of Colored People, an organization which ceaselessly strives to force social equality and which brought pressure to bear which led Northern Democrats in both branches of congress to desert their Southern allies and fight for the anti-lynching bill, which was desired, not so much to prevent lynchings, as to establish power of congress to take race relations out of the hands of stategovernments, where they belong under the federal constitution, and put them in the hands of the national government. How does Walter White regard Roosevelt's endorsement of McAdoo? Or has McAdoo convinced White that he repents in sackcloth and ashes of ever having had the support of the Ku Klux?

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 27, 1938

75 Per Cent New Dealers

Ellison D. Smith, a senator from South Carolina, who is seeking renomination, says that he and another senator from South Carolina, James F. Byrnes, "each had an average of 75 per cent in voting on administration measures" and praised Senator Byrnes for opposing some administration measures.

A 100 per cent New Dealer would have to advocate measures which are baneful in the South. A 100 per center would have to vote for packing the Supreme Court of the United States and for the federal anti-lynching bill, as well as for a wage-and-hour measure devised to give the East and the Middle West advantages over the South. He would be with the C. I. O., which is reported to be intent on defeating Senator Smith because he has not done its bidding.

Fateful Racial Factor In Politics In S. C. Again

Editor The News:

It is very sad to many of us that one of the chief factors that entered into the Civil war is today entering South Carolina politics. There are some who will contend that there is absolutely no connection, but history will bear out this statement. Historians do not agree that slavery was the direct cause of this war, but it was one of the worries that confronted our people. At any rate, the war was fought and the negro was freed and the South realizes as time goes on that slavery is looked upon by all as the great reason for the South's position in our nation today.

In 1910 there was not a city in the United States with a negro population of more than 100,000, but in 1930 there were seven cities with a negro population of more than the above number. During the World war there was a great demand for laborers in the North and the negroes began to migrate in that direction. With a very few years more than four million negroes moved from the south to a northern "paradise." Of course the larger cities had more attractions for the negro and they were soon flooded with those who considered the south the land of negro persecution. Everything moved along smoothly until the arrival of the depression and then the negro realized his haven of rest was filled with many thorns and thistles, but, like all his race he had joined several secret orders and labor unions and was well fortified, as he thought, against want for earthly things. He soon learned that he could not expect much progress in the financial world, but he was determined to make a place for himself and his race and through his secret orders and other affiliations he decided that his only hope was to enter the political field and demand recognition by the party that had the most to offer him and his. Being clannish, they vote as a unit and the soap box orator is considered their guiding star. Southerners know the race and are not surprised to learn that many from the north look upon them as a great calamity instead of the supposed blessing they had been taught to believe they would receive.

Now, my friends, we are told that a certain union known as the CIO is soon to send a representative to this great state of ours for the purpose of telling our people that they do not know what they want and that if they do know they will only get what this CIO wants them to have. We have the utmost respect for every labor organization in South Carolina and believe in them but our unions are managed by our people and have no connection with those who are determined to enter politics in South Carolina.

John L. Lewis is to the negro of the north what Jesus Christ is to our southern people. He is compelled to do their bidding and they have given him orders and he is sure to carry them out. This branch of the CIO is composed of predjuiced negroes and ignorant foreigners and are giving the northern states more worry than all the other organizations combined. From 35 to 45 per cent of this class of people are on relief and the people of South Carolina are paying their part to help support them.

December 17, 1860, a group of prominent citizens of South Carolina met in Charleston and decided that they could and would run their own affairs and on this date South Carolina seceded from the union.

Later on it was necessary for every able-bodied man to shoulder his rifle and fight for what he thought was right and one or the most important rights was that of preventing outsiders from interfering with our affairs.

Yes, we know that white men were pushed back at the point of bayonets at the ballot box and negroes permitted to vote, but that was during the sixties and this is 1938. Today we are a strong state from every standpoint. We cherish the memory of our fathers who gave their all that we could enjoy freedom of speech and action and govern ourselves within our own boundaries.

We feel humiliated that there are some who forget the sacrifices made by our fathers and ask that the most dreaded enemies of our state support them for public office. I thank God that there are only a few in South Carolina who will sell their birth right for the support of enemies of civilization.

1938 calls you and me to the ballot box and it is there the question of whether we shall govern ourselves or be governed by those who's very object is that of destroying the entire South.

At no time since 1860 have we had a more urgent call for the defense of our freedom than the present time and we know every citizen who has a drop of blood of 1860 in his body will answer the call.

DR. E. J. BRYSON

Liberty

SUPREMACY OF WHITES USED TO GAIN VOTES

Candidates Appeal To Prejudices In Campaigns

9-3-38

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 2—The reactionary banner of race hatred and white supremacy has been raised here by anti-New Deal elements in their fight against the New Deal drive to "purge" the tories from the high councils of the Democratic party.

Chief among the offenders is the veteran Race-baiter Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith, who has been marked by President Roosevelt for elimination from the Senate.

The Anti-New Deal campaign ranges all the way from printed statements condemning the Anti-Lynching bill to whispered instructions as to where those interested might find pictures of prominent New Dealers associating with Race members.

"This is one time whether you like Ed Smith or not every red-blooded white man should vote for Smith," Senator Smith has been telling South Carolina crowds, "because outside organizations are seeking to defeat me because of my stand for white supremacy."

A campaign paper published by Smith devoted a full page to his anti-Negro record, with scream headline reading "Senator Smith is a white supremacy Democrat; his re-election will be a wholesome warning to the East."

The paper carries an attack on the C.I.O. and on Labor's Non-Partisan League as supporters of anti-lynching legislation.

In 1936 Smith walked out of the National Democratic convention held in Philadelphia, because a Race minister, Rev. Marshall Shepherd, was chosen to ask the invocation.

SOUTH CAROLINA REVOLTED

The primary election of South Carolina was held on Tuesday. The result was a direct rebuke to President Roosevelt. A few weeks before, the president visited that state and in a manner ordered the voters to defeat the present Senator Smith. In leaving the state he gave Smith a withering blast. The voters showed their resentment of this by the large majority vote given the incumbent. May it be remembered that this is the same Smith who walked out of the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia because a colored clergyman was called on for the invocation. His success will be very cheering to Senator George of Georgia who was also rebuked by the president. The voters of Georgia may be as resentful as the ones of South Carolina.

9-1-38

South Carolina

Political – 1938
Elections.

SENATOR SMITH INCONSISTENT

East Tennessee News

THE INCONSISTENCY OF Senator E. D. Smith of the state of South Carolina, wherein he has recently discovered his nondesire to have Negroes in his sight under any circumstances whatsoever, is about to be uncovered. The rabid Negro hating member of the United States Senate from the "Palmetto State," during the last National Democratic Convention at Philadelphia, abruptly rushed from the convention hall, loudly proclaiming his abhorrence over a dignified Negro minister having been called upon to pronounce the invocation at an opening session of the important political organization.

4-7-38

Much to the credit of the leaders of the party—South as well as North, little attention was given the apparent publicity-seeking antics of the Carolina senator, and his act received little approval in any circles, unless it was among the few of his followers whose support he seeks by flaunting before them his utter distaste for the Negro.

Now it is that the time for selecting a senator to represent South Carolina is again approaching, and opposing Senator Smith is the progressive young Governor Olin D. Johnson who has already let it be known that he will emphatically point out the inconsistencies of the senator on this racial issue that will most certainly be injected into the campaign.

Knoxville, Tenn.

Says Governor Johnson, "It is exceedingly strange, at this late date, that Senator Smith will find it so abhorrent to have Negroes around him in political activities, when he occupied a seat in the South Carolina legislature when Negroes were members of that body, and no protest was registered at that time. neither did he resign therefrom. or walk out of the halls."

Senator Smith, like those of his predecessors, Ben Tillman, Cole Blease and others, in a modern and progressive age as this, will seek to ride into position of such important leadership as United States senator by appealing to race prejudice and singing a song of hate for Negroes into the ears of his constituents. It is earnestly believed that the influence of the progressive, educated and Christian white men and women of South Carolina whose efforts in recent years have been devoted to discouraging race prejudice in whatever form and wherever found, will serve to effectively counteract such tactics of Senator Smith. Further, the administration of Governor Johnson has amply disclosed his attitude of fairness and justice for all men, and as he allows his name to go before the voters of his state for this higher official position, it is believed that his excellent record will commend him to the electorate and he will be very definitely favored over his inconsistent and insincere opponent. The entire nation will watch the outcome of this contest between antiquated methods and progressive campaigning.

Columbia, S. C. State
June 12, 1938

State and US Candidates to Open Campaign

First Verbal Shots to Be Fired on Lexington and Sumter Platforms

By the Associated Press.

Opening salvos of a series of fiery political battles will be sounded over South Carolina Tuesday when Democratic aspirants for state and federal offices open their county-to-county campaigns.

The familiar artillery of promises, accusations and old-time oratory will be hurled into the front-lines at Sumter and Lexington and the poltical free-for-all will be on.

Candidates for the United States seat now held by E. D. ("Cotton Ed") Smith will square off at Sumter while gubernatorial and other state office candidates will shoot their first fireworks at Lexington.

National Issues Rise.

National issues promise to play a large part in the senate speaking tour which ends at Columbia August 26 after meetings in every county seat of the state. The state campaign, following a separate county-to-county itinerary, will end here August 24.

A prelude to the campaign openings will be the deadline for candidates to qualify for the races at noon Monday. Secretary Lane Bonner of the state executive committee said fees would have to be in his office by noon to qualify the candidates properly. Many last minute qualifiactions were expected due to the slowness of announced candidates to pay.

Enrolment Under Way.

Meanwhile enrolment of primary voters was already under way. New club rolls were mailed to precinct secretaries and enrolment was started Tuesday. The books will remain open through July 26.

The first primary vote—goal toward which all candidates will be fighting throughout the campaign—will be August 30. The second, if necessary, will be two weeks later. Nomination in the primaries will be tantamount to election in the November general election.

In addition to United States senator and governor, the places for which campaigning will begin Tuesday will be: Lieutenant governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, comptroller general, adjutant general, attorney general, superintendent of education and commissioner of agriculture.

Other Races Scheduled.

In addition there will be races for six United States congressional seats, five solicitorships, 23 state senate places and 124 house of representaive posts. Most county offices, varying according to counties, must also be filled this year.

County campaigns, resembling the state tour in plan, are mapped out by county executive committees.

A feature of the primaries may be complete exclusion—for the first time since Reconstruction days—of Negroes from voting in the Democratic organization.

In former years Negroes who swore they had voted for Wade Hampton for governor in 1876 and who could produce ten "reputable white men" who would confirm it were allowed to vote in Democratic primaries under the party rules. The number of Negroes taking advantage of the rule was never large however.

Hampton Rule Eliminated.

The recent state convention eliminated the Hampton rule, leaving no provision for Negro votes in the primary. Although there was no public explanation of move, observers connected it with an act passed by the 1938 general assembly.

The act provided "that the state convention of any political party, organization or association in this state shall have the power and authority to add to or to limit the qualifications for membership in such party, organization or association, and for voting at the primary elections thereof. . . ."

The party rule, left intact by the convention, set up the following qualification for Democratic primary voters: "The applicant for membership or voter, shall be 21 years of age, or shall become so before the succeeding general election and be a white Democrat. . . ."

Enactment of the new law and elimination of the only party rule allowing Negro votes was seen as a complete bar to Negro participation in Democratic activities.

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
July 29, 1938

LICKED ANYHOW

The president's classification of some candidates in the Texas Democratic primary as his "good friends" does not seem to have been helpful to them. The truth is that many people who are strong supporters of President Roosevelt resent any attempt to have him dictate votes in primaries of the party. Congressman Maury Maverick, one of the "good friends," appears to have been beaten in his compaign for return to congress. He depended on his endorsement by President Roosevelt and the C. I. O., of which he was an ardent supporter. He was one Southerner who favored the anti-lynching bill that the Negroes attempted to drive thru congress. This stand may have had much to do with his defeat.

Texans believe that such a law violates the clearly constitutional rights of states to deal with local law enforcement.

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
July 29, 1938

A VAIN HOPE

If some Democrats are intending to vote for Maybank with the idea that it will clinch them jobs on the Santee-Cooper canal project, they will find that there are not near as many jobs as men wanting them—and the show down will not come until after the primary votes are counted. Not only that, but a veteran contractor, who has had much experience on big jobs in the South, expresses the opinion that eighty per cent of the jobs will go to Negroes, anyhow, as that is about the usual percentage of Negroes on hard jobs in the sunny South. The percentage of native white men who stand up under that kind of work is not large.

Columbia, S. C. State
July 27, 1938

"Time to Discard Nigger"

A Negro View of Current Political Trends in South Carolina

To the Editor of The State:

Because I wanted to note the effect of it, I have waited until now to thank you for publishing the editorial "Time to Discard 'Nigger'", reprinted in part from the Southern Christian Advocate, and published in The State of June 20. Whereas probably a limited number of Negroes read the Advocate and therefore would not have seen that very splendid article, hundreds of them read The State as South Carolina's leading daily.

I have read all the press reports of the Democratic campaign and I have discussed them with many persons. When the unnecessary and distasteful references to Negroes are recalled, I find that many of us have taken time to analyze impartially and impersonally the campaign issues of these various office-seekers. I find Negroes deeply concerned about the state of affairs in South Carolina just as our intelligent and farseeing white citizens must be. I find that Negroes are ashamed to note that so much mere slush and filth are thrown into the faces of the citizens of South Carolina in the name of state government and statesmanship. And one would be surprised to learn that many Negroes are big and intelligent enough to try to overlook the unchristian references to our people. Moreover, they are utterly ashamed because the name of South Carolina is so besmattered and disgraced by certain of the 1938 senatorial and gubernatorial aspirants who dare expect self-respecting and respectable South Carolinians to desire them as leaders.

And, too, we as Negroes, wonder why any white man, any exponent of white supremacy, and who therefore deems himself a superior being in every respect, would so miscalculate the Negro's political status as to make that group a campaign issue. A being of such intelligence should know that the Negroes who comprise 45 per cent of the state's population cannot cast one vote in the Democratic primaries according to the rules of that party, and that, therefore, it is little and foolish to make Negroes the butt of their campaign harangues. Yet, at least three of our "leading" office seekers expect to poll a large number of votes by simple catering to the emotions of an unthinking, unstable part of our public. Why should those unnecessary, hackeyed and nauseating statements concerning "white supremacy," "keeping Negroes in their place" and so on, be used as smoke screens in an effort to anesthetize the thinking white citizens, or to arouse the highly emotional and therefore unthinking white man? Why won't political aspirants let us alone? Why won't they discuss issues and plans vital to the welfare of South Carolina and try to be elected on merit as shown by a high degree of statesmanship and good breeding, or failing in that, return home and acquit themselves with the chivlry that is supposed to grace Southern gentlemen?

Again, we wonder if some of these aspirants are using this flimflamming and windbeating to hide the fact that after all they would not mind using a few pinch hitting votes that Negroes, if voters, might supply. We even wonder if the good Colonel Blease would mind that imagined 8,000 to 10,000 Negroes being registered in South Carolina if he thought some of those votes would fall to him in his inevitable pinch. Such could not happen, however, for the Negro who would be so foolish as to vote for one has used every possible chance to humiliate Negroes would not have gray matter enough to even try to register.

There is no stench so vile in the nostrils of a Negro as those old gags about Negroes wanting social equality, or "I am for white supremacy," or such hypocritical and dramatic climaxes as "I place the love of the fair state of South Carolina second only to the love of my God." Such smoke screens thrown into the faces of South Carolinians do not blind Negroes. They often embarrass us more as citizens of South Carolina than they infuriate us as Negroes. Southern white people know what Negroes want and they know it is not "social equality" as some of our demagogs interpret it to their constituencies.

Relative to "white supremacy," Negroes know that there can be no such real thing as group supremacy or group inferiority. White men know that, too. We know that the mind and the character are the measures of individuals which make groups. We know that many whites are suprior to other whites; that many Negroes are superior to other Negroes; and that some whites are superior to some Negroes and vice versa. Our exponents of "white supremacy" know that all they can actually make of the expression is two words.

Negroes are not worrying about anybody being superior—only as they act as superior beings. We teach our children that. Why this exaggerated phobia over something that thinking Negroes do not even consider? All Negroes want is the chance to live wholly and in peace as Negroes. They want the right to work to live, to properly educate their children, to enjoy the protection that any government should offer its citizens, to be men in a world that belongs to no one group. We have gone far, trudged long, and made bricks without straw to prove this. Yet, we are continually browbeaten because we have lived through it all and made a few little bricks. The men who feel the need of doing this in order to get votes are unfit to serve any South Carolinian.

Negroes cannot vote in South Carolina, but those of us who think know just who the next governor of this state should be. If the thinking Negroes of South Carolina were eligible to vote, however, they would be in as great a dilemma relative to the next senator as the thoughtful white citizens are.

We agree with our good rfiends of the Southern Christian Advocate and The State that it is high time to discard "Nigger." May we add that it is also high time to discard "darky," "coon" and other distasteful references to Negroes during speeches. A better and more gentlemanly choice may easily be made. Moreover, we suggest that it is high time that South Carolina should stir the dry bones in the valleys of her illustrious dead in an effort to raise up men who are sufficiently just and conscientious to serve our state and gentlemanly enough to grace the legislative halls of our state and nation. There are many such men in the flesh in South Carolina, we know, but they either "do not choose to run" because of the filth through which they must wade and the little minds with which they must bicker, or they realize the futility of seeking really to serve a people the majority of whom are satisfied to accept a rock for a biscuit or a snake for a fish.

Thanks again, and may you live long and mark well the footsteps of your venerable predecessors.

MODJESKA MONTEITH SIMKINS
Columbia.

Columbia, S. C. Record
July 28, 1938

Names of All Negroes Off County Books

Committeemen Instructed To Remove Names At Meeting Today

Executive committeemen were instructed to remove the names of all negroes from the enrolment books at a meeting of the Richland county Democratic executive committee at the courthouse today.

Reports from the rural precints today showed that the enrolment this year had increased considerably over the enrolment in 1934. All enrolment books have not been turned in to the secretary.

After questions as to the action relative to the names of negroes on the enrolment books, Tom B. Pearce, chairman of the committee instructed all committeemen to remove negroes' names from the books.

Several Enroled

One committeeman said that five negroes had enroled in his precinct while many of the precinct representatives at the meeting declared that negroes had enroled to vote in their precincts.

Another committeeman reported that two persons who had lived in Georgia for the past four years had enroled.

By action of the committee today, the enrolment committee in each precinct, except in the Columbia township, will purge the rolls.

The committee expressed appreciation to the Columbia Junior chamber of commerce for its cooperation in getting persons out to vote and was advised by Charles S. Henry, secretary of the committee, that the Junior organization had agreed to assist at the polls.

The sub-committee's report of paying managers and clerks $2.50 per day, a new day beginning at 10 p. m., and $2.50 and four cents mileage for messengers, was adopted.

Mr. Pearce was authorized to appoint a committee to study setting up new election machinery in Richland county.

Rural Increases

Nearly all reports of enrolment received today from the rural sections showed an increase over the 1934 enrolment. In the few cases where the enrolment dropped it was only by a small margin while in several cases of increase it was by more than 100.

Entrance fees paid by Rufus A. Sligh, house candidate, and R. A. Cooper, Blythewood township commissioner candidate, who withdrew from the race were ordered refunded by the committee.

Precinct	1934	1938
Arden	200	223
Ballentine	225	
Bear Creek	102	102
Belleview	75	
Blythewood	390	332
Brown's Chapel	147	169
College Place	473	
Colonial Heights	322	330
Dentsville	313	413
Eastover	355	
Eau Claire	637	855
Edgewood	510	575
Folk	133	122
Gadsden	36	
Garner's	175	
Hampton	337	516
Holly Grove	95	97
Hopkins	99	117
Horrell Hill No. 1	87	88
Horrell Hill No. 2	127	133
Killian	83	75
Koon's Store	134	132
Lakeview	169	292
Lykesland	167	193
Midway	194	216
Mill Creek	105	213
Nates	170	
Olympia	833	1,052
Palmetto	312	479
Pontiac No. 1	197	
Pontiac No. 2	80	72
Ridgewood	260	270
Slighs	79	100
Spring Hill	229	214
Summerville	109	114
Wayside	93	
Ward 1	2,143	2,077
Ward 2	1,020	951
Ward 3	928	902
Ward 4 No. 1	706	690
Ward 4 No. 2	683	772
Ward 5 No. 1	994	1,110
Ward 5 No. 2	880	883
Ward 6	1,482	1,491
Ward 7	227	214
Ward 8	2,013	2,014
Ward 9	678	928
Ward 10	670	1,058
Total	20,476	

Political - 1938
Elections.

Tennessee

Crump-McKellar Machine Defeats Browning, Berry With 'Dark Horse' Entries

Colored Voters Stand Firm For Able Chief Executive Who Battled Hostile Press And Partisan Primary Officials

Prentice Cooper of Shelbyville; Tom Stewart of Winchester and W. D. Hudson of Clarksville, "on the face of the returns," won smashing victories for Governor, United States Senator and Public Utilities Commissioner respectively in the so-called Democratic primary held on Thursday of last week.

Victories for all three "dark horses" had been forecast by the McKellar-Crump machine when that organization early in June of this year succeeded in establishing control of the Democratic State Committee, which also serves as the Democratic State Primary Board. This State Primary Board at its June meeting took things in hand, named county primary boards, which in turn named the election officers for all of the more than 2,000 voting precincts in the state. The counting machinery for the primary was thus rendered 100 per cent partisan, and it can be believed that this was the determining factor in accomplishing state in full response to the prophecy made by both of these Memphis politicians last June.

The coalition trio defeated Gov. Gordon Browning, conceded to be one of the ablest men the state has ever had as its chief executive; it defeated Senator George L. Berry, a Tennessean who enjoys national renown as a labor leader, business genius and high class citizen. It defeated the Hon. W. H. (Peck) Turner who had done creditable work as Public Utilities Commissioner but who was unable to "hit it off" with the political leaders who are fighting, through the much publicized TVA setup, to bring about the public (political) ownership of public utilities.

No man in the history of the state has ever encountered so formidable a host of bitter foes as did Gov Browning. They mobilized against him almost from the beginning of his administration, and yet despite this opposition he almost succeeded in carrying Tennessee outside of Memphis, according to the latest returns from the primary. He was never conceded a chance of carrying Memphis, a city where the political bosses, merely by resort to their famed hocus pocus can produce majorities for their side as well as reduce the vote of their opponents in a way that is a marvel of all of America and something that surpasses anything ever accomplished by Tammany Hall in its palmiest days of political skulduggery.

Gov. Browning was trailing the Hon. Prentice Cooper by 64,000 votes when returns from 2,069 precincts of the state's 2,257 precincts were reported late Thursday night. It was expected that the Cooper majority would reach 70,000 votes.

The Governor succeeded in accomplishing what amounted to a "revolution" in Memphis when he was able to get credit for nearly 9,000 of the votes in that city while the count showed that Mr. Cooper had gotten a total of 56,213. The "Memphis Boys," heretofore, had usually conceded only about 800 votes to an opponent while they were giving their choice around 60,000.

The returns showed the Hon. Tom Stewart, who won fame 12 years ago in his fight against the theory of evolution in the famous Scopes trial, received 153,557 votes to 91,719 for Senator Berry and 64,366 for the Hon. J. Ridley Mitchell.

W. D. Hudson for Utilities Commissioner was leading W. H. Turner by around 100,000 votes on the latest returns received Friday night. That vote was Hudson 172,438, Turner, 70,778.

In Daivdson County, only place in the state where voting machines were used, the coalition trio won a big victory. The county gave the following totals:

For Governor: Cooper, 13,221; Browning, 9,454.

For U. S. Senator: Stewart, 7,187; Berry 5,587; Mitchell, 5.955.

For Utilities Commissoner: W. D. Hudson, 9,341; Turner, 4,205.

In Nashville, as in all other parts of the state, colored voters in a large majority were supporters of Gov. Browning. The colored coalition votes received here as elsewhere were largely those of WPA workers who were regimented and used for the coalition ticket. WPA workers were sort of "princes of privilege" on election day. They got the whole day off to "exercise their right of suffrage." Many of those who voted for the coalition ticket are said to have done so with distaste. They hated to oppose a Governor who had done so much for the state and who in addition was the first World War Veteran ever elected to the Governorship. In addition, few of them had ever heard of Mr. Cooper before the present campaign and he made no impression on any considerable number of colored citizens because he is a very poor speaker.

Failure of the Nashville City Administration to "go down the line" for Gov. Browning is believed to have been the reason why Nashville "went wrong." It is reported that Mayor Cummings and his aides were afraid to take an active part in the gubernatorial contest feeling that it might cause them to lose their legislative ticket. As it was, the administration lost two of the places in the legislative races, getting only four of the nominees for the House of Representatives.

Organized effort for the Browning-Berry forces was made among colored voters by the New Deal Progressive League, headed by Jasper C. Horne. A headquarters was maintained for the coalition ticket on Fourth Avenue, North and was reported to have been under the direction of Dr. R. B. Jackson, who called his organization the "Tennessee Voters League."

Both colored organizations supported Congressman Richard M. Atkinson for re-election, however the Congressman was beaten by more than 1,000 votes by the Hon. Joseph W. Byrns. Mr. Byrns in the last few days before the election is reported to have come out in favor of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law. This report, together with his promise of higher wages for workers is believed to have swung enough colored votes to him to give him victory.

TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE

The passion for public service and the successful administration of the affairs of the departments over which they preside, have won for George H. Cate, Commissioner of Welfare and Institutions and for Walter Stokes, Jr., Commissioner of Finance and Taxation plaudits from the people of Tennessee such as few men in office as short a time as they have served have ever received. There are strong influences at work seeking to have these two officials and some others of Gov. Browning's cabinet retained by the Hon. Prentice Cooper. It is to be hoped that the movement will be successful as it is plain that a new governor would scarcely be able to secure for these two important posts men who could carry forward the work they are doing as ably as it is now being done.

Mr. Cate and Mr. Stokes both spoke in the recent campaign, urging the renomination of Gov. Gordon Browning and the addresses of both were among the ablest speeches made. If the people of the state were unwilling to listen to reason and logic to the extent of renominating an able Governor like the Hon. Gordon Browning, whose retention would have assured a continuance of the fine work Messrs. Cate and Stokes have begun, it is difficult to believe that the politicians behind the candidacy of Mr. Cooper would consent for him to keep these two able officials in his cabinet.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentine
September 19, 1938

NEGRO ENTERS RACE FOR STATE SENATE

Frank Kyle, Negro, of 929 Yeager Street, has announced as an independent candidate for State Senator from the Fifth District, comprising Knox, Monroe, Loudon and Polk Counties, in the general election Nov. 3.

Explaining that "many unjust acts of legislation have been imbedded in our state criminal code that affects the Negro race as a whole," Kyle said: "The Negro cause should be heard in the Senate chambers and discriminatory laws should be attacked by a member of their group who possesses legal knowledge and who seeks a better understanding between the two major races of Tennessee."

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
October 16, 1938

John Huff Will Enter House Race

John A. Huff, veteran Negro attorney, will run for the lower house from Knox county as "the people's man," he said last night.

"I opened the first Negro Democratic headquarters ever maintained here, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was nominated," Huff said. "I'm still a Democrat and I'm still for President Rooosevelt."

A practicing attorney for 30 years here, Huff said, "I've fought the Negro's battles and been true to the whites." Huff said he had been impressed by Associate Justice Louis Brandeis' visit to the President on behalf of the Jewish race and had decided to run on a platform of "equal justice to all men." Other planks:

Homestead tax exemption up to $3,000; elimination of poll tax as a voting requirement; equal salaries for white and Negro teachers; ample appropriations for the University of Tennessee and state-supported Negro institutions; legalization of liquor; old age pension of $1 per day for all needy more than 65; equal opportunity for the Negro in industry; electorate to be informed of all legislation before it is passed.

Republican Candidate For Governor Of Tenn Declares For Wider Negro Opportunities

Tennessee Campaigner Says 'No Sound Reason' Why Negroes Should Not Supervise Schools in State.

By JASPER T. DUNCAN

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 3—Howard H. Baker, Republican candidate for governor of this state declared for "the appointment of colored men to inspect the eight or ten thousand colored restaurants and hotels in Tennessee," and made clear his position on other matters affecting the race, in a signed statement issued Ostober 31 to the chairman of the Shelby County Republican committee, George Klepper.

The candidate's statement was issued in reply to a letter from Klepper, motivated by requests from Josiah T. Settle, Memphis lawyer, and colored Republicans on what to expect from Mr. Baker if elected.

His reply follows:

Dear Mr. Klepper:

I received your letter of the 17th and am thoroughly in accord with the two propositions submitted which especially affect the colored people.

I am heartily in favor of the appointment of an Assistant Supervisor of Schools in Tennessee from the colored race whose especial duty would be to supervise the colored schools or Tennessee and to recommend to the legislature and to the governor measures of particular importance to the one hundred thousand colored school children in Tennessee.

I also favor the appointment of colored men to inspect the eight or ten thousand colored restaurants and hotels in Tennessee.

There is certainly no sound reason that this should not be done. There are many competent qualified members of the colored race who could perform these functions effectively and who would peculiarly understand the needs and requirements, and if I am elected governor it shall be my purpose to carry into effect each of these suggestions.

Yours very truly,
Howard H. Baker.

Inaugural Of "Mayor Of Beale Street" Set For Sunday, Nov. 6

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Nov. 6, (By James H. Purdy, Jr.)—The inaugural ceremonies for the Mayor of Beale Street and his council will take place at the historic Beale Street Baptist Church, Sunday afternoon, Nov. 6th. Preceding the ceremonies a mammoth parade will be held, starting at the point where Beale Street joins hands with the Mississippi river and continuing up Beale to Church Park, named after R. R. Church of political fame.

The Letter Carriers Band, Booker Washington High School Girl's Drum and Bugle Corps, American Legion, Boy Scouts and Elks Marching Club will head the parade followed by decorated cars carrying the Mayor of Beale Street and His Council.

The inaugural ceremonies will be carried on with all the pomp and ceremony and dignity that surrounds the inauguration of a state official. Representatives of various clubs, organizations and groups will bring messages of greeting and pledges of cooperation. Outstanding speakers will be on the program. Commissions, trophies and other awards will be presented by a representative of the Mayor of Memphis. Telegrams and messages of congratulations will be read.

This affair, the first of its kind to ever be held in Memphis is expected to attract more attention than anything previously attempted. The story of the Mayor of Beale Street Election three weeks ago, was carried in white and colored papers all over the country. Time, weekly news magazine carried an article under political notes on national affairs. The interest and activity centered around the Mayor of Beale Street is of great significance to the Negro population of Memphis. Mr. Norman E. Jones, who had charge of promoting the campaign is making arrangements for the inauguration.

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Elections.

Tennessee

DR. H. H. WALKER LOSES IN RACE FOR COUNCIL IN FOURTEENTH WARD

Charles E. Riley Gets Majority of 226; Voting Machines Not Used in Contest

Memphis Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
October 16, 1938

Dr. H. H. Walker, well known physician and Commander of the American Legion, in his third attempt to win the office of councilman from the 14th Ward suffered his worst defeat on Thursday of last week when, on the face of the returns, he was beaten by Charles E Riley, his white opponent by a majority of 226 votes. The vote was Riley 396, Walker 170.

W. R. McInturff and Frank Foley, two other white candidates for the office withdrew on the eve of the election and worked for the election of Riley.

The old ballot system instead of voting machines were used in the election and there was dissatisfaction among many voters over the failure to have machines which would remove any doubt as to the accuracy of the count.

The new councilman was an a supporter of Senator Cumming Mayor, while Dr. Walker was puted to be favorable to the tion of Attorney Jack Keefe. It is believed the overwhelming sentiment of the ward for Senator Cummings, who carried the ward the previous week was again registered in the election for councilman.

In 1934 Dr. Walker is believde to have been elected as councilman from the ward, however, while the ballots were being counted the ballot box was stolen and those who participated in this fraud were never apprehended by city officials.

THORNTON KING OF BEALE

School Children's Votes Give Office to Postal Employe

Hundreds of negro school children led Matthew Thornton, post-office employe, to the position of the first mayor of Beale Street.

Given no consideration by those who had organized their candidacies for the mayoralty, Thornton received about 15,000 for the 33,000 votes cast in the contest sponsored by the Memphis World, negro newspaper. Eddie Hayes, with about 10,000 votes, was second, and S. W. Qualls, third with about 5000. They are both in the undertaking business.

Someone entered Thornton as a candidate but he made no organized effort to corral votes. However, his popularity among the school children won him a host of undercover workers. The children went begging for votes and got them.

Thornton will be installed as mayor at inaugural ceremonies at the Beale Street Baptist Church in three weeks.

CANDIDATES BEWARE

It has come to pass in Nashville and in the state of Tennessee that a class of men are offering for political office with a sincere desire to serve all of the people when they are entrusted with power. This fact should be deeply appreciated by the masses of colored men and women, who all along have had little confidence in the promises of candidates for office. There is, therefore, a need for the race to take the proper steps to change the ideas of candidates for office in the matter of how they should go about winning the good will and support of colored citizens.

Candidates are still being misled into the belief that all they have to do to secure colored votes is to locate the particular "deliverer" of these votes in any town or community, pay him a few dollars and then go to sleep with the assurance that all colored voters will fall in line. This is a false assumption for any candidate for any office and the sooner all of them get wise to this fact the better it will be for them as well as for the general welfare.

5-20-38

Too often men without any appreciation for the sacredness of the ballot, without knowledge of issues involved in a campaign, and unconcerned about the character of candidates, put themselves forward as bosses who control hundreds of votes. These boasts are quite amusing to the average colored man or woman who happens to know the "exact weight" of these alleged bosses, but with more than an ordinary "gift of gab," they really do impress candidates for office.

Many a candidate has later come to grief for having spent large sums of money on these fellows who claim to carry hundreds of votes in their vest pockets. Candidates have essayed to buy the support of organizations claiming hundreds of members only to find out that these organizations did not represent a score of actual voters.

We do not question the right or wisdom of candidates as they undertake to line up colored voters. They are doing the proper thing in securing men and women of influence and paying them a fair wage for campaign work. Desirable results are usually secured by this method. But it is a bad practice for candidates to pay huge sums of money to men who pretend to control hundreds of voters. Those who make these boasts usually are not trusted by the masses of voters because of past experiences in dealing with them.

This past experience tells them that the busiest and most active of these leaders look upon each and every campaign as a time for them to line their own individual pockets with a hundred or so dollars which they keep for themselvse and pay little or none of it to the men and women workers of the "organization."

There are responsible colored men and women in every community, who are honestly devoted to bringing about better conditions for their race and the community. It would behoove all candidates to consult these reputable people before parting with huge sums of money which some slick talker says will surely "swing the colored vote." Responsible citizens will be glad and anxious to keep these candidates from throwing their money into "rat holes."

EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

NEGROES IN TENNESSEE, especially in counties of the Eastern division, participated in the election of last Thursday in a more effective and dignified manner than has ever been noted before and as a result, the support they directed on behalf of the victorious candidates is more evident. It is perfectly clear, as between parties and factions of the white racial group, Negro voters proved the balance of power that swept many candidates into public office.

For example, in Knox county candidates of the Republican faith were known to be efficient and capable of exhibiting a fair and impartial attitude toward all people, regardless as to race or class. Support for the Republican nominees in wards inhabited for the most part by Negroes indicated an overwhelmingly majority in their behalf.

The ten winners who are receiving congratulations on every hand are:

J. Carroll Cate, Sheriff
Theron Wilson, Trustee
Harold Johnson, Criminal Court Clerk
Miss Jessie Marie Miller, Circuit Court Clerk
W. Harvey Hall, County Court Clerk
Ralph Adcock, Register
L. H. Brickey, Superintendent of County Schools.
George C. Bearden, I. C. King and Joe C. Strong,
Members of the County Commission.

Then note the result of the election in the Fourth Judicial District. Negro voters in every one of the counties realized the unexcelled ability of Judge Sue K. Hicks, candidate for re-election, as a nominee of the Democratic party. Too, that offensive attitude of lily-whiteism long before the election, developed in the attitude of the Reupblican opposition. It is clearly evident that concerted action on the part of Negro voters throughout the Fourth District in behalf of Judge Hicks' candidacy proved thoroughly effective and served to bring about victory for him.

Another example of the effectiveness of concerted action on the part of Negro voters is shown by the results of the contests in Washington County where Earl Sell, genial and popular citizen proved winner in the race for sheriff. Republicans won in all other contests, while Mr. Sell, Democratic nominee led the field. All the winners had support of Negro voters. The trend toward Republican nominees was evident in all surrounding counties throughout the entire section.

A careful study of the part Negro voters played in the election of Thursday should be made by Negroes themselves so that they may understand just what can be accomplished by concerted effort in political matters. Truly the results of Negro participation in the contests are very significant and of greater interest to thoughtful observers than at any other times in recent years.

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Tennessee.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
November 4, 1938

NEGRO LAWYER IS CANDIDATE

John Huff Seeks Legislature Seat; Opposes JP's—After They Serve Term.

John Huff, Negro attorney, has qualified as a candidate for the lower house of the legislature from Knox County.

"I have been voting for the white folks 30 years," he said. "Now I am asking them to vote for me.

"I would favor the General Sessions Court, but I would not vote to legislate anybody out of office. I think the Justices of the Peace should remain as they are until their terms expire.

"I am for the bill to restore true City Manager government. I am against the poll tax payment as a condition of voting. I am for equal pay for Negro and white people doing the same kind of work. I believe Negroes should be given opportunity to hold public jobs in proportion to Negro population. I would vote generous appropriations for the University of Tennessee and for all public educational institutions for the Negro people."

Runs For Tennessee Assembly

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., (By O. B. Taylor for ANP) For the first time since reconstruction days, there is to be a Negro candidate for the Tennessee general assembly. John Austin Huff, an attorney who has practiced here for twenty years has qualified as a candidate for direct representative from Knox county. The election is Nov. 8.

Mr. Huff is being given an outside chance (to win). Citizens of both races and all shades of political opinion are watching the race and many white voters have promised him support. Interviewed Monday, Attorney said, "I stand for equal justice to all citizens of this state regardless of race, color or creed. If I am elected I shall put up the fight of my life to have placed upon the statute book of Tennessee a law providing equal pay for all teachers doing equal work."

Negro

Political — 1938
Elections.

Virginia
6

'NEW DEALER' INVITES NEGRO VOTES IN VIRGINIA

Pittsburgh

HE'S FOR US

WILLIAM E. DODD, Jr.
Democratic candidate for Congress in Virginia, who has promised to support an anti-lynch bill, if elected. His opponent, anti-New Dealer Howard W. Smith, present incumbent, voted against the Wagner measure.

WILLIAM DODD, JR., OPPOSES SMITH IN HOT PRIMARY RACE

Courier

Youthful Congressional Candidate Promises to Vote for Passage of Federal Anti-Lynching Bill—His Opponent Voted Against Measure, Record Shows.

ALEXANDRIA, Va., July 28—Not since the Reconstruction Period when John M. Langston, former slave of Virginia, was elected to Congress, has the interest of the colored voters of Virginia been so manifest in the state's political primaries as it is now in the Eighth District's Democratic primary battle being waged between William E. Dodd, Jr., pro-New Dealer of Round Hill, Va., and the incumbent, Representative Howard W. Smith, bitter Administration foe, of this city. 7-30

The battle, fought between the liberal forces headed by Dodd, and the dyed-in-the-wool conservatives headed by Smith, although in its early stages, has sharpened the interest of the colored civic and political leaders of the district, who are becoming more articulate each day in their support of Dodd.

One definite reason for their rallying to the support of the young Round Hill candidate, it is said is their contention that during Smith's eight years in Congress, he has done very little for his district, much less for his colored constituents, and that due to lack of opposition in his previous campaigns, he has ignored them.

Invites Colored Voters

In addition, it is realized that for the first time in the history of the Eighth District, as far back as can be recalled, a candidate is going out of his way to invite the Negro to vote in the Democratic primaries in the Southland.

Significant is the fact, too, that some of the white leaders are deserting the Smith camp. The Congressman's platform emphasizes his right to vote independently of Administration favor, declaring that he is no "mere automaton," and stands on his record. Dodd pledges support to all "progressive" measures and allegiance to democratic ideals in contrast to what he calls Smith's "Republicanism."

Meanwhile, in addition to Dodd's definite promises as to his aims for improving economic conditions in his district is one particular pledge — to support federal anti-lynching legislation. This promise catches the ear of the colored voters. The fact that the Alexandrian was one of the Southern bloc that opposed the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill in the last session of Congress has helped to make him persona non grata to them.

Another charge against Smith is that throughout the two terms of the New Deal, Negroes here have received practically no relief or other benefits accruing from its legislation. They feel that he has failed to ask for the necessary appropriations because he has lacked sympathy for the condition of the underprivileged. 7-30-38

Deep South Aided

Colored leaders point to the fact that scarcely any PWA projects or other relief facilities have been made available to their people in relation to their needs. There has been no effort to improve housing and slum conditions here, although a few miles across the Potomac in Washington more than a million dollars have been spent in this field for Negroes.

At the same time they are aware of the housing benefits that their race has received in the deep South—Atlanta, Birmingham, and othr points—as well as opportunities to work on WPA projects while the Eighth District, neighboring the nation's capital, has been left out of the picture.

Alexandria is the largest area in the district with a population of around 25,000, approximately 7,000 of whom are colored, and, it is believed, the colored voters could swing the tide.

Mr. Dodd is 33 years old, the son of William E. Dodd, Sr., former ambassador to Germany, who, since his return to this country, has been one of the most outspoken foes of Naziism, with its race-hating policies.

Mr. Smith has been active in councils of the Democratic Party in Virginia for 30 years. He conducts a large dairy and stock farm near Warrenton.

Political - 1938
Elections.

Virginia.

LYNCHBURG, VA. N.A.A.C.P.
QUESTIONS CANDIDATES

Press Service of the N.A.A.C.P.
4-1-38

Lynchburg, Va. Apr. 1.- The eleven candidates for the city council here have had a questionnaire submitted to them by Negro organizations, including the Lynchburg branch of the N.A.A.C.P. on their attitude toward the appointment of a Negro to the school board, the clearance of slum areas, and an increase of employment of Negroes by the city.

Matters in which the colored citizens are interested include the overcrowding of schools, use of outmoded school buildings lack of Negro supervision of the schools, lack of vocational training, elimination of cesspools in Negro sections, and approval of Negro nurses and doctors at the Lynchburg hospital.

The proposals were drawn up by the legal redress committee of the Lynchburg branch of the N.A.A.C.P., the Negro Voters League and the Negro Business and Professional Mens' Club. The letter accompanying the questionnaire was signed by L. Carey, a lawyer, and W. E. Scott.

General Mass Meeting
To Be Held
MONDAY NIGHT
August 1st
8 O'clock, at
7-30-38
PALAIS ROYALE
Cor. Brambleton Ave. and Church St.
Hon. Norman R. Hamilton
And Other Prominent Speakers Will Be Present.

Hamilton for Congress Headquarters Staff

Journal and Guide 7-30-38

The above picture shows the campaign headquarters of Congressman Norman R. Hamilton in Norfolk, which sets a precedent in southern politics, being the first headquarters set up supervised entirely by colored personnel. Since the Norfolk headquarters were opened, however, a similar office, staffed entirely by colored was opened in Portsmouth.

Those in the picture are, from left to right: I. N. Wilson, E. W Murray, J. M. Harrison, headquarters manager; Alexander Wright, E L. Cook, Eugene Brown, L. A. Howell, Miss Eunice Odom and E. D Burke. Inset shows Miss T. Ione Diggs.

Norfolk, Va. 7-30-38

Political – 1938
Elections

Washington.

Mrs. Powell Runs As An Independent

Northwest Enterprise

Though leading the councilmanic race by such a large margin in the primary election, Mrs. F. F. Powell is continuing her campaign for reelection up to the last moment, with the help of her many friends. 3-4-38

Mrs. Powell is making an absolutely independent campaign and has refused to align herself with any candidate or any political group. Because of her popularity, her name appeared on a number of "slates" in the primary and the same will probably be true in the general election.

"I am making an absolutely independent campaign for reelection on the merits tof my record in the city council. I am gratified at the widespread support I have received. If reelected, I shall continue to represent all the people in Seattl in the city council," Mrs. Powell states.

POLITICAL - 1938
ELECTIONS

WEST VIRGINIA

W.Va. Re-elects Fleming A. Jones

WELCH, W.Va. — Fleming A. Jones, Jr., attorney, was re-elected on November 8 for the third consecutive term to the State Legislature on the Democratic ticket here.

He is a graduate of the academy, college and law department at Howard University and has practiced law for fifteen years. He is an overseas veteran, past vice-commander-at-large of the American Legion Department of West Virginia, and a former member of Phi Beta Sigma.

The representative is chairman of the legislative committee on military affairs. He is married and is the father of two children.

Political - 1938

Office Holding

Alabama

Farm Security Admin. Appoints Colored Mgr

Negro

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala (ANP)—Selburn M. Clark, wh received his bachelor of Scienc degree in Agriculture from Tus kegee in May has assumed hi duties as manager of the Prairi Cooperative Association, the Farm Security Administration Resettlement Division, J. Julius Flood, personnel director said this week. The Prairie Farms Project is located at Tysonville, Alabama, about 21 miles from Tuskegee institute.

Young Clark, is the first colored appointee as cooperative manager under the FSA. His work includes office administration, management of commercial store a grist mill and a farm shop combined, all of which are enterprises of the Prairio Farms Cooperative Association.

Political - 1938
Office Holding.

California

SUPERVISOR

MRS. LOUISE E. JOHNSON

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — For more than five years, Mrs. Louise E. Johnson has been in the welfare work in Los Angeles, Cal., having received her first appointment in 1932. Her present position is that of supervisor of one of the social workers units. She has under her supervision, eight workers, all white, and is the first of her race to serve in that capacity.

Mrs. Johnson is active in civic life of this community, being a member of the Political Study Club, Y. W. C. A. and N. A. A. C. P.

She is a former St. Louisan, and is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Ellis of St. Charles, Mo., a former wife of Lemuel Johnson of St. Louis post office and a former clerk in E. L. Harris' drug store, 11 N. Jefferson avenue.

PAUL WILLIAMS, FAMED AS ARCHITECT, GETS NEW POST

Amsterdam News

LOS ANGELES, July 13—Local Negro citizens are elated over the fact that Paul R. Williams, world famous architect, has just been highly honored by appointment to the municipal housing commission by Mayor Frank L. Shaw. It was one of the first appointments by the mayor, as well as one of the most important of the 12 made. The position is coveted by all Los Angeles architects.

Automatically, his name with those of the other appointees will have to be passed upon by the various committees of the city council, but recognition of Mr. Williams' genius and practical ability is so universal that it is a foregone conclusion that the committee receiving his will gladly send in favorable recommendations.

Year by year the fame of Paul Williams grows, and his elaborate offices in Hollywood are at all times a beehive of activity. He has built the homes of many of the celebrated white stars in Hollywood, and recently completed a $50,000 mansion for the noted dance king, Bill Robinson.

At present, he is preparing to build a Federal Housing Administration building in Southgate, a suburb, for the Eastern Outfitting Co. This is so important that he gave it his long careful attention before deciding on a plan which would not include one bit of superfluous material.

DELTA'S PREXY GETS NEW DEAL APPOINTMENT

Bee 10-23-38

Chicago Def.

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 20—(ANP)—When Mrs. Lillian Osborne Marsh of Berkeley received her appointment last week as state supervisor of the division of Negro affairs of the NYA in California, it marked the most important selection for Negro women in the federal setup West of the Rocky Mountains.

Mrs. Marsh's duties will carry her over the state to any location requiring the coordination and supervision of Negro youth affairs connected with her bureau. Her selection for this influential post was made on merit and her known desire to be of service to her group.

Mrs. Marsh, who is serving her second term as national president of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, is well known for her club and fraternal work. She holds A. B. and M. A. degrees in anthopology from the University of California, being the first colored woman to major in this field there, and a teacher's certificate from the University of California at Los Angeles. Her experience includes several year's work as an aide to Mrs. E. Lessing of the Berkeley police department in the handling of juvenile matters.

Political – 1938

Office Holding

D.C.

WILL SUCCESSOR BE NAMED IN PLACE OF CHARLES HALL

Specialist in Bureau of the Census Is Officially Retired This Month; No Negro to Replace Him

BY RIENZI B. LEMUS

WASHINGTON. — (Special to The Call)—May and June of 1938 will be noted as marking the retirement from actual service of three prominent and useful Negro men in the nation's capital.

As is already widely known, Dr. Emmett J. Scott retires as secretary of Howard university on June 30. On May 6, Thomas H. R. Clark, second deputy recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia retired, to be followed a few days later by Charles E. Hall, specialist on Negro statistics of the census bureau department of Commerce.

Dr. Scott's successor will be named by the trustees of Howard university next October.

Mr. Clark's successor has already taken office. He is Felix H. Payne Jr., a young man of Kansas City, Mo., also the home city and state of Dr. W. J. Thompkins, the recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia.

But no person has been appointed to the post made vacant by Mr. Hall's retirement, and, as far as is known at this writing, no one in Mr. Hall's section has been named to act in his stead. There are some persons rather close to the scene who, though not the least pessimistic, do not believe there will be a Hall successor.

A few mentioned the possibility that Hall's assistant, Dr. Joseph R. Houchins, Cornell university graduate, might take over the office.

At the present, there is not a remaining Negro section in the commerce department.

When the Roosevelt regime got around to it late in 1933, Eugene Kinckle Jones was appointed to succeed James A. Jackson, a Hoover appointee. Mr. Jackson was specialist on small businesses in the department's bureau of foreign and domestic commerce.

In June of last year Mr. Jones resigned to give full time to his duties as head of the National Urban League in New York city and the section was imposed upon Mr. Hall in conjunction with his census bureau duties. Now he is gone. None is left.

"Charlie" Hall began his service with the census bureau as a civil service clerk in 1900; that was a few years prior to establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor, from which the labor end was separated and set up independently in 1913.

The "facts of figures" obsessed him, and as the years went by he became adept at statistics in agriculture and manufacturing. It was the advent of the new deal, however, which brought him into his own. He virtually created his section—specialist on Negro statistics.

What had been largely guesswork about "the Negro" gave way to the facts of figures about Negroes. Because "Charlie" Hall knew where to get the facts, the bureau of the census was enabled to release figures recently that revealed Negro births in excess of Negro deaths in given areas.

It has been matters of life in respect to the national economy that interested Mr. Hall, nevertheless. He has gathered, compiled and made available facts about Negroes through recourse to which many Negro men have literally created paying places in the employ of corporations engaged in businesses on a nation-wide scale.

"Charlie" Hall definitely established and reposed in the federal archives facts that prove Negro Americans to be persons of potentialities on the American scene.

But he is out. In retirement because of the operation of law. Will there be another to take his place is the paramount question concerning those here and hereabouts.

Naming Tourist Bureau Collaborator Ickes Seeks To Aid Race Travelers By

WASHINGTON, May 27— In order to be of greater service to Race tourists, Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes has appointed Charles A. R. McDowell as collaborator in the United States Tourist Bureau, assigned to duty at the field office, 45 Broadway, New York City.

Through this office a thorough research into every phase of travel will be made, also a careful study of the problems attendant upon Race travel throughout the United States.

Further objectives of the general program are: To encourage the organization of travel clubs and travel group organizers in all large centers of Race population, thus opening up a hitherto uncultivated field of economic opportunity.

Other Objectives

To disseminate to the Race universities, schools, churches and organizations all over the country the information obtained by the Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study and from other sources, relating to the availability of recreational areas and facilities in the United States.

To establish and maintain a complete and classified file of information concerning hotels, boarding and lodging houses, tourist camps, etc., for the use of all who travel for recreation or business.

To prepare a calendar of national and state conventions and maintain a file listing the dates and description of important public events throughout the nation.

With the support of individuals and organized groups in the various states, the United States Tourist Bureau may prepare and publish descriptive literature relating to phases of Race travel. The bureau also may prepare and present radio programs as well as produce an all-Race motion picture travelogue.

After the disposal of pending legislation, designed to establish a United States Travel Board, individuals and organizations may cooperate with the Tourist Bureau for the execution of the program and its further development and expansion. Details concerning the U. S. Travel Board legislation are incorporated in two bills now pending, H. R. 9212 and S. 3635.

All funds contributed to and accepted by the Secretary of the Interior for development of this particular work of the United States Tourist Bureau will be deposited in a special account in the United States Treasury and used for travel promotional work as heretofore outlined.

Gov't Printer Retires After 38 Years

Former N. C. Man and Wife Plan Extensive Tour

WASHINGTON, D. C., (ANP)—Captain John Edgar Smith, widely known citizen here, will retire voluntarily from the government service on September 30, 1938, having more than 38 years to his credit.

He was first appointed as a printer in the Government Printing Office, then promoted to typesetting machine operator, a position he has held ever since.

He is also a member of the International Typographical Union, having carried a union card continuously since he was elected to membership in his birthplace, Charlotte, N. C., before coming to Washington.

Soon after reaching Washington he joined the National Guard of the District of Columbia, advancing from private to first lieutenant. When war with Mexico threatened in 1916, the National Guard was mustered into the regular service and sent to the Mexican Border. Prior to entering Captain Smith received his commission.

Captain Smith is a Past Grand Master of Masons (Prince Hall affiliation) of the District of Columbia, a member, and secretary of the Board of Trustees of Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C., his alma mater, and an officer in the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Washington.

He and Mrs. Smith, who is a Past Grand Matron of the Order of the Eastern Star, Prince Hall affiliation, of the District of Columbia, have spent all of their married life in Washington. Now they plan to travel extensively, spending the winter of 1938-1939 in Florida and later going to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans in February. They will return home leisurely, making stops in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, reaching home around Easter.

For 1939-40 their plans include a winter in California via the Panama Canal, after a month in Cuba, a month in Haiti and a short stay in Panama City. From California, Hawaii is a possibility, then the Far East and a trip around the world.

Retiring

Capt. John Edgar Smith, veteran employe of the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C, who on September 30 will retire voluntarily from the Federal service with more ethan 38 years to his credit. He is a member of the International Typographical Union and active in church, fraternal and educational circles. (ANP Photo).

ROOSEVELT COMMERCE

Want Race Man Put In Job Formerly Occupied By Eugene K. Jones

Request Made by Resolutions Committee Headed by Jesse O. Thomas of Atlanta Business Men and Women Asked to Act

HOUSTON, Texas—(SNS)—A request that President Roosevelt appoint a Negro to fill the position formerly occupied by Eugene Kinkle Jones in the Department of Commerce was made by the resolutions committee of the National Negro Business League as the great session closed here last week.

The committee, headed by Jesse O. Thomas, of Atlanta, Ga., suggested that Negro business men and women throughout the country make constant requests upon his department of Commerce for printed materials, charts, drafts, diagrams, maps and other forms of information, which will increase the managerial efficiency and sales intelligence of the business men and women of our group.

Consider Buying Power

Colored Americans everywhere were urged by the committee to "seriously consder the relationship of the organized buying power of any group of people to the employment opportunities of its members."

Business Education Urged

With a view of making more effective the program of instruction in Business Education, it was resolved that the Steering Committee of the League immediately appoint a committee to confer with the Land Grant Colleges and other colleges and educational associations. It was suggested also that the committee give more careful study to the various labor movements in the country with the view of more thoroughly entrenching Negro masses within the ranks of labor.

The fine spirit of cooperation existing between the Houston and Texas Negro C. of C.'s was commended by the resolutions group which said that "We believe that the development of this complex and attitude among Negroes will soon organize the tremendous purchasing power of the colored race in America, and go a long way towards effecting his economic independence."

That there is a newly awakened interest "both inter-racially and intra-racially in the economic welfare of the Negro of the United States" was seen at the 38th annual session of the NNBL, which, according to the committee, at no time in the history has been addressed by a governor making statements of such inter-racial significance.

Governor James V. Allred's address at the Wednesday night session of the three-day meet "is truly representative of the sentiment rapidly developing in the new south," the group said.

Comprising the resolutions committee along with Chairman Thomas were: C. F. Richardson, Texas; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma; Dr. M. W. Williamston, Oklahoma; A. Maceo Smith, Texas; Carlton Gaines, Detroit; J. A. Johnson, Alabama; J. B. Olive, Tennessee, and W. H. Bell, Mississippi.

Appointed

Clarence R. Johnson, newly appointed assistant for Negro labor relations in the United States Housing Authority, formerly was an officer in the Dining Car Employees Union, an American Federation of Labor affiliate. Working out of the office of Dr. Robert C. Weaver special assistant to the USHA administrator Nathan Straus, Mr. Johnson will direct his efforts in the interest of Negro labor, skilled and unskilled, participation in the government's $800,000,000 low rent housing program.

Want Negro Judges On Federal Bench In Dist. Of Columbia And U. S. Supreme Court

WASHINGTON, D. C.—At the convention of the National Bar Association held last month in the City of Durham, North Carolina, the following resolutions unanimously were adopted by the lawyers assembled:

Whereas throughout the entire Federal Judiciary in appointment to the bench, the Negro lawyer has been systematically excluded, except in the Virgin Islands where a limited judgeship exists and

Whereas there are many Negro lawyers qualified by learing, experience and temperament to competently fill Federal judgeships and

Whereas there are now several vacancies in the federal judiciary by virtue of retirement an dthe recent bill creating new judgeships and

Whereas in the District of Columbia especially a Federal controlled district where 28 percent of the population is colored, and where there have been heretofore nine judges in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia and where now there exists two vacancies by virtue of retirement and the recent bill which increased the number of judges from nine to twelve and

Whereas, also in the District of Columbia, a Federal controlled city, in the Police Court of that city, there is no representation of the colored citizenry and

Whereas, it is the sense of the National Bar Association that discrimination in the appointment of members to judiciary of their systematic exclusion is as much a denial of equal protection of law as the discrimination and for systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries, which has been denounced in unmeasured terms by the Supreme Court:

Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the National Bar Association go on record as urging and insisting upon the appointment of Negro lawyers to some of the vacancies now existing in the Federal system and especially in the District Court of the United States, for the District of Columbia, and in the Police Court of the District of Columbia.

2. That copies of this resolution be sent to the President, the Attorney General, the Chairman of the Democratic Committee and the Press.

SUPREME COURT:

Whereas, through the death of Mr. Justice Cardozo there now exists a vacancy on the Supreme Court of the United States; and

Whereas, this Association deems it appropriate and just that it urge upon the President of the United States the recognition of the more than 12,000,000 Negroes who are citizens, and the brilliant qualifications of Negro lawyers by the naming of a Negro lawyer to said court.

Therefore, IT IS RESOLVED that the President of this Association at its present convention designate a committee of seven members whose duty it shall be to obtain at the earliest possible date a conference with President Roosevelt to discuss this matter with him."

A committee has been designated by President William L. Houston to wait upon the President of the United States to present to him the Resolutions with reference to the Supreme Court of the United States.

A committee appointed by Arthur D. Stevenson, President of the Robert H. Terrell Law Club of Pittsburgh, Pa., has been designated to present to President Roosevelt the name of the Honorable Robert L. Vann for consideration to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Associate Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo.

It is understood that the two committees will call upon the President at the same time for the purpose of presenting their respective matters.

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Office Holding

D.C.

Dr. Weaver To New Post

Named Housing Authority Assistant

2-19-38

WASHINGTON, D. C. Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, Tuesday, February 8, announced the appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver to be special assistant to the administrator and adviser on Negro relations of the United States Housing Authority.

Regarded as one of the outstanding economists of his race and recognized as an expert in the low-rent housing field, Dr. Weaver has been adviser on Negro affairs in the department of the interior for the last four years.

In this capacity he served also as consultant to the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, aiding in the development of 21 low-rent housing projects for Negro slum dwellers

WEAVER MADE AIDE TO U.S. HOUSING CHIEF

Defender
2-19-38

Urges Race Representation On Local Authorities In Statement

Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, announced Tuesday in Washington the appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver to be special assistant to the administrator as adviser on Negro relations of the United States Housing Authority.

Regarded as one of the outstanding economists of his race and recognized as an expert in the low-rent housing field, Dr. Weaver has been adviser on Negro affairs in the Department of the Interior in Washington for the last four years. In this capacity he served also as consultant to the housing division of the Public Works Administration, aiding in the development of 21 low-rent housing projects for Race slum dwellers.

Appointment Hailed Here

The announcement of Dr. Weaver's appointment was welcomed here by organizations and individuals who have been conducting a fight for Race representation on the state and city housing authorities and against discrimination on local low-cost housing projects.

Chicago is the only large city in the United States which has failed to include members of the Race in its housing set-up. George B. Murphy Sr., in Baltimore; Dr. W. Harry Barnes in Philadelphia, and Major R. A. Byrd, in Springfield, Ill., have been very active on the local housing authorities of their cities.

Dr. Weaver's appointment is expected to have a bearing on the fight being carried on in this city against the discriminatory policy of the Chicago Housing authority.

The Race faces an acute housing problem in every city where it forms an appreciable part of the population, Dr. Weaver asserted Tuesday.

"The most significant post-war social force among colored Americans has been their urbanization," he said.

Urges Race Representation

"While the housing problem is for the most part the result of low wages in the case of colored persons there is, in addition, a peculiar scarcity of decent, low-rent shelter. Negroes as the most recent migrants, are forced to live in old, poorly designed and dilapidated buildings which have been discarded by other groups.

"In many cities colored citizens are further handicapped by legal restrictions and property covenants which artificially limit the supply of shelter. Obviously, a program designed to benefit low-income persons must concern itself in large measure with Negroes.

"With the decontralization of the housing program under the United States Housing authority, the need for including the Negro population in the benefits will be no less than it has been in the past.

"Achieving such inclusion, however, will be more difficult. Past experience of government in housing has shown the need for planning for Negro participation from the beginning. It is my hope that I will be instrumental in stimulating and facilitating such planning."

In connection with planning, Dr. Weaver has effected the appointment of Race citizens as members of local advisory staffs in several cities. In the field of construction, he has successfully advocated the employment of the Race as architects and engineers, and has devised techniques to protect the interest of the Race.

Cooperating with the National Association of Housing Officials in establishing its school for housing managers, he aided in the selection of competent Race members for managerial positions on housing projects. He also has been active in the employment of Race citizens as members of managerial and maintenance staffs.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver Gets Housing Position

Outstanding Expert In Interior Department Leaves To Secure Job In Another Authority

WASHINGTON —(ANP) — Dr. Robert C. Weaver, for four years adviser on Negro Affairs in the Interior Department, has been appointed Special Assistant to the Administrator as Adviser on Negro Relations of the United States Housing Authority. The Administrator is Nathan Straus of New York, recently appointed by President to this new federal unit.

Dr. Weaver's appointment is being hailed by advocates of low cost housing and slum clearance. When housing was a function of the Interior Department, Dr. Weaver served as consultant to the heads of the housing division and much of the work of the department centered around the housing projects which have been built in a number of cities. With the passage of the housing act and the assurance that housing will be a governmental problem for some years to come, no intermediary was left to guard the interests of Negroes. Dr. Weaver brings to his post a wealth of experience which should should prove useful.

Dr. Weaver is a native of Washington, D. C., and holds a Doctor of Philosophy degree in economics from Harvard University. His appointment has been urged by influential Negroes and white people from a number of centers.

Negroes face an acute housing problem in every city where they form an appreciable part of the population, Dr. Weaver asserted Tuesday. "The most significant post-war social force among colored Americans has been their ubranization," he said. "The migration of Negroes from the South to northern and western cities has been emphasized in the past. Largely as a result of these movements of population in practically every city of the United States where there is an appreciable Negro population, Negroes face an acute housing problem.

"While the housing problem is for the most part the result of low wages, in the case of colored persons there is, in addition, a peculiar scarcity of decent, low-rent shelter. Negroes, as the most recent migrants, are forced to live in old, poorly designed and dilapidated buildings which have been discorded by other groups. In many cities, colored citizens are further handicapped by legal restrictions and property covenants which artificially limit the supply of shelter. Obviously, a program designed to benefit low-income persons must concern itself in large measure with Negroes.

"With the decentralization of the housing program under the United States Housing Authority, the need for including the Negro population in the benefits will be no less than it has been in the past."

Dr. Frank Horne To New Federal Position

4-10-38

WASHINGTON, D. C.— Dr. Frank S. Horne, assistant director, Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration, today accepted appointment as assistant Dr. Robert C. Weaver, special Adviser on Negro Relations, United States Housing Authority, Washington, D. C. For the past nineteen months, Dr. Horne has served completely as assistant to Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration. "I am happy that this opportunity has come to Frank Horne," said Mrs. Bethune. "We have done a good day's work together and I relinquish his able assistance only because I feel that it is a 'step up' for him. Dr. Weaver has a big job to do and we have agreed that Horne can supply the help he needs. I have given them both fair warning," she smiled, "that I shall continue to call upon them both for their assistance and counsel."

For ten years, Dr. Horne served as dean and acting principal of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, Fort Valley, Georgia. During this period the school was accredited as a class A junior college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. He received his training at the college of the City of New York and the University of Southern California.

HIS JOB IS SENTINEL ON ALL WPA PROJECTS

HE IS WPA WATCHDOG

By JEAN MURRAY SMITH

WASHINGTON

From a guard in the District Building, six years ago, to administrative assistant to Harry Hopkins, Federal relief administrator, marks the story-book rise of Alfred Edgar Smith, who holds this post in what is called the "sepia brain trust" of the New Deal.

Since 1935, when he first took the position he now holds, Mr. Smith has devoted his time to working for the underprivileged people through the medium of the WPA. From his office he handles all unusual cases concerning alleged segregation of colored people on the WPA projects, answers complaints of the workers who themselves write into the office, and helps organize and supervise projects all over the country.

Native of Arkansas

Born in Hot Springs, Ark., in 1903, Mr. Smith received his high school training at the Langston High School. He entered Howard University in 1920, and worked his way through.

Because he received his education in broken doses, he did not receive his degree until 1928. While in the university, he majored in social sciences and took many courses in education with the idea of teaching.

When he completed his college work, he had many more hours than were necessary for his degree. In 1932, Dr. Charles Wesley obtained for him a teaching fellowship for his M.A. degree.

Worked as Guard

He took the job of guard in the FERA building. Later he became a postal clerk, and then resigned that position to work on the teaching fellowship.

When he received his M.A. degree, Mr. Smith took the District school examination for history. He passed this examination and stood number one on the list for three years, during which time no appointments were made in that subject.

During the long wait, Mr. Smith was not idle, for he created a job for himself doing research for several professors at Howard University who were writing books and papers.

ALFRED EDGAR SMITH,
administrative assistant to Harry L. Hopkins of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, whose watchful eye keeps discrimination down to a minimum on government projects.

Appointment—No Job

When a vacancy in history was created in the school system, Congress passed the law refraining both husbands and wives from drawing government checks, and since his wife was already teaching, he could not accept the position.

About this same time, Forrester B. Washington, then director of colored work under the FERA, was looking for a research assistant, and Mr. Smith was recommended to him. He accepted the position of research assistant to Mr. Washington and later became general assistant about the time Mr. Washington resigned to become the director of the Atlanta School of Social Work.

Carried on Work

Mr. Smith carried on the work of the office for some time and much hue and cry was raised as to whether he would be given Mr. Washington's position.

The FERA changed to the WPA, and Mr. Smith's title changed three times. First he was assistant director of colored work, then he became a special assistant in the corresponding division, and finally general staff adviser, a title he still uses when traveling.

Step by step, he worked himself into the position he now holds: administrative assistant to Harry L. Hopkins.

Admits Discrimination

When asked about the much discussed question of racial discrimination on WPA projects, Mr. Smith admitted that it exists, though definitely not the policy of the WPA.

Projects so accused are investigated, and where there is any evidence of segregation and abuse, steps are taken to correct this, Mr. Smith said.

Charles E. Hall Retires As Census Bureau Specialist After 38 Years

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — When this story appears in print Charles E. Hall will have ceased to be Specialist on Negro Statistics in the Census Bureau of the United States Department of Commerce. Yes, "Charlie" Hall is out—by operation of law. He is 70 years of age, and he retired as of May 8, full of glory, as well as years.

Mr. Hall has been in the Census Bureau for thirty-eight years, having begun in 1900. That was about seven years prior to creation of the Department of Commerce. Then it was the Department of Commerce and Labor, which it remained until the Labor Department was set up independently with the advent of Woodrow Wilson's administration in 1913; and because from the outset he kept up with changes and trends in the National economy he was far ahead of contemporaries when the New Deal regime of President F. D. Roosevelt got going. In fact, Mr. Hall had made himself so nearly indispensable to the regime that when government attaches, who had reached 65 years of age in 1933 were advised and constrained to retire on annuities he was prevailed upon to remain by the Director of the Census, with the full approval of Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper. And no member of the New Deal "black cabinet" has surpassed him in constructive accomplishment on behalf of colored people with respect to their place as persons on the American scene.

A young colored man is now a travelling representative of a leading distillery corporation because he got statistical matter on Negroes from Mr. Hall's section upon which basis he convinced the corporation of the potentialities of the colored market. The same is largely true of the reasons for Standard Oil becoming so impressed as to regularly employ a colored man on much of a similar assignment. In these two incidents may be found the index to Mr. Hall's accomplishments: through assemblage of present facts about colored persons he has set forth their potentialities as persons, thus destroying the age long attempt to make of them a race group, decadent; "first fired, last hired."

Charles E. Hall's future is assured. His step is as snappy, his bearing alert, his mind as clear as ever. The matter of much concern is about his successor. His going leaves the Department of Commerce without a Negro section chief, as he took over when Eugene Kinckle Jones resigned as adviser on Negroes to the Secretary of Commerce a year ago. Mr. Jones succeeded James A. Jackson, Hoover appointee, who had been specialist on small businesses in the department's Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, late in 1933.

And concern about Hall's successor is not gratuitious. The 'New Deal' hasn't been much on appointing more Negroes to its administrative setups. Not only was Mr. Hall required to take over Mr. Jones section in conjunction with the Census Bureau assignment, but until now, no colored attorney has been assigned to succed to the place made vacant in the Interior department's law service by elevation of Mr. Hastie to the Carribean-Federal Bench (Judge in the Virgin Islands), and Dr. Robert Weaver's post as Negro adviser to the Secretary of the Interior was eliminated before he became assigned to Housing Authority Administrator Nathan Strauss as 'adviser on colored folk affairs.'

Frankly, there appears to be no hope of continuing Mr. Hall's section following his final windup there. It seems to be suspected that his records, etc., will be transferred to the "general archives."

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D.C.

GOVERMENT LEADERS IN OFFICIAL PHOTO

Afro-American 4-30-38 Baltimore, Md.

This recent protograph shows leaders who hold positions high in the councils of many departments of the Federal Government. They are (front row, left to right): Dr. Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in education of colored people, Department of Interior; Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, specialist, health education, U.S. Public Health Service; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, special assistant to the U.S. Housing Authority administrator, Department of Interior;

Joseph H. B. Evans, race relations specialist, Farm Security Administration; Dr. Frank Horne, assistant to Dr. Weaver, U.S. Housing Authority; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, director of Division of Negro Affairs, National Youth Administration; Lieut. Lawrence A. Oxley, field representative, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor; Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds; Charles E. Hall, specialist of statistics of colored people, Department of Commerce; William L. Houston, assistant to the U.S. Attorney-General, Department of Justice: and Ralph E. Mizelle, attorney, Office of Solicitor, Post Office Department.

Back row (left to right): Dewey R. Jones, associate adviser on economic status of colored people, Department of Interior, who has been named to the post of assistant director of Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Edgar Brown, adviser on colored affairs, CCC; J. Parker, associate management supervisor, U.S. Housing Authority;

Edward H. Lawson, Jr., former special assistant, Information Service, Works Progress Administration, now managing editor of Opportunity Magazine, official organ of the Urban League, New York City; J. Arthur Weiseger, research asistant, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor;

Alfred Edgar Smith, administrative assistant, Works Progress Administration; Henry A. Hunt, assistant to the Governor, Farm Credit Administration; John W. Whitten, junior race relations officer, Works Progress Administration, and Joseph R. Houchins, assistant specialist on statistics of colored people, Department of Commerce.

Charles Hall To Leave Government Service

Journal and Guide 5-21-38

Statistician Finishes 38 Years

Norfolk, Va.

WASHINGTON, D. C., (ANP)—Charles E. Hall, for 38 years a specialist in Negro statistics, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, and one of the nation's best informed men on business, sociological, economic and other facts concerning the colored race, will retire from government service on May 31st, it was learned this week.

Mr. Hall has reached the retirement age of 70, and being now on leave of absence, will not return to his office in the new Department of Commerce building. It was rumored that his assistant, Dr. Joseph R. Houchins, Cornell U. graduate, may take over the office of his former chief.

O'HARA LANIER ASSISTANT TO MRS. BETHUNE

Will Seek Employment In Private Industry For Race Youths

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 5—R. O'Hara Lanier, dean of Houston college, Houston, Texas, has been named assistant to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the division of Negro affairs, National Youth Administration.

O'Hara Lanier

Official announcement of Mr. Lanier's appointment was made this week by Aubrey Williams, executive director of the NYA.

A native of North Carolina, the new assistant director in the division of Negro affairs received his early training at the Biddle university academy before the institution became Johnson C. Smith university.

Prior to his graduation from Lincoln university, Pa., in 1922, Mr. Lanier was student assistant in the library and in English. He taught for two years at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and later became dean of the college and director of summer school at Florida A. and M. college, Tallahassee, Fla.

Twice Mr. Lanier was honored with scholarships. Under a grant from the General Education Board he specialized in college administration and vocational guidance at the Leland Stanford university, California, to win his master's degree. As a Rosenwald fellow in he spent one year at Harvard university, Cambridge, Mass.

The new appointee is a former president of the Florida State Teachers Association, and is now president of the National Association of College Deans and Registrars. He is also a member of the National Vocational Guidance association. Various educational publications have featured articles and papers prepared by Mr. Lanier.

In his new work, the assistant director will act as general assistant to Mrs. Bethune, and will handle all administrative work of the NYA division of Negro affairs, during Mrs. Bethune's absence on field trips.

His especial interest will be job placements in private industry for Race youths.

Lanier Named Assistant Director of Negro Affairs

NYA Assistant

North Carolinian Long Activ eln Teaching Circles

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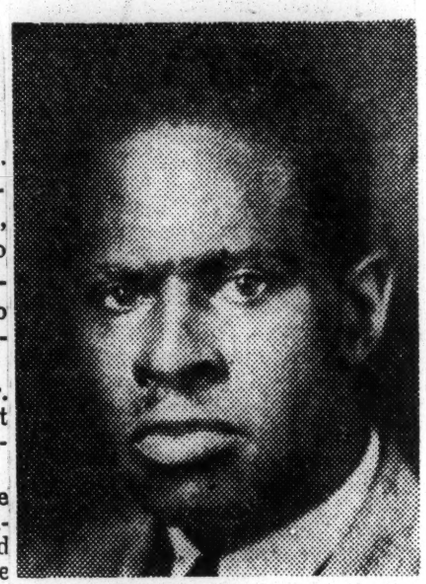

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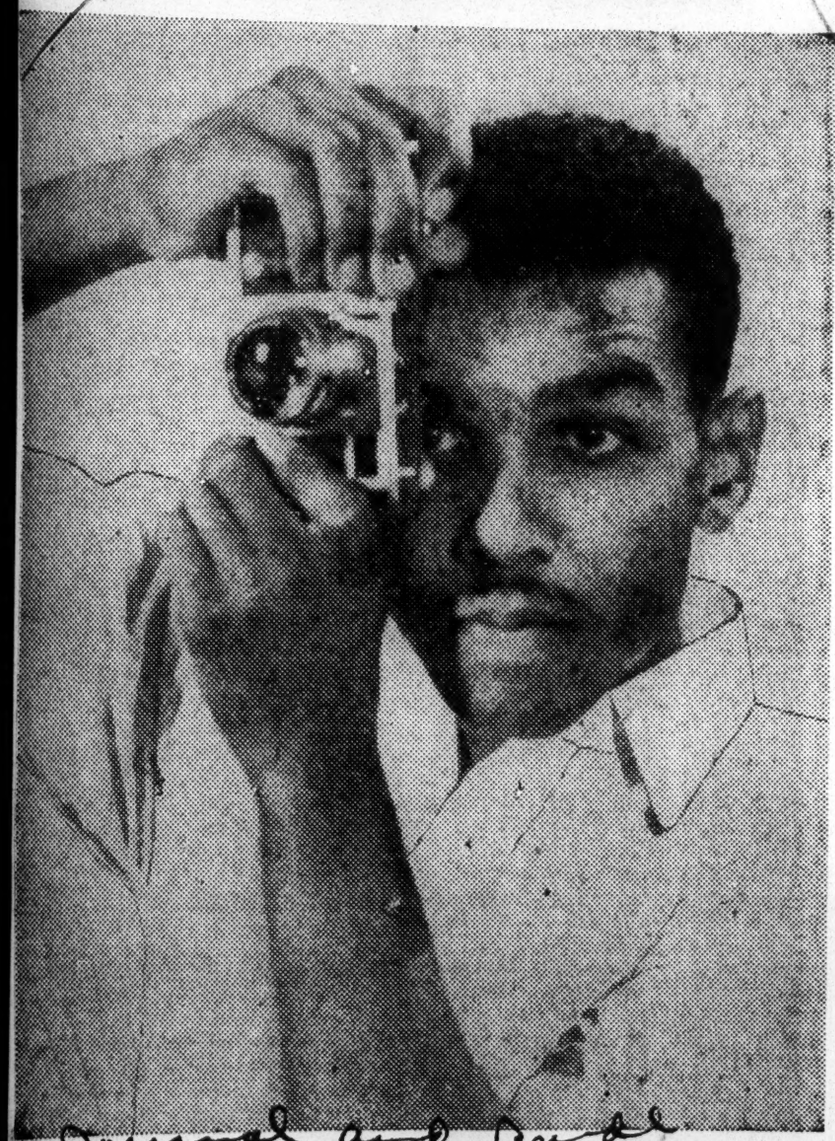
Office Holding.

D.C.

WPA Photographic Consultant



Robert McNeil, honor graduate of the New York Institute of photography, and ace cameraman, who has been appointed photographic consultant for the Works Progress Administration. The twenty-year old youth will begin work on photo-illustrations for "The History of the Negro in Virginia"—a forthcoming publication of the WPA Guide Series. In quest of material during this assignment, Mr. Mitchell will travel throughout the State of Virginia.

Photographer Named WPA Consultant

Robert McNeill Is Son of Howard Univ. Instructor

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Robert McNeill, honor graduate of the New York Institute of Photography, has been appointed photographic consultant in the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration.

Official announcement of the naming of the twenty-year-old youth to this post has just been made from the office of Sterling Brown, editor, Negro Affairs, Federal Writers' Project. Mr. McNeill is the first Negro to receive an appointment as consultant in photography on any of the Federal-directed projects.

He has already begun work on an assignment in connection with pictures for the "History of the Negro in Virginia," one of the Guide Series publications of the Works Progress Administration produced thru the Federal Writers' Project. Pictures taken by Mr. McNeill for this history will center about ex-slaves, oyster shuckers, apple pickers, tobacco field hands and workers, coal miners and railroad men, and other Negroes throughout the State of Virginia. Many human interest photographs to be made by the young cameraman will also become part of the illustrated material for the "History of the Negro in Virginia."

In addition to the national office associates of Sterling Brown, Mr. McNeill will consult with ten Negro Federal Writers' Project workers, who are engaged in writing and editing this WPA Guide Series publication under the direction of Roscoe Lewis at the Virginia writers' office. The "History of the Negro in Virginia" will be one of a number of books devoted to the Negro in this Federal project. Material on and about Negroes in Florida, New York, Louisiana, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Philadelphia, Pa., make up the contents of the other WPA books in the racial series dealing with Negroes.

Mr. McNeill was educated in the public schools of the District of Columbia and at Howard University. In June of this year he graduated from the New York Institute of Photography, where his grades for theory and practice in his profession never stood below ninety percent. Several of his studies with the camera received honorable mention in competition with other students at the New York School.

The young photographer is the son of Dr. and Mrs. William McNeill of this city. His father is a professor at the Howard University College of Medicine. Mrs. Mary McNeill, his mother, is a graduate of Smith College, and was a member of the District of Columbia Board of Education, from which she retired after twelve years of service in June of this year.

Lanier Won't Aid Mrs. Bethune

HOUSTON, Texas—The school board has refused leave of absence to Dean R. O. Harry Lanier of Houston College to go to Washington for a year as administrative assistant to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

In Black Cabinet

WILLIAM J. TRENT, JR.

One of the recent appointments in the federal service is the young and aggressive William J. Trent, Jr., adviser on Negro affairs in the U. S. Department of the Interior.

British Embassy Honors Messenger

WASHINGTON

Charles F. M. Browne, O.B.E. 65, messenger at the British Embassy for fifty years, was presented an official testimonial by Sir Ronald Lindsay, the ambassador before the entire staff Saturday.

Mr. Browne, a graduate of Howard University law school has served under 10 British Ambassadors.

Sir Auckland Geddes when Britsh ambassador presented to him the medal of the Order of the British Empire.

PWA Funds

W. J. Trent Jr., newly appointed Advisor on Negro Affairs in the Department of the Interior, reports to Secretary Ickes that "State supported Negro colleges in the South have constructed, or are in the process of constructing, over six and one-half million dollars worth of buildings made possible by grants from the Public Works Administration."

Ever since the 1938 PWA Act went into effect in June, we learn "grants have been made to twelve State supported Negro colleges for the purpose of erecting buildings at a total cost of approximately two and a half million dollars. The Public Works Administration has given 45 per cent of the cost of these projects, or $1,149,601."

The purposes for which this money is being expended are for dormitories, heating plants, stadiums, grades buildings library and administration buildings, science buildings, home economics buildings, etc. We are fortunate indeed in having an administration at Washington which makes it possible for the Negro education to make such important capital improvements in such stringent times.

Receives Appointment On West Va. Housing Projec

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Julius Gardner, graduate of the School of Engineering and Architecture at Howard University, and former Assistant Architect at Howard University for nine years, has been granted a leave of absence by the United States Housing Authority where he holds the position of Associate Architect, to collaborate with the Charleston, West Virginia Housing Authority in the drawing of plans for Charleston Low Rent Housing Projects.

Mr. Gardner was construction engineer on the Langston Low Rent Housing Project in Washington, D. C., and was associated with the firm of Robinson and Williams which designed the new men's dormitory buildings now in process of construction at Howard University.

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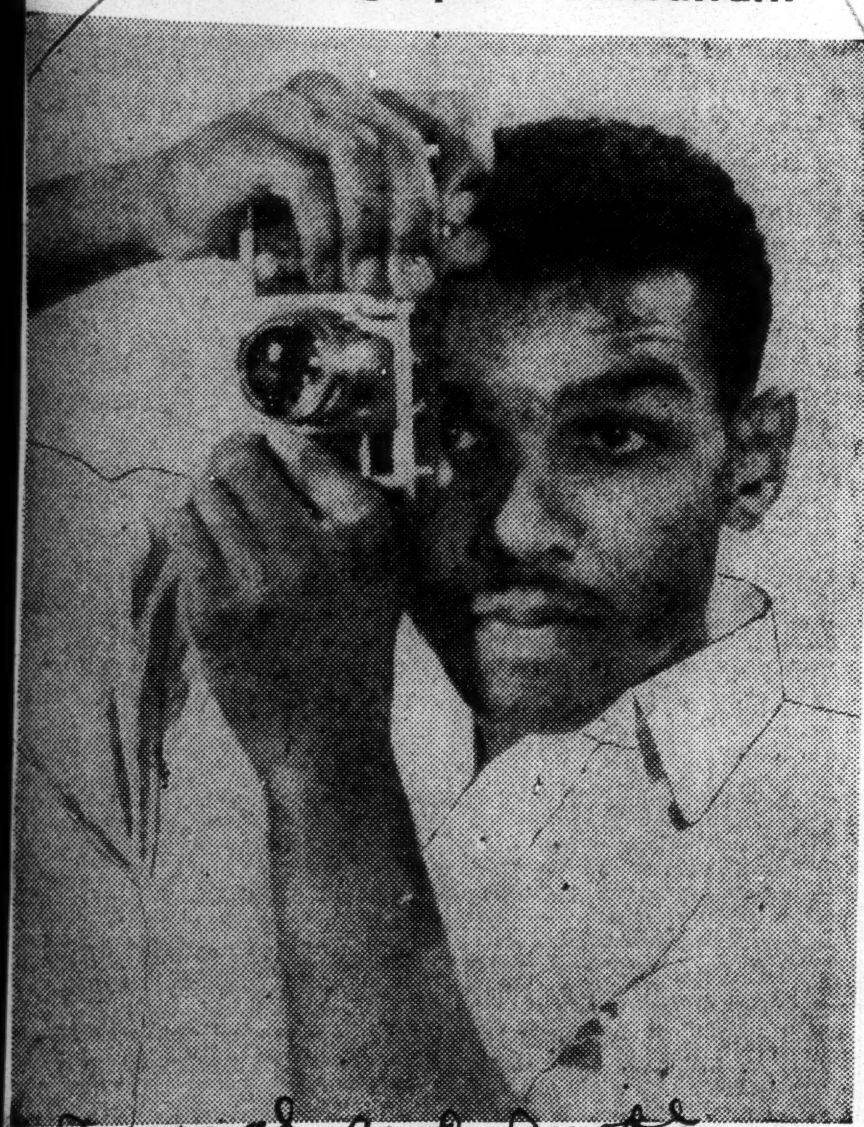
Office Holding

D.C.

WPA Photographic Consultant



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In addition to the national office associates of Sterling Brown, Mr. McNeill will consult with ten Negro Federal Writers' Project workers, who are engaged in writing and editing this WPA Guide Series publication under the direction of Roscoe Lewis at the Virginia writers' office. The "History of the Negro in Virginia" will be one of a number of books devoted to the Negro in this Federal project. Material on and about Negroes in Florida, New York, Louisiana, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Philadelphia, Pa., make up the contents of the other WPA books in the racial series dealing with Negroes.

Mr. McNeill was educated in the public schools of the District of Columbia and at Howard University. In June of this year he graduated from the New York Institute of Photography, where his grades for theory and practice in his profession never stood below ninety percent. Several of his studies with the camera received honorable mention in competition with other students at the New York School.

The young photographer is the son of Dr. and Mrs. William McNeill of this city. His father is a professor at the Howard University College of Medicine. Mrs. Mary McNeill, his mother, is a graduate of Smith College, and was a member of the District of Columbia Board of Education, from which she retired after twelve years of service in June of this year.

Lanier Won't Aid Mrs. Bethune

HOUSTON, Texas—The school board has refused leave of absence to Dean R. O. Hara Lanier of Houston College to go to Washington for a year as NYA administrative assistant to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

In Black Cabinet

WILLIAM J. TRENT, JR.

One of the recent appointments in the federal service is the young and aggressive William J. Trent, Jr., adviser on Negro affairs in the U. S. Department of the Interior.

British Embassy Honors Messenger

WASHINGTON

Charles F. M. Browne, O.B.E. 65, messenger at the British Embassy for fifty years, was presented an oil testimonial by Sir Ronald Lindsay, the ambassador before the entire staff Saturday.

Mr. Browne, a graduate of Howard University law school has served under 10 British Ambassadors.

Sir Auckland Geddes when Britsh ambassador presented to him the medal of the Order of the British Empire.

PWA Funds

W. J. Trent Jr., newly appointed Advisor on Negro Affairs in the Department of the Interior, reports to Secretary Ickes that "State supported Negro colleges in the South have constructed, or are in the process of constructing, over six and one-half million dollars worth of buildings made possible by grants from the Public Works Administration."

Ever since the 1938 PWA Act went into effect in June, we learn "grants have been made to twelve State supported Negro colleges for the purpose of erecting buildings at a total cost of approximately two and a half million dollars. The Public Works Administration has given 45 per cent of the cost of these projects, or $1,149,601."

The purposes for which this money is being expended are for dormitories, heating plants, stadiums, grades buildings, library and administration buildings, science buildings, home economics buildings, etc.

We are fortunate indeed in having an administration at Washington which makes it possible for the Negro education to make such important capital improvements in such stringent times.

Receives Appointment On West Va. Housing Project

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Julius Gardner, graduate of the School of Engineering and Architecture at Howard University, and former Assistant Architect at Howard University for nine years, has been granted a leave of absence by the United States Housing Authority where he holds the position of Associate Architect, to collaborate with the Charleston, West Virginia Housing Authority in the drawing of plans for Charleston Low Rent Housing Projects.

Mr. Gardner was construction engineer on the Langston Low Rent Housing Project in Washington, D. C., and was associated with the firm of Robinson and Williams which designed the new men's dormitory buildings now in process of construction at Howard University.

Kept Secrets Fifty Years

Attache of British Embassy Honored for His Service

WASHINGTON

A career begun as a boy of 15, which has brought him world recognition as the No. 1 courier of Washington diplomatic circles was climaxed recently for Charles F. M. Browne, when he celebrated his fiftieth year at the British Embassy.

Mr. Browne, who is 65 years of age and is a bachelor, was presented with a testimonial by Sir Ronald Lindsay. Among those attending the ceremony were: the ambassador, his family, the entire official staff, Sir Henry Chilton, the British ambassador to Spain, President and Mrs. Clark and son of Miner Teachers' College, and Dr. Roscoe C. Browne of the public health service, with his family.

Won't Retire

Although he has completed a half-century in the service of the embassy, Mr. Browne has no intention of retiring and plans a tour of England next year, which will be his fifth trip abroad.

Mr. Browne began his work at the embassy under Lord Sackville-West, who represented Queen Victoria and has served under ten ambassadors and 250 members of the British diplomatic corps. He speaks five languages, is a graduate in international law from Havard University, and has been trusted with many secret documents.

Medal from King

He proudly wears a gold medal bestowed upon him by the king, making him a member of the Order of the British Empire, one of the highest ranks which can be granted to a non-Britisher.

He is a familiar figure at all of the fifty-four embassies and legations. In 1930, he wrote and published a book dealing with the history of the British Embassy, which was dispatched to the capitals of all nations and is included in the royal library in London and in the dominions.

CHARLES F. M. BROWNE

Given Reception

Recently a reception was held in his honor at the Frelinghuysen University, at which time Dr. Anna J. Cooper, president of the institution, presided. Among those present were:

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Clark, Dr. Roscoe C. Browne and family; Miss Lydia Browne, Mr. and Mrs. Anderson, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Bennett, Miss Bennett, Dr. and Mrs. Medford, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Dews, Miss Dews; James Dewis, Mrs. Anderson Dews, Mr. and Mrs. Christian, Elder and Mrs. Smothers, Mr. and Mrs. Samuels, Mr. and Mrs. Jessup, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Reeder, Mr. and Mrs. Pelham, Miss Alice Nelson, Mrs. Louise Pickett;

Mrs. Linnie Moore, Mrs. Louise Cabaniss, Mr. and Mrs. Bannister, Miss Anna Payne, William D. Nixon, John Smith, Dr. M. Grant Lucas, Mrs. Bertha Collins.

Professor Ward and his chorus furnished music for the occasion.

POLITICAL - 1938
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Hill Named Consultant For WPA

New Yorker To Coordinate All Race Matters

Aubrey Williams, Acting WPA Administrator, announced today the appointment of T. Arnold Hill, of New York City, to the national staff of the Works Progress Administration as consultant on Negro affairs. The appointment is effective at once.

"Mr. Hill will serve as adviser to the Works Progress Administration on all matters affecting the Negro race," Mr. Williams said. "He will coordinate its activities in the interest of satisfactory employment for Negroes on its projects and will assist in the development of new projects for the benefit of the Negro community as a whole."

Mr. Hill has been identified with Negro welfare work for the last twenty-five years and comes to the WPA from the post of Director of Industrial Relations for the National Urban League. He has served with this organization in various capacities since 1914.

In addition, Mr. Hill has been a member of various important public committees and conferences, among them being the New York State Board of Social Welfare; the New York State Advisory Committee for the National Youth Administration; Advisory Committee on Welfare, New York World's Fair; President's Emergency Committee for Employment (1930); White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (1930), and Advisory Committee on Survey of Vocational Education and Guidance for Negroes (Office of Education). He has also served on various committees for the U. S. Department of Labor and is the author of a number of articles and publications relating to Negro affairs.

Mr. Hill was born in Richmond Va., August 23, 1888. He was educated in the public schools there and received his A. B. degree at Virginia Union University in 1911. He later took graduate courses in sociology and economics at New York University. He is married and the father of two children. His home address is 1945 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Howard Faculty Member Secures P. W. A. Post

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Mr. Erskin G. Roberts, registered Engineer and member of the faculty of Howard University School of Engineering and Architecture, has been appointed as Assistant Engineer of the Power Division, Public Works Administration, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Roberts is the first Negro Engineer appointed in this capacity and is the only one to meet the rigid qualifications of the Public Works Administration.

Mr. Roberts is an honor graduate of Northwestern university and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Before coming to Howard, he was Superintendent of Mechanical Maintenance at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, which position he resigned to become instructor of Mechanical Engineering at Howard School of Engineering and Architecture.

He is the author of many articles appearing in Power-Plan Engineering, Combustion and other publications on topics of the theory of engineering and he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Washington Chapter of the National Technical Association and a member of the Housing Association of the same organization.

Appointed As Engineer

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New Farm Head

CORNELIUS KING

—Director of agriculture at Southern University, Scotlandville, La., who last week was appointed assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit administration, filling the place made vacant by the recent death of Dr. Henry Hunt of Fort Valley, Ga. Mr. King, selected from among 217 applicants, takes office January 5. He will draw an annual salary of $5,000.—(ANP).

Southern U. Prof. Succeeds Dr. Hunt

WASHINGTON.

Cornelius King, director of agriculture at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., has been named from a field of 217 to succeed the late Dr. Henry A. Hunt, principal of Fort Valley Institute, as assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit Administration, it was announced Saturday.

A graduate of Southern U. and Hamption Institute, Mr. King has his master's degree from Cornell. His salary will be $5,000 a year.

T. Arnold Hill Sent To Dept. of Labor's Wage-Hour Division

WASHINGTON, D. C.—An office will be created in the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor to protect the rights of Negro workers under the new Wage-Hour Law, it became known this week.

T. Arnold Hill, director of the National Urban League's Department of Industrial Relations and recently appointed WPA Consultant on Negro Affairs, has been loaned to the Department of Labor on a part-time basis by the WPA for the purpose of setting up the office and getting its work under way. Mr. Hill will receive no salary from the Labor Department for this work, his assignment being in line with the WPA's policy of assisting other divisions of the government wherever possible.

The presence of Mr. Hill in the Wage and Hour Division was requested by Administrator Elmer F. Andrews, who is reported to be anxious to see that Negro workers receive all possible benefits from the new law. He will not be a permanent employee, according to present plans, and will continue his work with the Urban League and the WPA while a definite program for the Wage-Hour Administration is being formulated.

J. Arthur Weiseger, assistant to Lieut. Lawrence A. Oxley has been assigned to work with Mr. Hill in setting up the new office.

Succeeds The Late Dr. Hunt

Cornelius King, director of Agriculture at Southern University, Scotlandville, La., last week was appointed assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit administration, filling the place made vacant by the recent death of Dr. Henry Hunt, of Fort Valley, Ga. Mr. King, selected from among 217 applicants, takes office January 5. His annual salary will be $5,000.

Successor To Dr. Hunt Appointed

Cornelius King, Southern Univ., Gets AAA Job

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP) —Cornelius King, director of agriculture at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., has been named to succeed the elate Dr. Henry A. Hunt, principal of Fort Valley Institute, as assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit Administration it was announced recently by Gov. Forest Hill of the AAA.

Mr. King's name was first proposed by Albon L. Holsey, field officer of the AAA. A native of Louisiana, the college professor developed strong support among southern senators leading to his selection from a field of 217 applicants. His salary will be $5,000 a year.

A graduate of Southern Univer-sity and Hampton Institute, Mr. King has his master's degree from Cornell. He is a founder and organizer of the Colored Farmers Agricultural Improvement Association and a former president of the Louisiana Teachers Association. He is also a member of Phi Beta Sigma fraternity.

LOUISIANA MAN TO SUCCEED DR. HUNT

BATON ROUGE, La., Dec. 22—Announcement was made last week by H. H. Hill, head of the Farm Credit Administration at Washington, D. C., that Cornelius King, of this city, had been appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Dr. H. A Hunt.

Mr. King is to assume his duties on January 5. The new appointee is Director of Agriculture at Southern University, and until this fall, was president of the Louisiana State Teachers' Association. He is a graduate of Southern, Hampton and Cornell, with a master's degree from the latter institution.

A [illegible] Loisey, FSA field officer, proposed King for the $5,000-a-year job. Mr. Hill also received the support of Southern Senators to win out over 217 applicants.

Political - 1938.
Office Holding

D.C.

Office Of Alfred Smith Hums With Activity

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—On the seventh floor of the Walker-Johnson Building, overlooking the south grounds of the White House, is the busy office of Alfred Edgar Smith, Administrative Assistant of the Federal Works Progress Administration. It hums with activity as an endless chain of visitors, letters, and telephone calls keeps "headquarters" informed as to how workers are fairing on WPA projects.

Established early in 1934 during the formative period of Government unemployment relief, this office is charged with administering race relations matters throughout the WPA program. In effect, it is Federal Unemployment Relief's recognition of Race Relations as an integral part of modern applied social science. With a primary interest in labor relations, it serves as an administrative auxiliary to all of the Divisions and special programs of the Works Progress Administration. The Administrative Assistant is responsible directly to Administrator Harry L. Hopkins and his Deputy, Aubrey Williams, and indirectly to the four Assistant Administrators in charge of Employment; Operations; Women's, White-Collar and Professional Projects; and Research Statistics.

Two Assistants

The work of the office is distributed among two assistants, a secretary and four clerical aides. A Junior Race Relations Officer supervises the handling of the bulk of correspondence; advises on the preparation and submission of proposed projects; and supervises matters generally during the Administrative Assistant's absence from the office on field trips. A Special Assistant in the Information Service maintains public relations through the release of news articles, photographs and matrices; prepares exhibits; and prepares replies to requests for various types of information. Material assistance is also furnished by a Specialist in Negro Education in the Education Division, an Editor of Negro Material in the Federal Writers' Project, and a Research Assistant in the Division of Research and Statistics.

7,000 Letters

Correspondence handling constitutes a considerable portion of office activities. An average of 7,000 letters comes to the attention of Mr. Smith each year. In 1937 1,500 were addressed directly to his office, 3,500 addressed originally to President or Mrs. Roosevelt and referred to the WPA for consideration, and 2,000 addressed to Administrator Hopkins or directly to the WPA. These letters required 8,500 letters of reply. They went to every part of the nation, each based upon a careful consideration of the original communication. The nature of this correspondence was varied. Balanced against letters of complaint anent the administration of the program were a like number of requests for jobs in preference to a dole.

Other requests for aid ran the gamut from cash donations to piteous pleas for artificial limbs, and from farms and livestock to false teeth. Requests for information covered the entire relief field and every related subject. Mrs. Roosevelt's wish that White House mail be given more than mere routine handling frequently necessitates correspondence concerning a single case being directed to the writer of the letter, to the State Works Progress Administrator, to the State Director of Public Welfare, to other governmental agencies, and to Directors of one or more local private welfare agencies. Preparation of replies often entails considerable preliminary investigation. Hospital and Tuberculosis Associations are consulted to ascertain available hospitalization for would-be patients in remote areas. Travelers' Aid is called upon to assist in reassembling broken families. The Veterans Bureau, the Department of Justice, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, among others, are pressed into service in joint-problem cases. There is apparently no limit to the diversity of the needs of the underprivileged. Each day new problems challenge the staff's ingenuity.

Complaints from workers and those interested in their welfare are handled as far as possible through correspondence, in accordance with the Administration's policy of decentralized authority. State and District WPA officials investigate every charge of maladministration, make necessary adjustments, and forward full reports to the Administrative Assistant. Some States have found the employment of Negroes as State and District administrative officials to work to an advantage in race relations. When necessary, the Administrative Assistant makes field trips and personal investigations of alleged conditions.

Public demand for news about the 225,080 Negro WPA workers is met by news releases and photographs sent to the 230 Negro newspapers. These releases and pictures cover every phase of work relief, from the beloved illiteracy classes in adult education to the spectacular Federal Theatre productions. Human interest and success stories disclose how unskilled, skilled, and white-collar WPA workers alike rehabilitate themselves by means of the work relief program. Upon request, special exhibits are prepared on any phase of the program, and loaned interested organizations. A WPA motion picture, with sound, "We Work Again" depicting how Negro workers share in the program, was made by this office and is available in standard and portable size film.

During 1937, the Administrative Assistant made field trips to 15 states, totaling 12,000 miles. He made 30 public addresses and attended 12 national conventions of Negro organizations and organizations interested in the welfare of Negroes.

The staff personnel is as follows:

Alfred Edgar Smith, Administrative Assistant and Assistant Staff Adviser, thirty-four years old, a native of Arkansas, educated at Howard University, formerly a teacher, and at one time assistant to Forrester B. Washington, Director of Negro Work for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1934.

John W. Whitten, Junior Race Relations Officer, twenty-eight years old, a native of Virginia, educated at Johnson C. Smith and Howard Universities, formerly a Teller in the Prudential Bank of Washington, D. C., and later assistant to John P. Davis of the Joint Committee on National Recovery.

Dutton Ferguson, Special Assistant, Information Service, thirty-two years old, a native of Washington, D. C., educated at Howard University, formerly District Manager for the Pittsburgh Courier, Circulation Manager for the Washington Tribune, and more recently Editor of the Flash magazine. Mr. Ferguson has recently succeeded Edward Lawson, Jr., who resigned to become Managing Editor of Opportunity magazine.

Miss Leona M. Cobb, Secretary to the Administrative Assistant, a native of Kentucky, educated at Wilberforce University.

Miss Dorothy Embry, Secretary to the Junior Race Relations Officer, a native of New York City, educated at Ballard Business College.

Miss Viola Holliman, Secretary to the Special Assistant, Information Service, a native of Alabama educated at Southern Business College.

Miss Ellen M. Beckwith, Receptionist, a native of Rhode Island, educated at the Rhode Island College of Education.

Appoint C. R. Johnson to Labor Board of USHA

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 1—Appointment of Clarence R. Johnson of Los Angeles, California as an assistant for Negro Labor Relations on the staff of the United States Housing Authority, was announced here this week.

Mr. Johnson will assume office on September 1 and will work under the direction of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Special Assistant to Administrator Nathan Straus of the USHA.

Since 1925, Mr. Johnson has been an officer of the Dining Car Employees Local 582 in Los Angeles, serving first as executive secretary and more recently as general chairman. Previously he had worked as a waiter on the Southern Pacific.

Assigned to the Office of Racial Relations, Mr. Johnson will work in co-operation with the Labor Relations Division of the USHA which is charged with the responsibility of maintaining harmonious labor relations on the various projects during the period of construction. All labor contracts executed under the Government's $800,000,000 low-rent housing program are examined by this division.

Mr. Johnson will direct his efforts toward safeguarding the interests of Negro laborers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, in order that they may share equitably in the $250,000,000 which will be paid directly in wages to building trades workers employed on USHA projects throughout the country.

H. HOPKINS' "RIGHT HAND MAN"

ALFRED EDGAR SMITH

—Administrative Assistant and Assistant Staff Adviser of the Works Progress Administration. Regarded as "right hand man to Administrator Harry L. Hopkins," the youthful native of Arkansas is responsible for the integration and welfare of over 225,000 colored WPA workers in the work relief program.

ALFRED E. SMITH'S ASSISTANT

JOHN W. WHITTEN

—Junior Race Relations Officer in the office of Alfred Edgar Smith, Administrative Assistant of the Works Progress Administration. Mr. Whitten answers volumes of job-plea letters originally addressed to President and Mrs. Roosevelt from thousands of citizens throughout the country, under Mr. Smith's direction. He spends much time creating or suggesting job opportunities in the work relief program for colored citizens.

Labor Assistant

CLARENCE R. JOHNSON, newly appointed assistant for Negro labor relations in the United States Housing Authority, formerly was an officer of the Dining Car Employees Union, an American Federation of Labor affiliate. Working out of the office of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Special Assistant to USHA Administrator Nathan Straus, Mr. Johnson will direct his efforts in the interest of Negro labor, skilled and unskilled, participation in the Government's $800,000,000 low-rent housing program.

Political — 1938

Office Holding.

General

Report Administration Will Adopt New Policy In Job Appointments

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The story is out and of a reliable authority that the Roosevelt administration will henceforth mostly confine appointments of colored persons to public offices within the politically potential sphere; that is to say, from now on colored appointees must have some definite connection more or less with vote getting. Selections from the colored uplift industry is "out".

The occasion of the news getting released at this time is sprung of a demand of a "National Negro organization" on Secretary of Commerce Roper for naming of a "sociology" Negro for a big place in Mr. Roper's department. The identity of the organization has not been made sufficiently definite for calling its name. It is obviously not a fraternal organization, like the Elks, for example.

As the story goes: During the Herbert Hoover regime colored representation officially in the Commerce department was through the media of James A. (Billboard) Jackson. Naturally, in the presidential election of 1932 Mr. Jackson was actively interested in President Hoover's reelection; and, just as naturally Mr. Jackson had to follow Mr. Hoover out, after his defeat by President Roosevelt. Jackson was succeeded by Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League in New York City. After about three years of service Mr. Jones left to return to his desk in New York.

Charles E. Hall, Specialist on Negro Statistics in the Census Bureau, took over Jones' setup, though a civil service man; and since Mr. Hall's retirement on statutory grounds last May there has been and is not any colored section chief in the entire department.

So now a leading National Negro organization demands appointment of a competent colored man from the intellectual front to a high post in Mr. Roper's department; which, it is stated, he will not consider. A Congressional election is close at hand; and even though Senator MacAdoo of California failed of renomination despite appointment of Clarence Johnson, forceful Los Angeles dining car chef-cook and prominent colored A. F. of L. dining car union official, to a place in the United States Housing Bureau in Washington a week before the Golden Gate primaries, any Negro named to a high spot in the Commerce Department shall have to be well connected with respect to vote getting.

Presently, all things else more or less equal, the politician's man, not the sociologist's choice, must get the appointment. As Postmaster General Farley is reported to have once said on occasion of Mr. Roosevelt's Republican Secretary of the Interior's "beefing" against political appointees to his department, "I can't elect a President with Ickes', reformers."

Sociology is sociology but politics is politics

Political – 1938

Office Holding.

General

Only 2 Colored Lawyers Hold Judiciary Posts

WASHINGTON

Not only are there only two colored lawyers holding Federal judiciary positions but with one exception there are no colored persons serving other than as messengers and laborers and in the custodial service in the judicial branch of the Federal Government.

The lone exception is Thomas A. Scott, Jr., who is clerk of the division of the Municipal District Court, over which Judge Armond W. Scott presides.

Would Make Change

If Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh lawyer and editor, should be appointed to the next Supreme Court vacancy the complexion of at least two appointments by the Chief Justice would be changed.

Each Supreme Court Justice is assigned a law clerk, a secretary and a messenger. While these appointments are made by the Chief Justice, they are made upon the recommendation of the justice whom the appointees are to serve.

The salary of the Chief Justice is $20,500 a year and that of the eight associate justices is $20,000 a year each.

Salary Is $1,794

According to Frank R. Green, marshal, there are nineteen messengers employed at the Supreme Court, and most of them are colored. Each justice has a messenger assigned to him. The average salary these messengers receive is $1,794. No employee of the court is under civil service.

The secretaries get $2,000 a year each. One law clerk gets $4,200 a year, four average $3,738 a year, three $3,600 a year, and the ninth gets $2,750.

The librarian receives $4,500 a year, an assistant librarian, $2,900 a year, and a junior librarian, $2,300. Two junior library assistants receive average salaries of $1,800 a year each, and two minor library asisstants, $1,440 a year each.

11 Negroes Have Been Appointed To Membership On Local Housing Authorities For Slum Clearance

Page

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Recognition of the needs of the Negro for low rent housing is clearly indicated by the appointment of eleven Negroes to membership of local housing authorities now participating in the Government's slum-clearance program, a statement by the Office of the Consultant on Racial Relations of the United States Housing Authority out this week.

Nathan Strauss, Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, expressed gratification at the appointment of Negro members of local housing agencies as evidence of a desire on the part of municipalities to integrate Negroes into the $500,000,000 nationwide slum-clearance and low rent housing program going forward at top speed under auspices of the USHA.

Dr. Theodore Cable, a member of the Indianapolis (Ind.) City Council, has been named vice-president of the State Housing Board of Indiana.

6-4-38

Major Robert A. Byrd, a member of the City Zoning Board of Appeals of Springfield, Illinois, has been elected treasurer of the Springfield olcal housing authority.

When the Newark (N.J.) Housing Authority was organized recently, Harold A. Lett, an Urban League executive, was chosen as acting secretary.

Other Negroes now serving on local housing authorities are:

Dr. W. Harry Barnes in Philadelphia

New York

Richard F. Jones in Pittsburgh.

George B. Murphy, high school principal, in Baltimore.

Dr. R. F. Pulley in Toledo.

Mrs. Hattie E. Clark, assistant county supervisor for Negroes, on the Charleston (W. Va.) Authority.

Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland in Camden, N. J.

Joseph Bowers, Y.M.C.A. secretary, in Orange, N. J.

J. Everett Harris of the Louisville, (Ky.) Municipal Housing Commission.

In Augusta, Ga., Dr. Edmund C. Peters, white president of a Negro college in the city has been appointed to the local housing authority.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Special Assistant to Administrator Strauss of the U. S. Housing Authority, called attention of Mr. Strauss to the need of activity among Negroes in their respective localities if they are to share adequately in the program of the USHA.

He said:

"The degree and type of participation Negroes may obtain in local housing programs depends largely upon the amount of activity and interest they show in their respective communities.

Page

"With the decentralization of the Government's housing program, the responsibility for initiating and developing housing plans has been delegated to local authorities. It is now up to civic-minded persons in the various communities to see that proper steps are taken to enable cities to benefit from the current program designed to provide decent housing facilities for the neediest section of the population.

"The appointment of Negroes to local housing authorities should be one means of assuring real consideration of the housing needs of the race in those communities."

NEGRO REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS

Page

With a total of more than 500 members of Congress, including senators and representatives, serving from 48 states, the Negro group has only one representative.

6-18-38

Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York, with large Negro populations should have at least one representative from each city. According to our population, the Negro is estimated to constitute about one-tenth of the total population of the United States, yet we find a very small representation for the Negro in Congress.

Cleveland, Ohio

Southern communities that have large Negro populations succeeded in sending several representatives to Congress in years past, when they were allowed to vote. There would be more representation today from the South if the Negro were not disfranchised because, in many Southern communities, the Negro population equals or outnumbers the whites.

After 28 years Chicago took the lead in sending a Negro to Congress. In 1932 Cleveland made an effort to send representation, but failed. New York City has also tried, but without success. Philadelphia's recent efforts, however, have resulted in the nomination of a Negro to Congress. It is now time that our city should make another effort to get representation in Congress.

Michigan Negro 'Mayors' Hold First Convention

By ROBERT A. CRUMP

PONTIAC, Mich.--(ANP)—A new type of convention among Negroes got under way here last Thursday when the Michigan Colored Mayors association held a two-day session at the Southeastern Y. M. C., which was attended by the unofficial colored mayors of Detroit's Paradise Valley, Pontiac, Mellow Lane, Flint's Brownsville, and a representative from Chicago.

The convention at Pontiac was believed to have been a political gesture owing to the fact that Governor Frank Murphy, State Senator Charles C. Diggs, and other state officials coming up for reelection on the Democratic ticket, as well as one or two candidates from the Republican side were scheduled to speak, but during some of the talks made by outstanding citizens of the various cities, their plans call for some constructive work with the association.

The key to the city was presented to Mayor Reuben Patton, president of the association, by the real mayor of Pontiac at the big banquet Thursday night. All other state and city officials sent Negro representatives.

Senator Diggs made a stirring talk giving highlights on the Civil Rights bills and other forms of legislation in which he had a hand in the state senate which has proved beneficial to the Negroes of this state.

According to Ruben Patton, the Colored Mayors association has dedicated itself to the "elevation of colored youth," to which some of the speakers, among them Dr. Leonidas J. Leach of Flint, pointed out many things that are needed to be known by those who aspire to leadership in order to carry on successfully and make a way for the coming generations.

A brief history of Paradise Valley, a certain section of Detroit where the first real election in any city for an unofficial Negro mayor was held by popular newspaper vote, was touched on by Rollo S. Vest, who gave that section its name through an accident.

The various mayors and their respective "councils" went into a huddle Friday to map out plans of activities for the year.

ELEVEN NEGROES HOLD POSTS AT HEAD OF HOUSING SET-UPS

YOUNGSTOWN, O.,—(SNS)—Recognition of the needs of the Negro for low-rent housing is clearly indicated by the appointment of Negroes to membership of local housing authorities now participating in the Government's slum-clearance program, a statement by the Office of the Consultant on Racial Relations of the United States Housing Authority pointed out this week.

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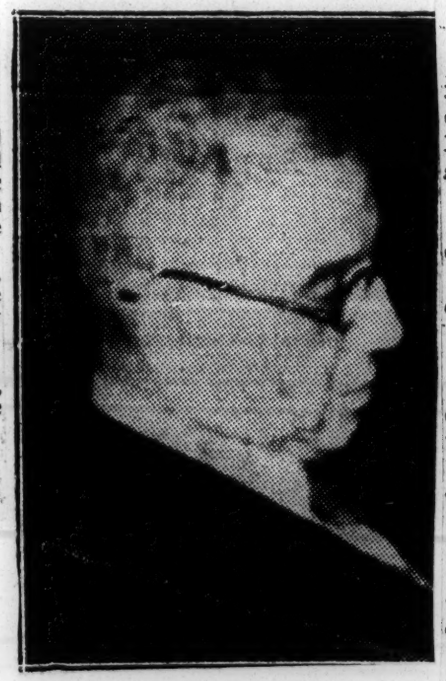

HAROLD A. LETT

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Dr. W. Harry Barnes in Philadelphia.

Richard F. Jones in Pittsburgh.

Dr. R. F. Pulley in Toledo.

Mrs. Hattie E. Clark, assistant county supervisor for Negroes, on the Charleston (W. Va.) Authority.

Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland in Camden, New Jersey.

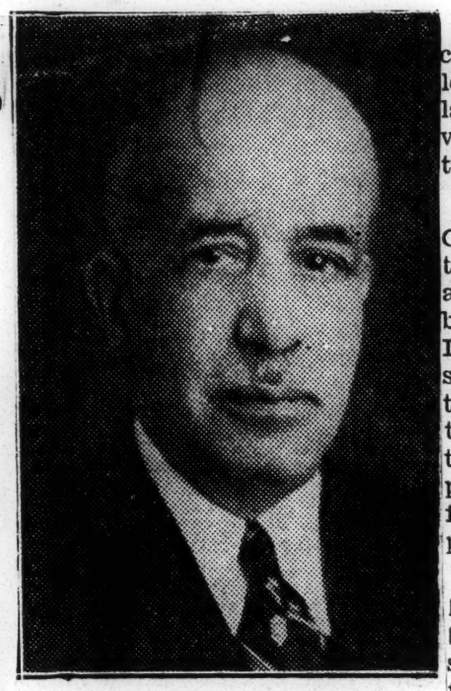
Joseph Bowers, YMCA secretary, in Orange, New Jersey.

J. Everett Harris of the Louisville (Ky.) Municipal Housing Commission.

In Augusta, Georgia, Dr. Edmund C. Peters, white president of a Negro college in the city, has been appointed to the local housing authority.

MAJOR ROBERT A. BYRD

Major Robert A. Byrd, a member of the City Zoning Board of Appeals of Springfield, Illinois, has been elected treasurer of the Springfield local housing authority.



GEORGE B. MURPHY

George B. Murphy, high school principal in Baltimore.

DR. ROBERT C. WEAVER

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Special Assistant to Administrator Straus of the United States Housing Authority, called attention of Mr. Straus to the need for activity among Negroes in their respective localities if they are to share adequately in the program of the USHA.

He said:

"The degree and type of participation Negroes may obtain in local housing programs depends largely upon the amount of activity and interest they show in their respective communities.

"With the decentralization of the Government's housing program, the responsibility for initiating and developing housing plans has been delegated to local authorities. It is now up to civic-minded persons in the various communities to see that proper steps are taken to enable cities to benefit from the current program designed to provide decent housing facilities for the neediest section of the population.

"The appointment of Negroes to local housing authorities should be one means of assuring real consideration of the housing needs of the race in those communities."

Political – 1938

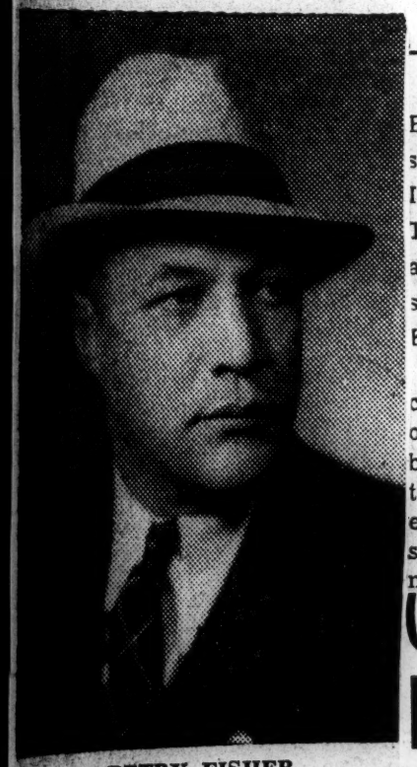
Office Holding.

Illinois

Petry Fisher Appointed To County Board

Ledger 3-26-38

DETROIT, March 25—Petry Fisher, deputy sheriff under Thomas C. Ilcox, last week was appointed to the Wayne County Board of Supervisors by Councilman Henry S. Sweeney. Fisher, the youngest man ever appointed to this board, was the lone Race appointment although



PETRY FISHER

five of the former board members were re-appointed.

Those re-appointed to the Board of Supervisors for additional terms were Dr. James Ames, Thomas Ormsby, Atty. Charles H. Mahoney Mrs. Augie West and Rev. Robert L. Bradby. 3-26-38

Fisher's duties on the Supervisor's Board begin at the board's next meeting scheduled for April 1. The supervisors plan road expansions, county budgets, salary raises and all business to do with the county.

Mr. Fisher, a former investigator for the State Liquor Control Commission, just a few days prior to his appointment made known his intentions to seek election to the Michigan state legislature. He will be the lone Race candidate and the third Race man ever to seek election to the upper house.

He attended school at Hampton university, Detroit Institute of Technology. He is a World War veteran having served with the 368th Infantry band for 12 months. Fisher also served as a traffic surveyor with the Michigan State Highway Department and is part owner of the $30,000 Ivy-Fisher Music company.

Earl Dickerson Is Assigned To Illinois Tax Post

Defender

Assistant Attorney General Earl B. Dickerson was assigned to tax suits in the Chicago office of the Illinois department of finance on Thursday, replacing John H. Gatley, assistant attorney general who was shifted by Attorney General Otto Kerner "for the good of the service."

The shake-up in the department came on the heels of the acquittal of a sales tax inspector and two business men, accused of conspiracy to defraud the state of $25,768. Dickerson has made a splendid record since his appointment in the attorney general's office.

Oscar DePriest Forgotten Hero, Says K. Miller

He Made Greater Political Impression Than 21 Predecessors

NEW DEAL CAUSE OF HIS DEFEAT

Afro-American

By KELLY MILLER

Political fame is ephemeral. But yesterday the word of Oscar DePriest reverberated throughout the nation; today there are few so poor as to do him reverence. We scarcely see his name in the press or hear it pronounced from the public forum.

There were twenty-one colored members of Congress before the advent of Congressman DePriest. But it is not unfair to his predecessors to say that he made a greater political impression upon his day and generation than any one of them, and indeed than all of them put together. 7-30-38

Politics at Low Ebb

There had been a lapse of more than a quarter of a century between the Swan Song of Congressman George H. White and the arrival of Oscar DePriest on the floor of Congress. During that interval the colored man's political fortune under Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, reached a new low. The race passed through the shadow of despair. When Oscar DePriest was catapulted into Congress from the first Illinois District, he was the first fruit of segregation in its political aspect.

As a member of Congress he was our Congressman-at-large with a race-wide constituency of twelve million. No other member of Congress attracted wider notice than he throughout the three terms of his tenure. He was our Congressman par excellence.

Oscar DePriest sprang from the people, and remained with the people. The humblest and the highest alike found favor with him. He was blunt, straight forward, unschooled and unpolished. He was no orator and spoke like young Demosthenes, as though his mouth was full of pebbles; but his words attracted attention and carried weight by virtue of their simplicity and blunt diirectness.

Absolutely Fearless

If he had any one commanding quality, it was his absolute fearlessness and courage. He missed the timidity and restraint which too often spring from education and culture. He did not hesitate to rush in where school taught caution dared not tread.

He stood for every right of his race with all the might of his rugged nature.

In this attitude he was respected even when he ruffled the most passionate dogma of race prejudice. No colored person from Frederick Douglass to Walter White has yet forfeited the respect of the American people by standing up manfully for the rights of his race.

Universally Honored

DePriest was universally honored and extolled by his race, as their political exponent. He went up and down the land North, South, East and West, proclaiming the doctriine of equality set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. His race overwhelmed him with feasts, banquets and testimonials. I, myself sponsored a nation-wide testimonial in his honor after he had been defeated for Congress.

But so swiftly passes the glory of this world. "Out of sight, out of mind," expresses the philosphy of the politician. DePriest's local constituents turned him down for a substitute who up to that time was unknown and untried. Arthur W. Mitchell took the political tide at flood which led on to fortune, Oscar DePriest was the victim of its ebb. The colored vote south of the Mason and Dixon line is potentially Republican; north of that line it is dynamically Democratic. DePriest could not reverse this tendency.

May this great tribune of the people enjoy the peace and comfort of his retirement to the end of his day. After all Oscar DePriest is not the victim of racial ingratitude but of political events.

ILLINOIS' ONLY RACE SENATOR TO SPEAK AT REPUBLICAN MEET

Chicago Defender 8-20-38

PEORIA, Ill., Aug. 19—State Senator William E. King of Chicago has been named as one of the principal speakers at the Republican state convention to be held in Peoria on August 31.

Recognized as one of the most forceful orators in the Illinois legislature, Senator King was named by the state committee as the man to deliver one of the principal addresses.

Another principal speaker will be Richard J. Lyons, Republican candidate for the United States Senate. Two other speakers, a representative of labor and a representative of the women voters, will complete the speaking part of the convention program.

Senator King has been actively engaged in politics for 22 years, having served five years as assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago; two years as assistant state's attorney of Cook county; eight years a member of the House of Representatives in the Illinois legislature, and is now completing his fourth year in the state senate of Illinois.

In the meantime, Senator King was elected Republican ward committeeman from the second ward in Chicago, re-elected in 1934 and 1936. He served as one of the commissioners of the Chicago World's fair, and was recently named a member of the New York World's fair commission from Illinois.

Political – 1938

Office Holding

Illinois

PUBLISHER IS NAMED TO STATE COMMITTEE

CHICAGO—Robert S. Abbott, publisher of the Chicago Defender, received notification this week that he had been appointed to the state committee of housing, welfare by Governor Henry Horner.

ROBT. TAYLOR FIRST NEGRO ON HOUSING BOARD

His Appointment Widely Acclaimed

Appointment of Robert R. Taylor, manager of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments and prominent Negro spokesman for better housing in Chicago, as a member of the Chicago Housing Authority was unanimously approved shortly before noon Tuesday by the Illinois State Housing Board. Mr. Taylor was appointed by Mayor Edward J. Kelly at the meeting of the City Council last Wednesday.

His membership becomes effective immediately, according to the Illinois law which provides for certification of the Mayor's appointments by the State Board.

Term Expires Jan., 1942

Taylor will continue as a commissioner of the Authority until January, 1942, serving out the term of William J. Lynch, who resigned a month ago. In notifying Mr. Taylor of the action taken by the State Housing Board, Chairman Oscar W. Rosenthal expressed the board's great pleasure at his acceptance of membership and recognized the importance of his contribution to the work of the Chicago Authority.

"The Board invites the fullest use of its facilities by the Chicago Housing Authority," Rosenthal added. "Complete cooperation will assure the greatest measure of success for improvement of Chicago housing."

Lauds Appointment

According to Alderman R. R. Jackson of the Third Ward, who moved confirmation of the mayor's appointment before the City Council, Taylor "stands high in the Negro community." Particularly in view of his actual management experience with one of the foremost large-scale housing projects in the country, he is well qualified for his new position. He is acknowledged, not only in Chicago, but throughout the United States as a leader for improvement of housing conditions.

Noted Authority in Field

Students from many parts of the country have visited Taylor's office to study management policies in the big Rosenwald apartment project for Negroes at Michigan boulevard and 47th street in Chicago's southside. Since 1929, when the late Julius Rosenwald built the apartments, Taylor has served as manager of the properties.

One of the five instructors of the Management Training School conducted in Washington by the National Association of Housing Officials, Taylor has helped to prepare most of the resident managers of the government housing projects now in operation in the United States. In 1934 he visited England, Holland, France, Belgium and Germany to make an extensive study of European housing, on which subject he has contributed a number of articles to national periodicals. He has been a consistent advocate for governmental aid in local slum clearance and housing programs.

Taylor is a graduate of Tuskegee institute and for some time studied architectural engineering at Howard university. He has also done graduate work at the University of Illinois and Northwestern university.

Chairman Rosenthal's Letter

Chairman Rosenthal's letter to Mr. Taylor, apprising him of his appointment, read as follows:

December 6, 1938

"Honorable Robert R. Taylor,
'54 East 47th street,
'Chicago, Illinois.

'My dear Mr. Taylor:

"Your appointment as a commissioner of the Chicago Housing Authority was unanimously approved at the meeting of the State Housing Board December 6, 1938.

"The certificate of approval has been filed with the county recorder, and a copy is enclosed for your files.

"The Board invites the fullest use of its facilities by the Chicago Housing Authority. Complete cooperation will assure the greatest measure of success for improvement of Chicago housing.

"This Board is extremely pleased because of your acceptance of membership upon the Chicago Housing Authority, and looks for a wide public recognition of the tremendously important work the Authority is carrying on. Your part in its guidance will be an important contribution.

"Cordially,
"OSCAR W. ROSENTHAL,
"Chairman

R. R. TAYLOR IS APPOINTED TO HOUSING BODY

First Of Race On Board; To Serve Out Term Of Resigned Member

Robert Rochon Taylor, manager of the Rosenwald Garden Apartments at Forty-seventh street and Michigan avenue, was appointed Wednesday as a member of the Chicago Housing Authority by Mayor Edward J. Kelly.

He will serve out the remainder of the term of William J. Lynch who resigned from the Housing Authority a month ago. The term expires January 5, 1942. The motion that the appointment be confirmed by the city council was made by Ald. R. R. Jackson of the Third ward. He said Taylor "Stands high in the Negro community.' The appointment was confirmed unanimously.

Taylor was one of the first advocates of public housing in America. His experience as manager of the Rosenwald apartments convinced him that private capital operating upon an ordinary commercial basis could not provide decent housing for families of low income.

Taylor's appointment follows an intensive campaign waged by the Defender for Race representation on the local housing board. Chicago is now the eighteenth city with a member of the Race on its local authority.

Urged Government Subsidy

In a series of articles written for the Chicago Defender in April, 1936, Taylor urged government subsidy for housing for under-paid workers. He was one of five instructors of the Management Training school conducted by the National Association of Husing officials in conjunction with the housing division of the U. S. government. The school trained the managers in practically all of the government projects now operating throughout the country.

In 1934, Taylor visited England, Holland, France, Belgium and Germany where he made an extensive study of European housing. He has written many articles on the subject which have appeared in national periodicals. In his writings he has consistently emphasized the need for governmental aid in eradicating slums and providing housing for all workers in America.

Congressmen Flays Absent Assemblyman

LOS ANGELES—(A N P)—"We need to get rid of leaders who have to be bowed to," said Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell from the rostrum of Elks Auditorium last Sunday during his short visit to the coast. The above remark made during his address before an honorary mass meeting held for him, was part of a scathing denunciation of Augusta Hawkins, young Assemblyman from the 62nd district who was re-elected for his second term in the recent statewide elections.

Although the famous Congressman was met upon his arrival by a large delegation of leading citizens and a near capacity crowd claimed him in the auditorium, Hawkins did not appear. The outspoken representative from Illinois said that men who get into office on a program of mass appeal, and then forget their constituents have no business holding public office.

His reference was to the Democratic land slide that swept out Fred Roberts, Republican, after serving, and the only Negro Assemblyman in the state for over 12 years. Hawkins, a Democratic candidate, had also secured the support of other liberal groups.

The congressman's topic was "Making Friends with Enemies." He recounted his experiences, many of which were unpleasant, during his service in Congress, admitting that most of these were with the Southern element. But he explained his technique for cultivating their friendship and how he later utilized it to further legislation favorable to the Negro.

Among the committee who gave him a royal welcome were Robert Lindsay, Titus Alexander, John Hill, Atty. Hugh McBeth, Clarence Muse and Emory Crani.

Political — 1938
Office Holding.

Illinois

Horner Appoints Foster To Board

Defender

A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, has just been appointed by Governor Henry Horner, a member of the Board of Unemployment Compensation and Free Employment Office Advisors.

This board will determine the policies and procedures governing unemployment compensation and will also serve in an advisory capacity to free employment offices in the entire state.

FOSTER APPOINTED TO STATE BOARD IN ILLINOIS

CHICAGO (ANP) — A. L. Foster, executive secretary, Chicago Urban League, has been appointed by Governor Horner as a member of the board of Unemployment Compensation and Free Employment Office Advisors of Illinois.

Political - 1938
Office Holding

Indiana

PAROLE OFFICER Appointed In Indiana

OTIS R. BRYANT

OTIS R. BRYANT

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., March— Appointment of Otis R. Bryant, 814 1-2 East Wyoming street, Indianapolis, as a district parole officer in the Division of Corrections in the State Department of Public Welfare, has been announced by Thurman A. Gottschalk, administrator of the State Welfare Department. Mr. Bryant becomes the first Negro district parole officer to be employed under the Indiana Welfare Act and probably the first in the nation under the cooperative provision of the Federal Social Security Act.

Forty-three years of age, married and the father three children, Mr. Bryant brings to his position a wealth of experience in the field of social improvement which well fits him to supervise the daily lives of the parolees under his supervision.

The appointment was made from an eligible list in which the applicants took a rigid examination. Bryant was eighth on the list in the field where more than 100 college men took the examination.

Otis R. Bryant Named 1st District Parole Officer In Indiana

(Special to The New York Age)

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — Appointment of Otis R. Bryant, 814½ East Wyoming street, Indianapolis, as a district parole officer in the Division of Corrections in the State Department of Public Welfare, has been announced by Thurman A. Gottschalk, administrator of the State Welfare Department. Mr. Bryant becomes the first Negro district parole officer to be employed under the Indiana Welfare Act and probably the first in the nation under the cooperative provisions of the Federal Social Security Act.

Forty-three years of age, married and the father of three children, Mr. Bryant brings to his new position a world of experience in the field of social improvement which well fits him to supervise the daily lives of the colored adult parolees under his supervision. He will be directly responsible for all such parolees in Marion County and will probably be entrusted with special work among colored adult parolees in all parts of the state, according to John H. Klinger, director of the Division of Corrections in the State Department, Frank Hope is Supervisor of Paroles in the Division of Corrections.

Although aware of holding a high place on the eligible list of applicants for position of district parole officer as the result of taking an examination in open competition under the Indiana Merit System of employee selection, Mr. Bryant's appointment nevertheless came as a surprise to him. It was not an undeserved honor, however, and was the result of long years of training and struggle which should serve as a model to others, not to allow failure and disappointment to defeat them in their struggle to achieve the goal which they have set for themselves.

Mr. Bryant's efforts to become a recognized parole officer read like a fiction story. Working his own way through Emmerich Manual Training High School in Indianapolis, he was graduated with honors in 1911. Lacking funds, he was unable to afford a regular college course providing a degree in social work but that did not deter him from obtaining a thorough practical education and fitting himself for a job when opportunity offerd. Obtaining employment, Mr. Bryant began taking extension work at Indiana University. Working and studying at the Indianapolis Colored Young Men Christian Association, he continued his struggle for an education in his chosen life work. Completing all the work available at the local Colored Y.M.C.A. he went to Chicago where he took additional work. Following his work in Chicago he went to Tuskegee, Alabama, where he became senior physical director of the Veterans' Bureau Hospital No. 91.

Maintaining a vital interest in the problems of Negro youth who had served penal sentences and who were striving to re-establish themselves in society, he devoted all of his spare time to their reformation and readjustment. Due to the scarcity of demand for colored parole officers, he was unable to obtain a salaried position in this field; nevertheless, he consistently worked as a volunteer parole agent, taking his satisfaction in the good he was able to accomplish. He worked for three years at the Flanner House in Indianapolis, dealing with juvenile delinquents.

Establishment of a modern system of parole supervision under the Indiana Welfare Act with more than 100 parole agents in the state, instead of the former seven, gave Mr. Bryant the opportunity to exercise the talent he had been developing through years of self-sacrifice and study.

Merit System Appointee

Taking the competitive examination under the merit system along with more than 100 college trained experts, Mr. Bryant had the eight highest grade in the field. This high ranking entitled him to a vacancy as a district parole supervisor in charge of adult colored parolees from Indiana institutions.

Mr. Bryant holds the honor of being the first Negro parole officer appointed under the Indiana Merit System. The Rev. Marshall A. Talley, member of the State Board of Public Welfare, also has the honor of being the first Negro to be appointed to any state welfare board in the United States.

Mr. Bryant is the grandson of a former well known Indianapolis business man, Charles A. Webb now dead.

Under the Merit System provisions of the Indiana Welfare Act equal opportunity is given to persons of all races and creeds to win positions in the state and county departments of public welfare through competitive examinations.

The Indiana Act was passed on March 18, 1936, under former Governor Paul V. McNutt, now United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands.

CALVIN J. JAMES IS CHOSEN BY EGAN

Pittsburgh Courier 5-7-38

GARY, Ind., April 28—(ANP) — Fred Egan, prosecuting attorney of Lake county, has announced the appointment of Calvin J. James as deputy prosecuting attorney in his office, thus making the first time in many years that a colored lawyer has enjoyed such an honor.

Mr. James, who is a member of the law firm of Murry, James and Wilson, is a native of Louisiana, being he son of the late Rev. Carrol James of that State. He has enjoyed a most successful practice of his profession for many years, having been admitted to the Indiana Bar in 1917.

The duties of Mr. James will not be confined to any particular court in the county. It is the first time in the history of the county that a Negro lawyer has been appointed with no limitation as to his activities. He will serve as prosecutor in the criminal division as well as the civil division of all of the courts, and will have the authority to sign affidavits and informations just as Mr. Egan himself, will have.

Mr. James is an active member of the Gary Bar Association, the president of Gary Legal Forum, Lake City Lodge 182, I. B. P. O. E. of W., St. Luke's Lodge No. 43, F. & A. M., and Magic City Consistory of the United Supreme Council of Free and Accepted Masons, Scottish Rites, being a 32nd degree. He is married and living with his wife, Emily E. and children. Calvin J. and Gladys James.

NAME DR. KING TO EVANSVILLE HOME PROJECT

Defender

Has Fine Military And Civic Record In Indiana

6-11-38

WASHINGTON, June 10—Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, on June 1 appointed Dr. Raymond B. King, housing manager of Lincoln Gardens, the government's low-cost housing project.

Dr. King is a native of Indiana. He is a graduate of the University of Indiana and has practiced dentistry in Evansville for 23 years.

He is a World war veteran, having served as captain in the dental corps in the United States and France. He now serves as a captain in the reserve corps of the United States army and has been active in American Legion affairs, having held many offices in that organization.

Dr. King is well known in the civic affairs of the Race in Evansville and was an active worker with the Red Cross during the flood of 1937.

He has been a member of the Evansville advisory committee on housing and was particularly active in the development of Lincoln Gardens.

Political - 1938

Office Holding.

Iowa

Named Secretary in Des Moines Assessor's Office

Cull 4-29-38

DES MOINES—(ANP)—Miss Evelyn Brooks, '21, a former member of the Wee Sisters, well known midwestern novelty singing trio of radio and stage, has been appointed as a secretary in the assessor's office of the city of Des Moines. Miss Brooks, is the only woman employed in the office, she has as her aids 10 deputies.

Little Miss Brooks, who has yet to reach 5 feet in height, has placed behind her a successful record. During her school days, she was one of the managing editors of the Oracle, North high school's weekly newspaper, and was the only Negro ever to hold that position.

During special high school days in Des Moines. Miss Brooks was selected by North high school as a sole representative to the Register and Tribune, Iowa's largest newspaper, to assist in the writing of the editorial on the women's page.

After being graduated from North high school, she was employed in the law offices of Atty. J. Nelson Thompson, from which business she resigned to become the society editor of the Iowa Bystander, the oldest Negro publication west of the Mississippi. At the time of her appointment, she was employed in the offices of Dr. J. A. Jefferson, one of Iowa's leading physicians.

Miss Brooks says she is well pleased with her new position and declares that all the employes are very courteous. The position to which she was appointed pays a good salary and will last for at least two years.

Political - 1938

Office Holding.

Kansas.

Kans. Woman Gets Post As Attorney

KANSAS CITY, July 15—Miss Mildred J. Mitchell is at home to friends in Lawrence as a June attorney, sworn into the practice of law before the Supreme Court of Kansas after receiving an LLB degree at Kansas U., during June's commencement.

Here, she is hailed as a Delta of the A.K.A., a past season's basileus of the chapter, and back home in K. C., she is remembered as a colleague of the National Honor Society, a member of the student's council; president of the senior class and girl of the Camp Fire coterie during her years as a coed of the campus of Lincoln, where she graduated during '32, with the consolation of being cited as the highest ranking student of her class, and the knowledge that she was leaving behind her name engraved on the face of the silver loving cup of the institution. She is blessed with a beautiful past. in face of the fact that she recently confessed, she has no definite plans when the future is concerned.

Chicago Defender 7-16-38

Political - 1938
Office Holding

Kentucky

Anderson's Record In Ky. Legislature Stands Noble As Victories Are Counted

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—(SNS)—

Charles W. Anderson, Jr., young attorney and first Negro to occupy a seat in the Kentucky Legislature or a Southern Legislature since Reconstruction Days, makes enviable record of achievement during present session of General Assembly. Young Legislator has vigorously opposed further efforts of segregation and discrimination; and sponsored legislation for the benefit of his Race.

Our Lone Legislator

CHARLES W. ANDERSON, JR.
Kentucky's and the South's only Negro Legislator.

Defeats Bus Segregation Bill and Public Whipping Post

A bill introduced in the present session of the Kentucky Legislature by a mountain representative to provide a partition for the separation of white and Colored people on buses was successfully defeated after an heroic and vigorous fight lasting 8 weeks of the session by Louisville's Race Representative, Mr. Anderson, who defeated every effort of the sponsors of the bill to bring it upon the floor for a vote and finally succeeding in tabling the measure or killing it. (Copy of bill attached). A public whipping post bill designed expressly for Negroes in mis-demeanor cases was defeated in another fight waged by Kentucky's Race Legislator against its enactment.

Wins Fight to Repeal Kentucky's Infamous 18 years old Public Hanging Law

After nearly 9 weeks of fighting to repeal Kentucky's infamous Public Hanging Law designed expressly to legalize the hanging of Negroes saw the 1938 Session of the Kentucky Legislature repeal a statute placed in the Acts of the 1920 General Assembly providing the penalty of death in rape cases, and that the execution shall be by hanging the condemn before the view of the public. More than 10,000 persons have been to attend these scenes for the celebration or satisfaction of a morbid curiosity. The successful fight of Mr. Anderson will make it mandatory for all sentences carrying the death penalty to be by electrocution in the State Prison. The repeal of this law was won in the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7, and in the House where Mr. Anderson is a member by a vote of 62 to 4.

Wins Fight to Allow Public School Teachers the Right to Marry and Retain Employment

The old Louisville law or ruling of the Board of Education prohibiting public school teachers from marrying was up-rooted this week when a bill sponsored by Mr. Anderson passed the General Assembly allowing Public School teachers with five years teaching experience the right to marry and obtain their employment, and to prohibit Boards of Education in all cities in Kentucky from having rules or regulations in the restraint of marriage or to cancel any teachers' contract because of marriage.

Defeats Move of Kentucky Legislature to Send Resolution To Congress Against Anti-Lynch Bill

A resolution adopted in the Senate of the Kentucky Legislature to memorialize Congress to defeat legislation of the Federal Anti-Lynch Bill which was adopted by House to be concurred in. Charles W. Anderson, Jr., leading the fight against the resolution succeeded in killing it in Committee before the white Representatives could bring the bill to the floor for a vote.

Discrimination of Negroes in Employment on Public Building and Public Works

Mr. Anderson has undertaking the sponsorship of a bill to prohibit the discrimination of Negroes in employment on public work projects and public buildings. This bill is believed the first of its kind to be presented to a Southern Legislature though several northern states have enacted. (Copy of Bill attached).

Mr. Anderson in further attacks on the vicious forms of discrimination and segregation is preparing a bill asking for the repeal of Kentucky's separate Coach Law on trains and a seperate bill asking for identical coach and parlor service on trains if the other bill is defeate.....in an effort to improve traveling service to Race.

Sponsors Bill for High School Education Race Boys and Girls in Rural Counties of Kentucky

Because many counties in Kentucky do not provide High Schools for Colored boys and girls, Mr. Anderson, is sponsoring a bill to compel Counties to either proaide High School service or where there not a sufficient number of Race students for a High School, to provide maintenance (tuition and fees or board) or the transportation of students to the nearest High School located in another county (Copy of Bill attached).

Sponsors Bills to Aid Paupers in Court and fees

Mr. Anderson in an effort to make the work of the N. A. A. C. P. less expensive in aiding Negroes accused of criminal offenses or felonies is sponsoring a bill to provide Court fee to be paid for by the County in all cases of paupers indicted for felonies, and to provide for records and appeals and payment of counsel fees for members of the Bar appointed by the Court to defend paupers (this applies to both white and Colored)

Anderson Obtains $5.000.00. Additional Appropriation To Aid Students Pursuing Courses out of State at State expense

In the first term of Mr. Anderson membership in the Kentucky Legislature in 1936, he sponsored a bill to provide $176.00 for each student pursuing graduate education outside of the State or who was compelled to attend school outside of Kentucky because of its separate school law. This bill carried an appropriation of $10,000.00 bi-annually and was increased during the present 1938 session with an additional $5,000.00, to aid Race students cut of the Governor's emergency fund.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Charles W. Anderson, Jr., in the Kentucky Legislature has been outstanding and a credit both to him and to his Race in Kentucky. He has been aggressive and watchful of all measures directed at his race, and bitterly waged a fight against any bill tending to further discriminate or segregate as well as sponsor legislation for the progress of the Kentucky Negro. Mr. Anderson is serving his second term of office, having been first elected in 1935. He is a graduate of Kentucky State College, Wilberforce University and Howard University School of Law. The only Republican office-holder in the City of Louisville, a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and practices law in Louisville with offices at 614 W. Walnut Street.

Political - 1938

Office Holding.

6

Liberia, - (Africa.)

Walton on Way to U.S. for Vacation

Afro-American 2-2-38

BERLIN (ANP)—Lester A. Walton, United States Minister to Liberia, after visiting in Berlin, recently, has left for Famburg en route to the United States where he is expected to arrive early in February.

He is on his annual vacation and will also attend the marriage of his eldest daughter, Marjorie, which will take place on February 19. Mr. Walton recently was elected a member of the International Diplomatic Academy; honorary member of both the International Mark Twain Society, and the International Acquaintance League.

Political - 1938
Office Holding.
6

Maryland

APPOINTED BY NICE

HARRY O. WILSON,
Baltimore banker, who was appointed this week by Governor Nice on a State-wide committee to study State supervision of building and loan associations. The appointment of the committee was made at the request of the Maryland League of Building Associations, it was learned.

Rainey's Double Victory

The reassignment of Magistrate Joseph Rainey to court duty and the action of Judges Curtis Bok, Gerald F. Flood and Louis Leventhal in taking the matter out of the hands of Chief Magistrate John J. O'Malley, white, ends for the present at least an unprecedented fight in which Mr. Rainey won a double victory, not only for himself, but against what many believed unlawful procedure.

Chief Magistrate O'Malley suspended Magistrate Rainey on a charge that he had used racial discrimination against whites in the disposition of a case before him.

Rainey challenged the authority of his action in suspending him without trial and took the matter to court which ruled in his favor.

More and more, courts of justice are serving to guarantee American rights and to prevent high-handed and precipitate action which may involve injustice.

Political - 1938

Office Holding.

Massachusetts.

Appointed City Surgeon In Massachusetts Town

Courier

2-5-38

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Feb. 3 (ANP)—Dr. Ernesto Balla, former Bostonian, this week received the congratulations of friends following his appointment as Surgeon on the New Bedford Board of Health, the first member of his race to be so honored. Dr. Balla has practiced here for eight years, included among his clientele some of the city's most prominent families. He is a graduate of Lincoln University.

On Parole Board

Courier

BOSTON, Mass.— (ANP) — Governor Hurley announced last week the appointment of William H. S. Dabney to membership upon the Massachusetts Board of Pardons and Paroles. Mr. Dabney is a graduate of Boston Latin School, Williston Academy and the University of Paris.

Political—1938

Office Holding.

Michigan.

Negro Atty. Named To State Correction Commission In Mich.

DETROIT, Mich. — Announcement has been made by Governor Frank Murphy naming Attorney Harold E. Bledsoe, of 911 Gratiot avenue as a member of the Michigan Correction Commission.

"Mr. Bledsoe is a close friend of mine, a fine man and a Christian gentleman," said Governor Murphy. "My recent visit to Marquette Branch Prison indicated that would be a good thing to have a representative of the race on the Commission."

Governor Murphy has reorganized the state penal system under an Act passed by the 1937 Legislature creating the Michigan Corrections Commission which has the administration of penal institutions, prison industries, pardons and paroles of the State. The Commission determines all matters relating to the unified development of penal institutions within its jurisdiction.

Mr. Bledsoe fills the vacancy created by George J. Burke, attorney for Ann Arbor, who resigned to become a member of the Civil Service Commission. Mr. Bledsoe is a graduate of the University of Detroit, a former Assistant Attorney General of Michigan, an elector-at-large from Michigan in the recent Presidential election and a practicing attorney for the past thirteen years.

Bledsoe Starts Work On Michigan Commission

DETROIT, Mar. 17—Atty. Harold E. Bledsoe, former assistant attorney-general of Michigan and a colorful figure in Democratic political circles here, began his duties this week as a member of the State Corrections Commission.

Detroiter Gets $4,200 Housing Manager Post

DETROIT—George A. Isabell, 33, president of a management company, was appointed manager of the Brewster housing project, last week, at a salary of $4,200 annually.

According to Carl L. Bradt, director-secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission, Isabell will serve sixty days and then take a competitive civil service examination.

The Brewster project has 701 units and will be ready for occupancy by September. Isabell took up his duties immediately.

Taught in South

Isabell is a graduate of the University of Iowa in business administration. He has served as professor in Kittrell College, Kittrell, N.C., and Lane College, Jackson, Tenn., He has been in the real estate business in Detroit since 1929.

He is married and the father of two children. He is also secretary of the Omega Phi Psi fraternity.

Two Help Rewrite Mich. Constitution

DETROIT — State Senator Charles C. Diggs and John S. Dancy of the Urban League have been named by Governor Frank Murphy on a commission which will rewrite the Michigan constitution.

Gets Degree, Lands Social Service Job

DETROIT,— (ANP)— Miss Alice McGhee Miles who graduated last June from University of Michigan with an A.B. degree in sociology has been appointed to a social service post with the Children's Aid Society of Detroit. She is the Society's only colored employe. Her mother is Mrs. Ethel C. Miles, Oxford, Ohio.

Joseph Craigen Taking Oath Of Office

When Attorney Joseph A. Craigen took the oath of office as Deputy Labor Commissioner of Michigan, he was the first of his race in the history of Michigan to be appointed to such an office. Fair, liberal Governor Frank Murphy made the appointment. He took the oath of office before many distinguished citizens, including Senator Charles C. Diggs, Rev. William H. Peck, Mrs. Josephine Belfore, Thomas Orum, Joseph Cole, Clifton Smith, Joseph Ashmore, Secretary of the Labor Department, sitting and John Young, Assistant Attorney General,, standing, and the lady officer administering the oath.

Now Craigen is candidate for Congress from the 13th congressional district subject to the forthcoming Democratic primary.

FIRST RACE MATRON IN 81 YEARS

24-Year-Old Marie Hardeman Appointed to Detroit House of Correction.

By S. T. HOLLAND
(Staff Correspondent)

DETROIT, Nov. 10.—For the first time in the 81-year-old history of the Detroit House of Correction, located at Plymouth, just outside of Detroit—a Negro woman was appointed as a matron at this penal institution, which is rated as one of the finest of its kind in the country.

The "First Lady," attractive Miss Marie Hardeman, 24, of 536 Kenilworth avenue, took her new post Saturday shortly after notification of appointment by the Detroit House of Correction Commission, of which John C. Dancy is president.

Born in Sandusky, Ill., Miss Hardeman was brought to the Motor City by her parents at an early age, and has lived here practically all of her life. She completed social service studies at Wayne University in 1937.

THREE RACE EMPLOYEES

Her appointment brought the matronal force at Detroit House of Correction to 35, of a total of approximately 141 persons maintained to operate the institution. Two other Negroes are employed here, one as a guard, and the other as a storekeeper.

The Detroit House of Correction comprises 1,100 acres of ground and contains more than forty new buildings. It is modern in every respect, not only in its physical plant, but in the new concept of a prison.

Aside from two hospitals, one for women and one for men, it has social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists, who make studies and examinations of every inmate in an effort to rehabilitate and return the erring ones to society as assets.

Negroes compose fifteen to twenty per cent of the total inmate population of 800. The institution houses prisoners from every part of the nation, as well as many from the Federal Government. It is the only prison in Michigan for women.

John C. Dancy, executive secretary of the Detroit Urban League, as well as president of the Detroit House of Correction Commission has held the latter position for three years of the six years he has been a member of the commission. He was first appointed by Gov. Frank Murphy and re-appointed to the four-year term by Mayor Frank Couzens.

Other members of the commission are: John P. O'Hara, William Friedman and Mrs. William F. Connolly, wife of the late Judge Connolly, and sister of Walter O. Briggs, of the Briggs Manufacturing Company, who is owner of the Detroit Tigers baseball team.

Michigan's First Negro Judge Takes Up Duties

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Dec. 6 — (ANP) — Last Tuesday, for the first time in history of this state a Negro judge ascended the bench, the central figure being Judge Edmond C. White of Yard Township, who presided in Lake County Circuit Court. The case at bar was an assault charge placed against John H. Smith.

The state was represented by County Prosecutor Allan Lidkes and Smith's counsel was Atty Floyd H. Skinner of Grand Rapids. After witnesses have testified Prosecutor Lidke moved for the defendant's dismissal and discharge. Judge White granted the motion and the defendant was released.

First Negro Judge Presides Over Michigan Court

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich.—(ANP) —Last Tuesday, for the first time in history of this state, a Negro judge ascended the bench, the central figure being Judge Edmond C. White of Yatrd Townshio who presided in Lake County Circuit Court. The case at bar was an assault charge placed against John H. Smith.

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Political - 1938

Office Holding.

Missouri.

NEGROES IN THE MO. STATE LEGISLATURE

Courier 3-4-38

Says five Negroes have served in the state legislature, but neither party has done "too much" for group. St. Louis, Mo.

JEFFERSON CITY, Missouri. —Negroes of Missouri have made much progress during the last quarter century, according to Robert S. Cobb, former Executive Secretary of the Negro Industrial Commission and former assistant to the Mo. Compensation Commission. Cobb, who has just recently reached the age of fifty years, recalls when no Negroes were members of the General Assembly; he recalls when two Negroes only were employed in the State Capitol, John M. Moore and Thomas Horrell, both of whom have passed beyond and who contributed their bit to the History of the State. Since that time Cobb observes that the Honorable Walthall M. Moore, Honorable John A. Davis, Honorable L. Amasa Knox, Honorable Frank Clegg and Honorable C. M. Allen, have all served in the Hall of the House of Representatives as members and with honor to themselves and to the Race as well.

Says Prejudice Has Diminished

Cobb stated that prejudice has diminished in Missouri to an appreciable extent during the last twenty years. He recalls that when the Honorable Walthall M. Moore, took his seat in the General Assembly as the first Race Representative, that a certain paper severely criticised Honorable Hiram Lloyd, at that time Lieut. Governor of the State, for congratulating Mr. Moore on the floor of the House, now according to Cobb any Negro may sit in either body of the General Assembly and be highly respected by his contemporaries, because of the good record made by his predecessors.

Lincoln U. Has Made Progress

Having lived in the Capital City for nearly twenty years, Mr. Cobb has seen Lincoln U. grow from little less than a school of High School grade to second to none for Negroes in America, fully accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, with a well equipped faculty of loyal men and women and with adequate laboratory and library facilities.

Says Neither Party Has Done Too Much For The Negro

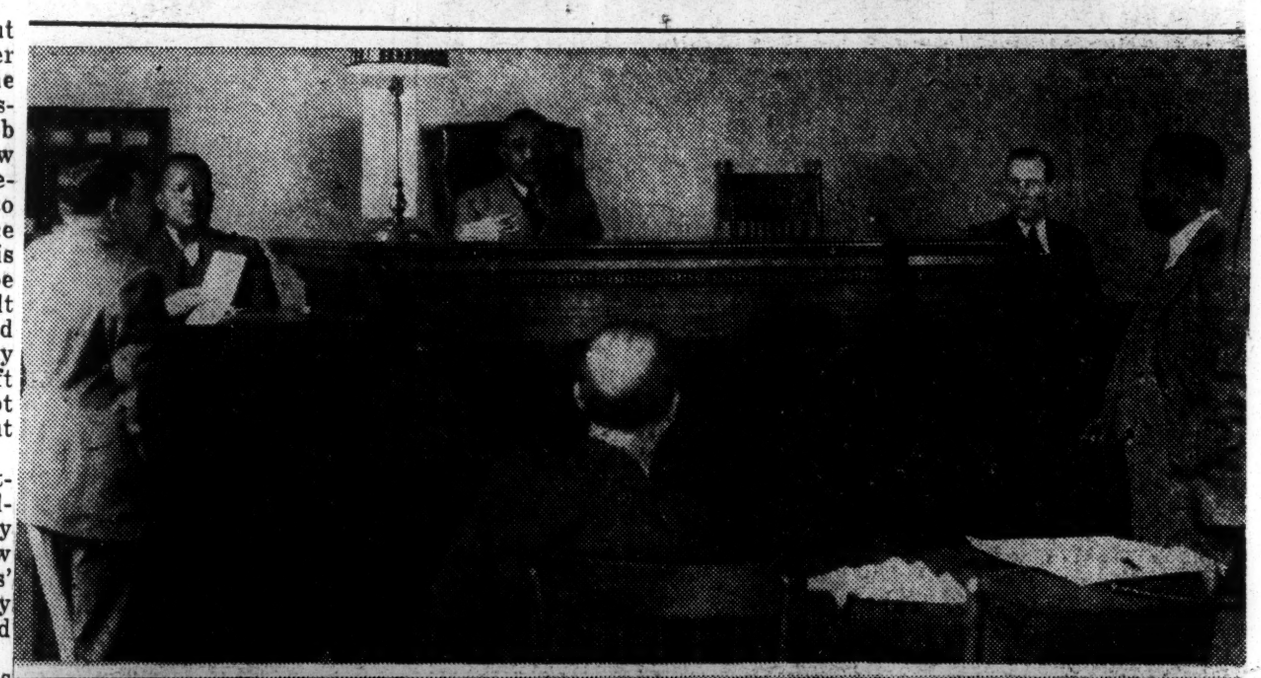
Cobb who is a Republican but who is liberal stated that neither Party has done too much for the Negro of Missouri. In discussing the Republican Party, Cobb stated that they gave some few places here and there to the Negro because they felt obligated to him for his long years of service and loyalty to the Party—this was as it should have been, be observed, because the Negro felt in 1932 that he had not received sufficient recognition for his party loyalty and and service he left the Party in large numbers, not only in Missouri, but throughout America.

Cobb views the Democrat's attitude toward the Negro as follows: "The Democratic Party looked upon the Negro as a 'New Comer' who must win his 'Spurs' and who must prove his loyalty before patronage can be dispensed to him to any large degree."

He now after fifty years feels that the Negro should vote where his interests will be best cared for—not blindly for either party but for those candidates who show the greatest promise to the Negro Race for their economic, social and educational welfare.

Mr. Cobb is now a practicing attorney at Jefferson City, Mo.

ST. LOUIS' NEGRO JUDGE HOLDS COURT



Courier 4-16-38 Pittsburgh Pa.

Judge Bledsoe, St. Louis Negro judge, is shown in two scenes in his trial chambers. Top photo shows an actual trial, with Judge Bledsoe seated at his bench and his clerk, Fredrick M. Weathers, sits at his right side. Attorney John A. Davis is standing at the extreme right. Others in the picture are litigants. Bottom photo shows Constable Jordan W. Chambers, seated, and standing, left to right, are: Ira Dorsey, John Sonnen, Roy Aston, Virgil McClellan, Joe Frankel and Roy Fields, deputies.—Photos by Young, St. Louis.

JUDGE CLARK RETIRES

(Reproduced From The St. Louis Argus, Dec. 5, 1930.)

The presence of a number of friends, both white and colored, of Judge Crittenden E. Clark in his court room last Friday when he was retiring from the bench, was a nice tribute of which one might well be proud.

Though retiring from public office after a defeat, the occasion must have brought a deal of satisfaction to the judge to have those whom he had touched during his eight years on the bench bring laudatory words and congratulatory expressions in appreciation of a peculiar service which this particular judge had rendered the people of St. Louis. All said that he had made a good judge—and what more! It was noticeable that most of those who spoke and particularly the white speakers recognized the fact that he had not only been a good judge, but that he had rendered an interracial service, because of the high plane of efficiency on which he conducted his court.

We were pleased to hear this report at the end of eight years service of the first Negro in the state to be elected as justice of the peace. If "Crit" Clark has made good as a justice of the peace, as the testimony of those with whom he served shows, surely he rendered a valuable service to his race. Others who come after him will find the way easier because the path which was strewn with misgivings and racial prejudices when he first took office has been beaten back and made comparatively clear by the way he conducted the affairs of the public office to which he had been elected.

We are further reminded in this connection of the words of one of the speakers who said: "If this was an occasion when one was being inducted in office, it would be quite natural for people to gather and to say nice things about him as well as to bring tokens as expressions of well wishes. But on this occasion the man whom we honor here today is retiring from office, which speaks of a service well done."

Political - 1938
Office Holding

New Jersey

Will Be Sworn For 6th Time

DR. FRANK S. HARGRAVE was elected to the State Legislature for the sixth time in November, establishing a record for a Negro holding such a position.

Defied Hague

Robert S. Hartgrove, New Jersey assistant attorney-general, who is the only man on record to defy openly and publicly Mayor Hague of Jersey City, and later win his point. He is a nationally known lawyer and personal friend of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton. His present post pays $6,000.

HAROLD LETT APPOINTED TO LOCAL BOARD

One Of Five To Survive City's $9,000,000 Allocation

4-23-38

NEWARK, N. J., April 22—Harold A. Lett, executive of the New Jersey Urban League, was named as one of Newark's five-man Housing Authority Wednesday, when the city commission passed a resolution designating the appointees to this important body.

Newark is the first New Jersey city to meet the requirements of the state and Federal Housing Act and the newly created board received certificate No. 1 on Wednesday, April 20, when sworn in.

Thirty million dollars have been ear-marked to the state of New Jersey by the Federal Housing Authority, of which amount $9,000,000 has been allocated to Newark. The local board will administer this fund in providing low-cost housing developments for Newark slum-dwellers.

Other members of the Authority are Michael A. Stavitsky, real estate man; Lewis H. Reiss, business agent of the Asbestos Workers' Union; Neil J. Convery, architect; and John T. Towey, retired fire chief.

Just prior to his appointment to the Housing Authority, Mayor Ellenstein announced Lett's selection as a member of the World's Fair Committee for Newark.

Named On Commission

NEWARK, N. J. (ANP)—Harold A. Lett, executive secretary, N. J. Urban League, and former head of the statistical division, Michigan labor department, has been appointed a commissioner of the Newark housing authority, which is entrusted with the task of directing a $14,000,000 slum clearance project.

"Sub-standard housing is the root of many evils of my race's social and economic existence today, and now I have a position to do something about it," the new commissioner said.

Lett came to New Jersey in 1934 and has since been active in all movements aimed at bettering the condition of his people.

DR. CALIVER AT STATE NORMAL

ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Dr. Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in Negro education, United States Office of Education, will be guest speaker at a reception for parents, teachers and social workers of Eastern North Carolina, at the State Teachers College here Monday night, October 17.

Dr. Caliver's appearance is being sponsored by the State Teachers College Band. He will speak from the subject, "What is the Great Problem in Negro Education?" Prof. James A. Clark is chairman.

Commissioner Quits

NEWARK, Nov. 10—Considerable speculation has been aroused by the sudden resignation of Prof. William R. Valentine as one of the fourteen commissioners appointed by the Legislature to investigate conditions among the urban colored population in New Jersey.

Political- 1938
Office Holding.

New York

DEWEY APPOINTS YOUNG LAWYER

Amsterdam News

Becomes New Deputy District Attorney

2-5-38

The only Negro on the staff of eighteen members appointed by District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey last Friday, Deputy District Attorney James M. Yeargin, is 29 years old.

New York, N. Y.

Eldest of the appointees is Herman J. McCarthy, who is 34. Mr Dewey explained to an Amsterdam News reporter Saturday, during a press conference, that he believed young men, unspoiled by years of political activities and bringing a fresh viewpoint to his office, were best for the staff.

Mr. Dewey said he interviewed 500 of the 5,000 applicants, after the others had been eliminated by his assistants. The full quota of his staff, the prosecutor said, will include seventy-two.

Attorney Yeargin, who passed the New York bar examination in 1936 and who since that time has been engaged in private practice at 200 West 135th street, is a cousin of Dr. Max Yeargin, professor at City College and chairman of the International Committee on African Affairs.

Mr. Yeargin is the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Yeargin of Raleigh, N. C., and is a graduate of Shaw University of that city. He also is a graduate of St. John's University Law School, with the degrees of bachelor of laws and master of laws.

Appointed

Amsterdam News 2-5-38

JAMES M. YEARGIN, young lawyer, who has been given a position on the staff of District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey.

Only Referee

AIKEN A. POPE, attorney, the only Negro referee of the seven appointed as referees to the State Unemployment Insurance Board, will decide cases coming before that body. Mr. Pope, who was an assistant district attorney of New York County until January 1, is a graduate of Yale College and Harvard Law School.

Appointed

MRS CHARLOTTE ANDERSON, wife of Dr. Peyton F. Anderson of 61 West 130th street, appointed by Stanley M. Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan, to the School Board of District 12, was sworn in on last Thursday afternoon.

Mrs. Anderson is a member of Manhattan Council and chairman of the Section IV Committee of the Girl Scouts. She has served on the board of managers of the West 137th Street Y. W. C. A.. The Andersons' daughters, Charlotte and Thelma, are students at Fisk University in Nashville.

Judges Toney, Watson Had Nine Judgments Reversed Last Year

New York Amsterdam News 2-19-38

The report issued by the President Justice of the Municipal Court of the City of New York for the year 1937, gave the following record of Judges Charles Toney and James S. Watson.

Judge Toney held court 200 days, took 242 inquests, tried 1171 cases, heard 1565 motions and granted and signed 8715 final orders.

Judge Watson held court 204 days, took 91 inquests, tried 436 cases, heard 1365 motions and granted and signed 4715 final orders.

It is further disclosed by the records in the Office of the Clerk of the Appellate Term, First Department, that 22 appeals were taken from judgments and orders of Judge Toney and that four were reversed and that 25 appeals were taken from orders and judgments of Judge Watson and five reversed.

It is also interesting to note that their seven years record on the bench has been uniformly good , as shown by the following record for that period of time:

Jduge Toney held court 1414 days, conducted 8984 trials, took 3736 inquests, heard and decided 20,063 motions, granted and signed 47,946 final orders in summary proceedings and had 168 affirmances on appeal and 74 reversals fo rthe seven years.

Judge Watson held court 1410½ days, conducted 6429 trials, took 2766 inquests, heard and decided 16291 motions, granted and signed 32081 final orders in summary proceedings and was affirmed 177 and reversed 98 times on appeal during the seven years

Dr. Steele Appointed To AAU Medical Board

New York Amsterdam News 2-19-38

NEW YORK, May 19—Dr. Frank E. Steele, a graduate of the Howard University Medical school, was appointed here last week a member of the medical board of the Amateur Athletic Union. The appointment will go into effect immediately. He also was the same day appointed a lieutenant in the medical detachment of the 369th Infantry, New York State National Guard.

Dr. Steele is the son of Former City Marshall Javan A. Steele. He completed his interneship at the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital at Tuskegee Institute in 1936. He has been practicing here two years. His wife is the former Corinne Purdue of Tuskegee Institue.

Political- 1938
Office Holding.

New York

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Amsterdam News 4-5-38

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8-12-38

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Dr. Steele Appointed To AAU Medical Board

2-21-38

NEW YORK, May 19—Dr. Frank E. Steele, a graduate of the Howard University Medical school, was appointed here last week to a member of the medical board of the Amateur Athletic Union. The appointment will go into effect immediately. He was also commissioned by Gov. Lehman as a lieutenant in the medical detachment of the 369th Infantry, New York State National Guard.

Dr. Steele is the son of Former City Marshall Javan A. Steele. He completed his interneship at the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital at Tuskegee Institute in 1936. He has been practicing here two years. His wife is the former Corinne Purdue of Tuskegee Institute.

GIVEN FORMAL NOTIFICATION THAT JOB'S HIS

Amsterdam News

Said to Be First of His Race to Get Such a High Position

6-11-38

Attorney Philip J. Jones of Brooklyn was officially appointed this week as an Assistant Attorney General of New York.

He was formally notified last Friday after being given a unanimous endorsement by the Colored Democratic Organization of Kings County.

Prominent Brooklynites and friends of Mr. Jones made plans Wednesday to honor him with a testimonial late this month.

It was the first time in the history of Brooklyn that a Negro had been given such a post. A veteran citizen of Brooklyn, Attorney Jones, is 48 and has been active in Kings County Democratic circles for several years.

Rewarded As Reward

His appointment is regarded as a reward for the many years of faithful service rendered by him to the organization headed by Wesley Young. "He is the most outstanding lawyer by character, reputation and ability to fill this position," said Young.

Jones completed his high school studies in Harrisburg, Pa., in 1908 and later finished his college and law courses at the University of Pennsylvania. By 1918 he had been admitted to the New York State Bar.

He volunteered for service in the World's war and later received an honorable discharge

Active Interest

Since then, Mr. Jones has maintained an active interest in the affairs of veterans in Brooklyn. He is affiliated with the American Legion, George P. Davis Post, No. 116, and active in the Democratic Veterans of Kings County.

His religious activities are confined for the most part to the Concord Baptitst Church of which he has been an integral part for many years.

"You may say," said Mr. Jones Tuesday, "that I deeply appreciate the honor bestowed upon me."

Mayor Reappoints Morton To Civil Service Comm.

Announcement was made on Saturday, July 30, that Mayor LaGuardia had renamed Ferdinand Q. Morton, Municipal Civil Service Commissioner for a fourth term of six years. Mr. Morton was appointed originally by Mayor John F. Hylan and re-appointed by Mayor James J. Walker, both Tammany mayors. To secure his re-appointment Mr. Morton gave up his Tammany affiliations and announced that he had joined the American Labor Party, with which the Mayor is now affiliated.

Age

The fight against the re-appointment of Morton was based on his affiliations with Tammany Hall and failure to support the Mayor in the last municipal election. There were a large number of candidates, mostly of the Negro group, for the position, which pays a salary of $6,500 annually.

8-6-38

The old term expired May 30 of this year and the Mayor had two months to fill the office. That he waited until the last day and then re-named Mr. Morton was said to have been due to the long list of candidates with their claims and counter-claims. In the end the Mayor decided upon the incumbent.

Mr. Morton was educated in Washington, D. C., Harvard University and the Boston Law School. He has been a resident of New York for more than 30 years and before his appointment to his present post served as Assistant District Attorney of New York County, being the only Negro to ever have charge of the Indictment Bureau of that office.

R. J. Elzy Made NYA Director In N. Y. C.

Amsterdam News

The appointment of Robert J. Elzy as assistant to the Director of the National Youth Administration for New York City—in Charge of Negro Affairs, was announced today by Miss Helen M. Harris, NYA Director for New York City. Mr. Elzy's appointment will become executive on November the first.

10-8-38

Mr. Elzy, a native of Lexington, Kentucky, is a graduate of Fisk University and has studied at Columbia University. In 1925 he was awarded a certificate in Boys' Work by Columbia University in cooperation with the Boys' Club Federation.

Prior to 1918 he was connected with the State Normal School, Frankfort, Kentucky.

In 1918 he was called by the National Urban League as a fellow and was appointed executive secretary of the Brooklyn Urban League. Since 1920, when the Brooklyn Urban League was merged with Lincoln Settlement of 105 Fleet place, Brooklyn, Mr. Elzy served as director of both organizations.

He is a member of the boards of directors of the Welfare Council of New York City, of the United Neighborhood Houses, and of the Brooklyn Branch of the Boy Scouts of America. He is also a member of the Citizen's Housing Council of New York as chairman of its Committee on Rehousing of Tenants, and of the Advisory Committee of the Housing Authority of New York City for the Harlem River Houses.

Mr. Elzy has served on the New York City Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration since January, 1936.

New York

Political — 1938
Office Holding.
6

SCHOOL BOARD POSITION GIVEN SARA SPEAKS

Borough President Isaacs Makes Appointment

Mrs. Sara Belham Speaks, lawyer of 2588 Seventh avenue, has been appointed a member of school board, district thirteen, Stanley M. Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan, announced Monday. Mrs. Speaks was the Republican candidate for the Assembly in the 21st Assembly District in the last election.

"I believe we need more sympathetic and enlightened vocational guidance for our boys and girls in Harlem schools," Mrs. Speaks told a reporter of The Amsterdam News in her first statement to the press since her appointment.

"I hope I will be able to be of some service to the community. The school problems of Harlem have interested me for many years, and I have been urging the improvment of better physical accommodation for our pupils ever since I became active in public affairs in Harlem," she added.

The area of the thirteenth school district begins at 135th and Seventh avenue and ends at 165th street and Broadway, and extends westward from Seventh avenue to the Hudson River. In this area there are only three schools with a majority Negro attendance, namely, Public School 90, West 147th street, between 7th and 8th avenues, Public School 5, Edgecombe avenue and 141st street; and Public School 136, 135th street and Edgecombe avenue.

Formerly the procedure was to appoint Negroes to those school districts in which the attendance was almost wholly Negro, but in the appointment of Mrs. Speaks, she is to serve in a district in which white pupils are in the great majority.

In commenting on the appointment of Mrs. Speaks and others, Mr. Isaacs said: "I am anxious to find new blood for the local school boards in the hope that intelligent and interested individuals devoting themselves, withi nthe powers of the local school boards, to the pressing problems of the public schools can be a definite influence in improving school conditions."

Mrs. Speaks, who was the Republican state committeewoman from the 22d Assembly District; was recently selected to represent the Negro wome nin the East on the Program Committee of the Republican National Committee, of which former president Glen Frank of the University of Wisconsin is chairman. The other Negro woman member of the committee is Mrs. S. Joe Brown of Des Moines, Ia.

Laudable

THE APPOINTMENT this week of Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, prominent lawyer and civic leader, to the School Board for a five-year term by Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs is indeed gratifying to the people in this community. Mrs. Speaks was the only Negro among twelve persons named by Mr. Isaacs to the local School Board.

Commenting on the appointments, the borough president said: "I am anxious to find new blood for the local School Board in the hope that intelligent and interested individuals devoting themselves, within the powers of the local School Board, to the pressing problems of the public schools can be a definite influence in improving school conditions."

We know of no one in this community who fills the bill required by Mr. Isaacs any better than Mrs. Speaks, for she has proved her ability as a lawyer and as a responsible citizen. She passed the bar a little more than a year ago, but before and since then she proved herself to be a competent, civic-minded woman capable of doing a man-size job.

Mayor Reappoints F. Q. Morton

Ferdinand Q. Morton, a Commissioner of the Municipal Civil Service Commission since 1922, was reappointed to a six-year term by Mayor La Guardia yesterday. Mr. Morton, a Negro, is the Democratic member of the commission and ran for the Tammany leadership of the Ninteenth Assembly District in 1936.

Name Rev. Johnson To New York Fund Board

NEW YORK CITY — With the appointment last week of the Rev. John H. Johnson, rector of St. Martin's Episcopal Church as a member of the permanent Board of Directors, Harlemites found themselves well represented in the Greater New York Fund, now nearing completion.

The fund will, this month, appeal to business and employee groups for $10,000,000 for the supplementary financing of the private health and welfare agencies throughout the city.

Other colored representatives in the campaign include eleven leaders on the sponsoring committee, a volunteer division chairman to be appointed shortly, who will be in charge of the organization of solicitation committees in Harlem.

On the campaign itself, in addition to those mention, Negroes are employed in the purchasing department, as receptionists, as file searchers, and in the distribution department.

The work of the fund has given wide praise and the full support of James H. Hubert, executive director and spokesman of the New York Urban League.

Harlemite Appointed To Newly-Organized U. S. Travel Bureau

Governmental recognition of the need for a travel expert to disseminate information and render help to the Negro traveling public, has resulted in the appointment of a Negro, Charles A. R. MacDowell, to the position of collaborator in the newly organized United States Tourist Bureau, with field offices at 45 Broadway, New York City, according to an announcement from the New York Urban League.

Mr. MacDowell, who is a graduate of Fisk University, and for ten years or more, manager of a travel bureau in Detroit, has one of the most responsible positions in the New York office, and through him, the Bureau hopes to render colored Americans a definite and distinct service in the matter of travel.

In appointing Mr. MacDowell, Secretary Ickes of the Department of the Interior, recognized the need of a person with suitable qualifications to serve the Negro traveling public.

NAME RACE MAN TO BUFFALO CITY PLANNING COMMISSION

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 29—William L. Evans, executive secretary of the Buffalo Urban League, has been named a member of the city planning commission. The appointment, made last week by Mayor Thomas L. Holling is the first member of the race to the body.

Mr. Evans has organized and conducted the Buffalo branch of the National Urban League for the past 11 years with conspicuous success and has served on many important civic bodies such as the City Courts Committee, the Relief Committee of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment.

WILLIAM L. EVANS

Served In Various Capacities

Mr. Evans is chairman of the Niagara Frontier Chapter of the New York State Conference on Negro Welfare. He is also chairman of the housing division of the New York State Conference of Social Work. He was chairman of the Buffalo committee of the New York State Commission for the Study of the Condition of the Urban Colored Population.

For the past four years, Mr. Evans has been a member of the Buffalo Planning association. As a member of the housing committee of this association, he has acquired an intimate knowledge and experience which has led to his recognition and appointment to the official City Planning Commission.

Mr. Evans is considered especially well qualified for the position having conducted, under his own name, an architectural business which operated in Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky.

He is a graduate of Fisk university and has received his M.A. in sociology from the University of Buffalo. The present appointment should give him a splendid opportunity for interpreting the needs of his group in the major process of city planning including the location of housing developments, street improvements, the location of public parks, highways, etc.

In making the recommendation for the City Planning Commission, it is understood that Mayor Holling stated that he had in mind naming Mr. Evans to the Buffalo Housing Authority but was unable to do so because no vacancy existed.

The appointment to the City Planning Commission was made which gives Mr. Evans a larger opportunity for pressing the needs of his

F. Q. MORTON RE-APPOINTED

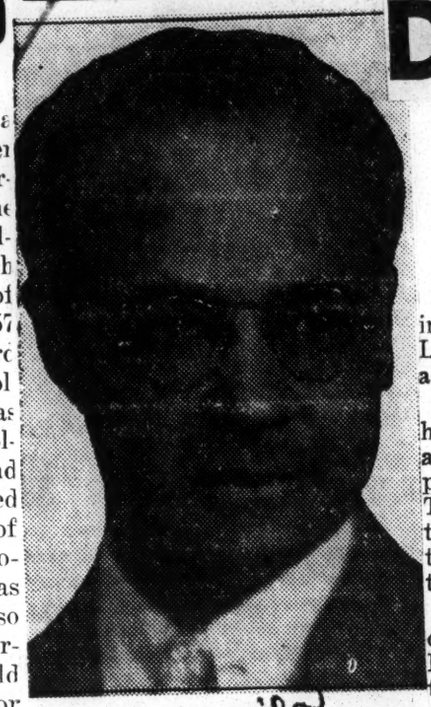
Guardian

NEW YORK (C)—The $6,500 a year job of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton was saved Saturday as Mayor LaGuardia named the veteran Tammany leader of the colored group in Harlem for his fourth term of six years. Morton, a native of Macon, Miss., where he was born 57 years ago, was educated at Harvard and Boston University Law School. Morton won national prominence as leader of Tammany Hall's United Colored Democracy during the Hylan and Walker mayoralty eras and climaxed his leadership with the election of Judges Toney and Watson, both Democrats, in 1930. Morton, it is said, was booked to go, but because there was so many aspirants to his job, it is rumored Mayor LaGuardia decided it would be safer, politically, for the Mayor himself to keep Morton on the job.

$8,500 FOR 6 MORE YEARS

FERDINAND Q. MORTON, Harlem Tammany leader, who was re-appointed a civil service commissioner by Mayor LaGuardia of New York on Saturday. His term is six years, and his salary is $8,500 a year.

COMMISSIONER



For the first time in the history of Buffalo, N. Y., the recently-elected Democratic mayor, Thomas L. Holling, has appointed a colored citizen to the City Planning Commission. William L. Evans, executive secretary of the Buffalo Urban League, is the appointee.

N.Y. Man Named Tax Assessor

NEW YORK — Norman W. Robinson has been appointed a deputy tax assessor here, raising the colored employees of the Tax Commission from one to five since Commissioner Hubert T. Delany took office first in 1934.

Mr. Delany said he could take no credit for the appointments, and lauded the Civil Service commission for fairness. He said that colored people are beginning to take civil service examinations as never before.

Norman W. Robinson Appointed Deputy Tax Assessor In N. Y.

First Member of Race To Be So Honored; Other Important Offices Opened Under Mayor LaGuardia

NEW YORK—Norman W. Robinson has been appointed by Mayor LaGuardia's Tax Commission, as a Deputy Assessor.

This marks the first time in the history of the tax department that a colored man has ever been appointed to this important post. The assessors are the employees in the department who actually make the assessments under the direction of the Commissioners.

Hubert T. Delany, commissioner of taxes, was appointed by Mayor LaGuardia in January, 1934, when the Mayor first assumed office, and was reappointed upon the Mayor's re-election in January, 1938. At the time Commissioner Delany was appointed, there was only one colored clerk in the Department of Taxes. At present there are a deputy assessor, three clerks and secretary to Commissioner Delany.

Inquiry at the Tax Department revealed that Deputy Assessor Robinson will not be assigned to Harlem, but will be assigned to a district in which there is an existing vacancy.

When questioned about the rise in the number of colored employees in the department since his appointment, Commissioner Delany made the following reply:

"The Department of Taxes shows no discrimination against any employee. I cannot take credit for the appointment of Mr. Robinson, nor any other of the colored employees. It is my opinion that credit is due to the individuals themselves who qualify before the Civil Service Commission, which, under the Mayor LaGuardia administration, always has been absolutely fair, and to the Tax Department, whose Commissioners have made appointments solely on the basis of merit and qualifications, without regard to color or religion.

"It is my opinion that Negroes have not, in the past, taken examinations for deputies in this department because under previous administrations they probably felt that there would be no chance to be appointed. I find that Negroes are taking more Civil Service Examinations than ever at present, because they know that under Mayor LaGuardia's administration they will receive fair and impartial treatment in the various departments of the city government."

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Office Holding -

New York

15 Years a Civil Service COMMISSIONER

Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, who gave up a $10,000 job he wanted for a $5,000 one he didn't want. Made new rules for "flat feet" and promotions and could be a judge if it wasn't for the fact that he's gotten to like being just a commissioner.

By HARRY B. WEBBER

NEW YORK CITY—Ferdinand Q. Morton sat in his well appointed office on the fourteenth floor of the Municipal Building on Wednesday and detailed the story of his political career during the fifteen years he has held the $7,500 position of New York civil service commissioner.

Showing his amazing ability to summarize, in a few words, the real significance of major events and movements, he talked for an hour. Most of the time he whirled about in his swivel chair and contemplated the view of lower Broadway skyscrapers from his lofty window. He smoked cigarettes frequently.

Though he said he was talking at random, this was only partly true, because at the conclusion of the interview, it was noted that he had given, extemporaneously, a complete resume of New York's political history since the 1920's.

Not Politician

"I am not a politician," he said, adding quickly, "but rather, a propagandist."

When he was asked a rule for success in public life he gave this one:

"Sincerity, directness and assiduous application to the job. In politics, as elsewhere, the honest man generally reaches the top."

Mr. Morton lauded the late Charles F. Murphy, czar of Tammany Hall, who died in 1926.

"I know of no man who has contributed as Charley Murphy did to the political life of the colored people. He told me once that the colored people might some day be won over in large numbers to the Democratic party but added it would not be in his time.

"Since 1925 it has risen in New York from ten per cent to as high as seventy-five per cent."

"Charles Murphy died in 1926," he continued. "People said then he had left Tammany a great organization that would live forever. They failed to analyze the situation accurately.

"Because Murphy was Tammany, when he died Tammany began to die. Under Murphy it controlled all five boroughs. But this was really Murphy's personal control. A few more elections, I believed then, and Tammany would go into decline. Events have prove this correct."

Mr. Morton's discussion of political trends, Tammany history, and present day politics made almost superfluous the question why Tammany's fall did not carry Morton down also. The man who listened to the counsels of Boss Murphy learned well to determine what is going to happen.

While prominent leaders from uptown waited impatiently outside the office door on which is painted these words, "Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton," the latter summarized the significance of his appointment at Murphy's bidding to the post on the commission.

"New York is the only city where the competitive system is closely followed in civil service appointments.

"Here the rule of giving jobs only on a competitive examination basis is not only the practice as it is in other places, but in New York it is a part of the law itself, a city edict. It is not only custom or precedent based on court decisions but is part of the legal code."

Mr. Morton also explained that in general the first three winning candidates are taken in order—"1, 2, 3." In other States No. 1 is frequently sidetracked. He referred to the selection system in which when No. 1 is colored he is eliminated in favor of No. 2 or 3.

Some departments in New York are also granted special permission to select any one of the first three, but the general practice is to take them in order.

"Murphy asked me when I was I was assistant district attorney in charge of the indictment bureau whether I would like a job as civil service comissioner," he continued.

"About that time there were a number of new posts created in the D.A.'s office at $10,000 a year. As head of the indictment bureau I was easily in line for one of these. But Murphy pointed out that the colored people were continually complaining about civil service discrimination and failure to get jobs.

"At that time most of the police in Harlem were white. In fact back in the early 1900's and as late as 1910 anti-colored riots were common in New York.

"White policemen in Harlem were afraid of colored people anyhow, so they were always misusing their authority to beat them up.

"' You're always talking about doing something for your race,'" he qouted Murphy as saying. "'Here is your chance. Go down into the commission and straighten out these complaints.'"

"But the commission job then paid only $5,000. I had the difficult choice of deserting a $10,000 job in the D.A.'s office for a $5,000 job here. But I knew my decision right after Murphy made the suggestion.

"I knew I would do what he wanted. Looking back now I see he was a very wise and far seeing man. Today the two most publicized Harlem changes since I have been here are the great increase in colored police in Harlem and the change from white to colored personnel in Harlem Hospital.

"Murphy told me when I made the choice that he would do something to help me here. I had been here a year before I knew what he meant.

"It was because of him that strict enforcement of the 1, 2, 3, competitive system became the rule in appointments. It is difficult to estimate the great importance of Murphy's action.

"Later he said my salary here was to be raised to $10,000. Actually the raise was only to $7,500. I did not complain, however."

Mr. Morton cited an incident to prove the happiness his work often gave him. A carelessly dressed girl was certified as stenographer, after she came to the commissioner one day and asked his aid.

He knew her appearance might militate against her in an office, yet somehow he had faith in her. Then a year a or so later a well dressed girl walking with two white girls passed him on the street and spoke. Her face looked familiar. It was the same girl.

"All she needed was a break," he said. "She wasn't really ugly, but simply had training and no job. The change worked wonders."

He pointed out also that the commission controls promotions in New York.

Asked about the number of political figures who visited him on an average day or over a more lengthy period he said:

"Practically every political figure in New York."

As he talked one of the most prominent, Assemblymen William T. Andrews, called on the commissioner.

He said in the past colored people has seemed to prefer the police department to the fire department, but this year there were thirty-five to forty on the firemen's list and the promotion of Wesley Williams to battalion chief in that department recently had dramatized the opportunities awaiting firemen.

Other cities like Chicago and Cleveland, copied New York and named civil service commissioners.

Mr. Morton had a solution for the "flat foot" problem which is used to plague candidates for police and other jobs.

"I took the matter up with Louis Wright and other physicians and learned the commission had been working under the common illusion that flat feet exist only when feet rest flat on the ground.

"This is erroneous Pathologically, 'flat foot' refers to strength of the foot, not its shape or conformation. A person's foot can look 'flat' but not actually be that way."

Mr. Morton termed himself the commission's "problem man." When a knotty subject comes up, it is given to him. He eats no lunch, comes to work as late as 11 a.m., works straight through to 5:30 and 6.

He cited precentages of colored votes turning from Republican to Democratic, since he was named commissioner. These figures showed a tremendous rise in the first campaign after he took the job.

Charlie Murphy wanted to do something to dramatize the rewards Tammany offered for loyalty and support. Morton was the man used for this end.

In other words Murphy's action and Morton's acceptance were the keys to the door of political affluence enjoyed by colored people here under the rule of Tammany and since.

"LaGuardia is a true liberal," the commissioner said of the Fusion-GOP mayor, "It is fortunate that he was elected. He is a good man, one who knows the meaning of struggle. I did not approach him in reference to my re-appointment. True, many of his advisors opposed me."

The commissioner made it clear that he believed his job had been done well and his re-appoint-

COMMISSIONER

ment by LaGuardia was not on a political basis alone but on the basis of merit.

"I did the job I was originally appointed to do," he said. "I do not consider public office as many do, to be a sinecure. I like the work. It is my profession.

"When I first took the job I planned to practice law at the same time, in fact entered a partnership downtown with another lawyer. But time did not permit doing the two things, so I abandoned law practice."

He also revealed that he had practically refused a judgeship in the Court of Special Sessions and a magistrate's post. The latter was discussed in 1924 when Boss Murphy still ruled Tammany.

Mr. Morton has two hobbies—bridge and fishing. He avidly reads detectives stories and other fiction.

He became leader of the United Colored Democracy here 1915 and was named an assistant district attorney in 1916. He then was promoted head of the indictment bureau in the district attorney's office.

During the interview he was pleased over the "political sense" shown by the colored people in dividing their votes.

"The economic condition of the colored people is more and more influenced by the increasing entry of the government into the employer field," he said.

His refusal to work in a segregated campaign set-up in the Al Smith presidential race was commented upon.

He commented on the appointment of Dr. Louis T. Wright as police surgeon in the regime of former Mayor Jimmie Walker, as well as on the re-organization of Harlem Hospital and the admission of colored doctors there.

At times his recital sparkled with brilliant phraseology of which he seemmed quite unconscious.

He was talking about the late Mayor John F. Hylan's candidacy for mayor, on the 5-cent fare issue in 1921 and digressed a moment into this subtle analysis of politics:

"Any economis issue which directly touches the pocket of an underprivileged group will create an overwhelming response every time."

This was proved in the tremendous colored votes for him that year, seventy-five per cent of all the colored votes.

Another flashing sentence from the commissioner referred to conditions in Harlem since colored cops had been put on by the commission.

"Now at least the heads of Harlemites are immune from being hit."

In twelve words he summed up the late twenty-five years' police history of Harlem.

Ferdinand Q. Morton (left), U.S. Civil Service Commissioner, who is photographed with his brother, Dr. Fred Morton, a Washington dentist.

Morton Summary

Gave up $10,000 a year job in D.A.'s office to become Civil Service Commissioner at $5,000.

Says Tammany started downward when Charles F. Murphy died in 1926.

Invoked new "flat foot rule" which made it possible for more police candidates to pass examns.

Refused judgeship in court of special sessions and a magistrate's bench.

New York Civil Service rules changed so that they control selection of eligible candidates and also their promotion.

Cross section of New York political life can be found visiting in his office.

4-15-38

POLITICAL- 1938
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK

Williams Announces Appointment Of T. Arnold Hill As Negro Consultant

Urban League Executive Will Serve As Advisor to WPA On All Matters Affecting Race—To Concentrate On "Satisfactory Employment"

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 17—Aubrey Williams, Acting WPA Administrator, announced last week the appointment of T. Arnold Hill of New York City, to the national staff of the Works Progress Administration as consultant on Negro affairs. The appointment is effective at once.

"Mr. Hill will serve as advisor to the Works Progress Administration on all matters affecting the Negro race," Mr. Williams said. "He will coordinate its activities in the interest of satisfactory employment for Negroes on its projects and will assist in the development of new projects for the benefit of the Negro community as a whole."

Mr. Hill has been identified with Negro welfare work for the last 25 years and comes to the WPA from the post of Director of Industrial Relations for the National Urban League. He has served with this organization in various capacities since 1914.

In addition, Mr. Hill has been a member of various important public committees and conferences, among them being the New York State Board of Social Welfare, the New York State Advisory Committee for the National Youth Administration, Advisory Committee on Welfare, New York World's Fair; President's Emergency Committee for Employment (1930); White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (1930), and Advisory Committee on Survey of Vocational Education and Guidance for Negroes (Office of Education). He has also served on various committees for the U. S. Department of Labor and is the author of a number of articles and publications relating to Negro affairs.

Mr. Hill was born in Richmond, Va., August 23, 1888. He was educated in the public schools there and received his A. B. degree at Virginia Union University in 1911. He later took graduate courses in sociology and economics at New York University. He is married and the father of two children.

T. Arnold Hill Named Consultant On Negro Affairs For W. P. A.

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T. Arnold Hill Is Named on WPA Staff

WASHINGTON

T. Arnold Hill of New York, director of industrial relations for the National Urban League, has been appointed to the national WPA staff as consultant, Aubrey Williams, acting administrator, announced last week.

"He will co-ordinate activities in the interest of satisfactory employment for colored persons on WPA projects and will assist in the development of new projects for the benefit of the colored community as a whole," Mr. Williams asserted.

POLITICAL - 1938
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK

GETTING BOTH SIDES

Labor and Capital Bring Woes to N.Y. Insurance Board on Which Elmer Carter Sits

By HARRY B. WEBBER

NEW YORK—Elmer Anderson Carter begins his busy day when he reaches his immaculate, well lighted eleventh floor office at 342 Madison Avenue opposite the Commodore Hotel at 10 a.m.

He ends it at 1 a.m., the next morning when he retires at his Harlem home after finishing up a busy evening of interviews and research.

Walks Across Town

At 342, which he reaches after walking across town from the Eighth Avenue subway he examines the neat pile of papers on his desk and generally finds there notices of a number of hearings which the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board must hold that day in the adjoining hearing room.

Mr. Carter and two others—John E. McGarry of Syracuse, secretary-treasurer of the United Typographical Union of the State, and Irving D. Neustein, for seven years member of the State Assembly, form the board.

The three-man board is a virtual court of appeals in the world of labor. It listens to the complaints and cases of both employee and employer. Either side may be represented by counsel.

Frequently detailed legal briefs are submitted and cases involving many of America's great corporations are argued before Commissioner Carter and his associates by a battery of lawyers.

Sometimes there are as many as three and four hearings a day. Other times a big case involving detailed issues may consume several days. An average week sees about twelve cases heard.

Question Witnesses

In conducting a hearing the three board members question witnesses closely and frequently debate with counsel. The hearings do not have the cold formality of regular minor courts but are more like the upper courts where a certain dignified informality exists.

From the rulings of the board there is no appeal on the facts decided, but the interpretation of the facts may be appealed to the New York Supreme Court. Facts findings by the board are never reversed.

The UIAB hears only cases appealed to its jurisdiction by an industrial commissioner before whom the issues are first presented.

Strikes Often Issues

A great many of the employee hearings involve the issue of strikes. Unemployment insurance, the general basis for the entire unemployment bureaus and courts, involves taxation of employers to provide for employee security during unemployment.

Often an employee is laid off while under unemployment insurance provisions. Meanwhile a strike is called on his job. An issue is raised here whether the employee is entitled to unemployment benefits or not. This is but one of scores of complicated problems which the board must solve.

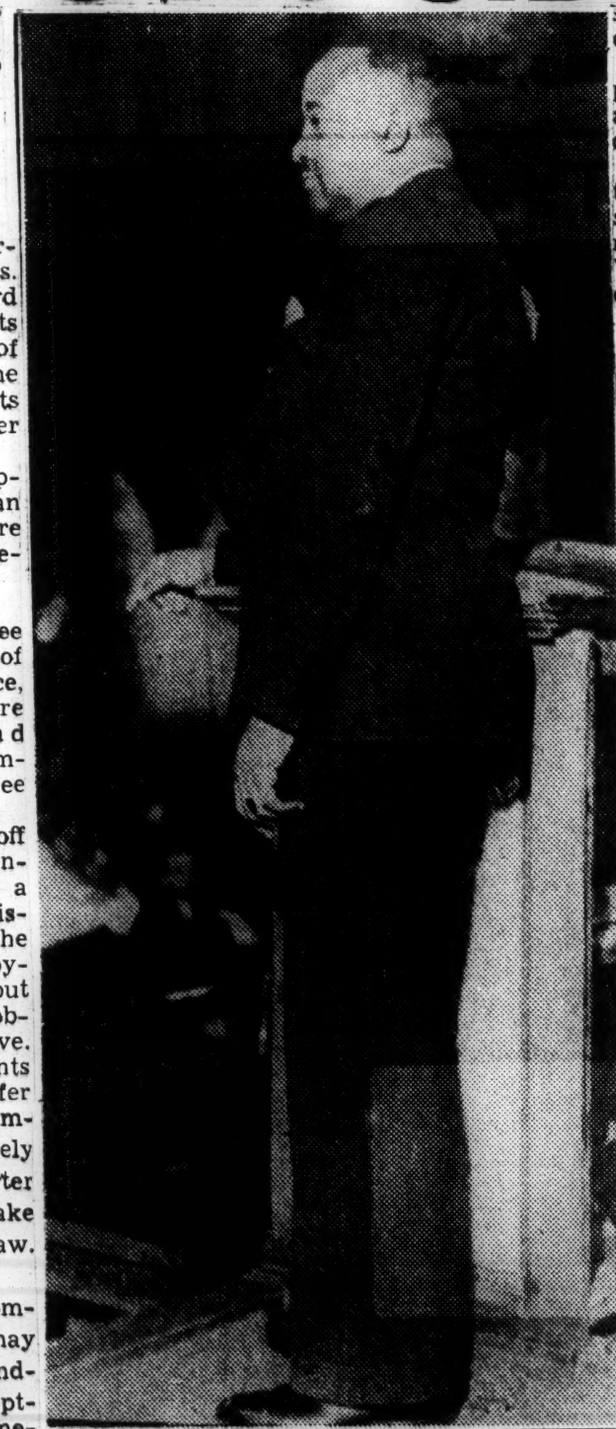
The board has no precedents on which to act. It cannot refer to previous cases because unemployment insurance is relatively new. For this reason, Mr. Carter and his associates must make original interpretations of the law.

Sit Separately, Too

The board may sit as a complete body or each member may hold separate hearings. The findings of one member are accepted by the entire board. Sometimes the hearings are held in other towns in the State by Mr. Carter or one of the other commissioners.

Each case is divided into a study of the law and of the facts. Decisions are written out.

The decision, together with all briefs, stenographic reports of the hearing itself and various exhibits are kept in case folders for easy reference.



ELMER CARTER

The actual hearings which take up most of Mr. Carter's office time are conducted similiar to civil court hearings. The three commissioners sit at a table at the front of the hearing room.

A few feet from this table is the lawyers' table, place for stenographer, witness chair and other features.

All the hearings are public and provision is made for this, though actually only persons interested directly and their friends attend.

The hearings proceed with customary legal opening by each side. When necessary the attorney general represents the State. Witnesses are examined and cross examined by the commissioners and by counsel. Most of the questions are asked by the commissioners, however. Mr. Carter is always a liberal questioner and an indefatigable seeker of facts from the witnesses.

Highest Paid Job

His job is the highest State position held by colored in point of rank and salary. Named by Gov. H. H. Lehman, who is deeply interested in social legislation such as unemployment insurance, Mr. Carter was originally member of a non-salaried unemployment insurance advisory group before the actual machinery was set up.

Mr. Carter is also nationally known as editor of Opportunity Magazine. Asked how he fitted this work into his crowded day he pointed out that he wrote the editorials for Opportunity and made a brief examination of its material in spare time, generally at home.

He is on leave of absence from the National Urban League which publishes the magazine.

In addition his time is taken up with the affairs of the Negro Actors' Guild of which he is chairman of the finance committee and vice chairman of the executive board.

He lunches with the other members of the appeal board and dines at home about 7:30 each evening. After that time he receives a steady stream of people in connection with the magazine, actors' guild, and other interests.

Later he begins his nightly reading of labor laws and economic subjects and magazine material.

He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, the Foreign Policy Association, Union for Democracy and many other groups.

He rarely socializes, not having the time.

Graduate of Harvard

Born in Rochester, N.Y., he was graduated from Harvard University in 1912 and soon entered Urban League work after he returned from France and the World War.

He held Urban League posts at Columbus, Ohio, St. Paul and Louisville. He became editor of Opportunity in 1928, succeeding Charles S. Johnson.

Elmer Carter's Average Day

7:30 a.m. — Arises, eats, breakfast.

8-9 — Reads morning papers in detail.

9 — Takes Eighth Avenue subway to work. Walks from Eighth and Forty-second across town to office at 342 Madison Avenue.

10 — Holds hearings of important unemployment insurance cases involving complicated labor law, sometime these hearing are held in other towns of the State. Mr. Carter sits on the hearing room bench with two other commissioners.

1 p.m. — He and the other commissioners take lunch out, if not too busy.

2 — Hearings are resumed or else this time is given to intensive study of legal cases coming before the board. This work consumes the entire afternoon.

6 or 7 — Mr. Carter rides back uptown, has dinner at home.

8-12—He plunges into another phase of work—interviewing people interested in social work; in work of Actors' Guild of which he is chairman.

He also writes editorials for Opportunity Magazine of which he is editor and makes a general examination of

material for the magazine. Also reads late into the night on labor law, economics, and history necessitated by his work as commissioner.

Socializes little, not having time.

1 a.m. — Retires.

British Empire Broadcast Brought Carter Busy Day

NEW YORK—One of his busiest days included a special NBC broadcast to London, Elmer Carter, member of the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, revealed on Wednesday.

The broadcast was one of several made on the theme of "America Speaks." Mr. Carter talked of the colored people in America. Other speakers were John L. Lewis, Dorothy Thompson, President Conant of Harvard, Secretary Ickes, and others.

Mr. Carter termed the colored man here "Three fifths of a Man." His talk was heard by millions in the British Empore. His talk was printed in full in the Listener, official British radio magazine and also in Synopsis, name of an English magazine corresponding to our Readers' Digest. Mr. Carter has received forty letters from the distant corners of the empire on his talk.

Political - 1938
Office Holding.

North Carolina.

Winston-Salem N. C. Journal
July 29, 1938

Greensboro Negro Is Named A Chief Adviser With PWA

By WALTER BROWN
(From The Journal's Washington Bureau)

Washington, July 28.—A native North Carolina Negro, William J. Trent Jr., of Greensboro, was appointed today by Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes as chief adviser on Negro affairs in the public works administration.

Trent, who for the past four years has been on the staff of Bennett College, Greensboro, assumed his new post immediately.

His work will consist of obtaining Negro participation in the progress of the Department of Interior, PWA, and associate agencies.

Trent is only 28 years old, having been educated at Livingstone College in North Carolina and at the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he received a master's degree in business administration in 1932. He had pursued additional graduate courses in economics and sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Chicago. He is author of a publication, "History of the Negro Insurance Enterprises."

Trent is widely known in North Carolina, having served as instructor in economics and assistant business manager at Livingstone and Bennett colleges.

ed an A. B. degree. Later, he took an M. A. from Cornell and has completed resident requirements on a Ph.D. at Cornell.

J. Percy Bond, Jr. Named NYA Head In North Carolina

RALEIGH, N. C., Oct. 19.—Announcement was made here of the appointment of J. Percy Bond, Jr., for four years English and dramatics professor at A. & T. College in Greensboro, as supervisor for Negro activities in North Carolina for the National Youth Administration.

10-22-38

The young professor, who has had wide experience in social work, especially among young people, accepted the appointment effective October 20, and plans to work out an expanded work and vocational training program throughout the state.

Bond began his formal education at Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he earn-

Ohio

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Office Holding

Columbus Postal Clerk Is Named As Superintendent

Courier — 10-15-38

COLUMBUS, O., Oct. 13—(ANP)—Edward L. Nix, 286 Lexington avenue, well-known postal clerk, and prominent in civic and religious affairs of this city, has been appointed superintendent of the Mount Vernon Avenue Postal station, it was announced early this week. Nix is a former president of the Columbus branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employes, which is now headed by Thomas N. Page, 791 Taylor avenue. The promotion of Nix marks the first time in the history of Columbus that a Negro has held a position of superintendent of a station.

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Office Holding.

Ohio

Gassaway, Newest Race Councilman, Takes A Bow On Yancey Appointment

By THE EDITOR

Quietly but assertively working beneath the surface of things and proverbially "sawing wood" most of the time, Councilman Harold T. Gassaway of Ward 18 is all smiles these days over the appointment of his political colleague and co-worker, Eighteenth Ward Republican Leader L. L. Yancey as secretary of the Board of Zoning Appeals and secretary of the City Plan Commission, at a salary of $3,600 a year.

Of course in the newspapers and in the official fludub that is given out about the position, it is the usual thing to have it appear that this appointment came from "somewhere out of the clouds" to Yancey, who was selected for the sole reason that the Mayor wanted to reward an efficient worker. But those in political circles will tell you that qualifications even as outstanding as Yancey's are not nearly quite so important in a situation like this as having the proper political backing—the administration's protestations notwithstanding.

This appointment of Yancey, heralded in the daily newspapers Saturday and made the subject of a special editorial in the Cleveland Press, in which Mayor Burton and Mr. Yancey were complimented, is the result of political generalship on the part of Councilman Harold Gassaway and political sense in selecting an individual so well trained and qualified as Yancey to get behind for the first outstanding appointment given by Mayor Burton to Negroes.

But back to Yancey, about whom this article after all is intended: He is a quiet, intelligent worker—steady, persistent, dogged, and thorough. The writer has known him well and favorably for many years. In fact Mr. Yancey was once upon a time "bitten by the newspaper bug" and had become associated with the writer in business. And from a study of Yancey at close vantage it can be safely said that Mayor Burton has made a "ten-strike" in appointing the new City Plan Commission Secretary. For in him is bound up ability, honesty sagacity, keeness of perception, and a loyalty that is not common.

Trained at Lincoln University, where he won the Bachelor of Arts degree, Mr. Yancey also holds the degree of L. L. B. from John Marshall Law School. He is married and lives with his wife, a school teacher, and one son, at 10735 Gooding Avenue.

Race Man Gets High City Post In Cleveland, O.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 6—L. L. Yancey, for six years deputy city treasurer and 18th Ward Republican leader was named Saturday, secretary of the Board of Zoning Appeals which also makes him secretary of the City Plan Commission.

The appointment was made by Mayor Harold H. Briton. Mr. Yancey's salary will be $3600 a year. He replaces Joseph C. Kreinberg, white, who resigned the full-time secretaryship and accepted a part-time position as member of the board, thus allowing him time to practice law.

Mr. Yancey is a native of Tuscaloosa, Ala., attended Stillman Institute, Haines Institute, was graduated from Lincoln university in 1909 and last year received his law degree from John Marshall Law school of Cleveland.

He has been in Cleveland since 1916. His wife, Mrs. Leanore Ford Yancey, is a teacher at Quincy elementary school. They have one son, who attends Patrick Henry Junior high school.

Mr. Yancey has made an enviable record in the treasurer's office for six years, being in charge of garnishments and attachments.

Press Favors Honor

The Cleveland Press, a leading daily, in its editorial columns under the caption, "A Good Appointment," said Mayor Burton's appointment of Yancey as secretary of the Board of Zoning Appeals is commendable recognition of Mr. Yancey's ability and his contribution to the cause of better government in Cleveland. Continuing, it declared: "The honor which comes to him is one of the highest ever to go to a colored man in local politics. He has been a deputy treasurer for six years, and a force in the Eighteenth ward, where he is Republican leader....Mr. Yancey's attainments and experience should make him a valuable adviser in his new post. We congratulate him and the group whose support has gained for him this recognition."

Ohio Democrats Announce Clevelander's Appointment To Barber Examiners Board

A. J. Fournier, according to a release this week from the Ohio State Democratic League, has been named a member of the State Board of Barber Examiners with offices in the Wyandotte building here. In addition to his membership in the League, Mr. Fournier is also a member of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Council and has been active in politics for the past twenty years.

The new appointee resides at 8115 Cedar Avenue, where he is a precinct committeeman, and formerly worked with Hall's barber shop, one of the most outstanding in Cuyahoga county. Members of the board praise highly the efficiency of Mr. Fournier in furthering the work of the board in the state.

The Barber Board appointment represents another mark to the credit of Governor Martin L. Davey's record of naming race members to responsible posts in Ohio's government.

CLEVELAND ELECTS GILLESPIE TO LEGISLATURE

CLEVELAND, Nov. 17 (ANP)—Polling 143,122 votes Atty. Chester K. Gillespie, lone Negro candidate in the race for legislature, was elected Tuesday in one of the most remarkable split ticket demonstrations of recent years. Gillespie nosed out such well-known and prominent Republicans as J. R. Nutt, Jr., Sumner Canary and Paul Walter, Cleveland manager for the Taft campaign.

In the race for the senate, Atty. Harry E. Davis was not successful, although he polled the respectable total of 142,350 votes.

OHIO APPOINTS SECOND ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

COLUMBUS, Ohio. — (ANP) — Attorney General Herbert S. Duffy has announced the appointment of William T. McKnight of Toledo as an assistant attorney general of the state of Ohio.

Mr. McKnight is president of the Ohio State conferences of the branches of the N.A.A.C.P.; is a member of the Committee of Managers of the Indiana Avenue branch of the Y.M.C.A. in Toledo.

He is a graduate of the University of Kansas and of the Yale Law school. He is also active in the Ohio State Democratic league and in the Toledo and National Bar associations, as well as the Masonic and Elks Fraternal orders.

He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, and is married to the former Bella T. Taylor, who for six years was a national secretary of the Y.W.C.A., and they reside at 738 City Park avenue.

Duties All Over State

At the beginning of the administration of Attorney General Duffy, McKnight was appointed as special counsel in Toledo, in connection with the legal duties of the liquidation of banks in that city. In his new work, his duties extend throughout the state.

Mr. McKnight is regarded by Attorney General Duffy as a worthy personification of the recognition he desires to accord to Negro citizens of the state of Ohio.

By this new appointment, Mr. Duffy has given even more important recognition to the Negro race, as well as to Mr. McKnight, and for the first time in the history of Ohio, there are five Negroes in the Attorney General's department.

In addition to Mr. McKnight, Miss Elsie Austin, LL.D., and a trustee of Wilberforce university, is an assistant attorney general, while Mrs. Alma Stewart, Columbus, and Mrs. Marian M. Smith, Toledo, are legal stenographers, and Jesse C. Dickinson is librarian in the attorney general's office.

OHIO GETS ITS SECOND RACE ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

COLUMBUS, O., June 3—(Special)—The appointment of William T. McKnight of Toledo as an assistant attorney general of the state of Ohio, was announced this week by Attorney General Herbert S. Duffy, under whom McKnight worked as special counsel.

Mr. McKnight is president of the Ohio state conference of the branches of the N. A. A. C. P.; is a member of the committee of managers of the Indiana avenue branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Toledo. He is a graduate of the arts college of the University of Kansas, and of the Yale law school. He is also active in the Ohio State Democratic League and in the Toledo and National Bar associations, as well as the Masonic and Elks fraternal orders. He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

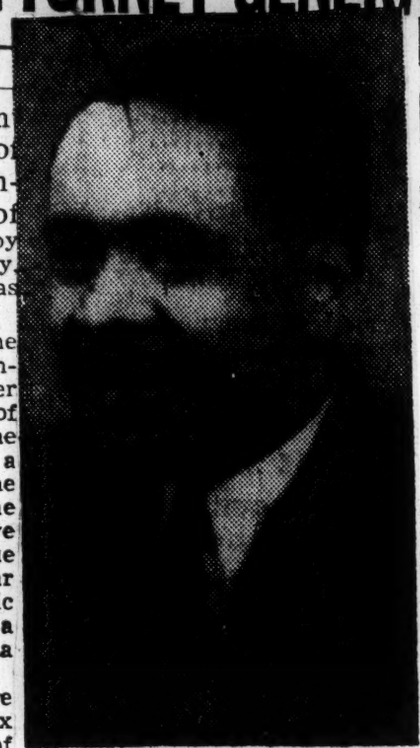
Mr. McKnight is married to the former Bella T. Taylor, who for six years was a national secretary of the Y. W. C. A. They reside at 738 City Park avenue.

Former Special Counsel

At the beginning of the administration of Attorney General Duffy, McKnight was appointed as special counsel in Toledo, in connection with the legal duties of the liquidation of banks in that city. In his new work his duties extend throughout the state.

In addition to Mr. McKnight, Miss Elsie Austin, LL. D., and a trustee of Wilberforce university, is an assistant attorney general, while Mrs. Alma Stewart, Columbus, and Mrs. Marian M. Smith, Toledo, are legal stenographers and Jesse C. Dickinson is librarian in the attorney general's office.

By this new appointment, Mr. Duffy has given more important recognition to the Race, as well as to Mr. McKnight, and for the first time in the history of Ohio there are five members of the Race in the attorney general's department.



ATTY. WILLIAM T. McKNIGHT

APPOINTED ON OHIO STATE U. FACULTY BODY

George McClung of Dayton, O. Wins Position By High Ranking In Examination

COLUMBUS, Ohio, —(ANP)—It has been learned that George W. McClung, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. G. W. McClung of Dayton, Ohio, has been appointed to the position of Pharmacist at Ohio State University. This comes as the result of a recent civil service examination in which McClung stood high on the list.

As a student, McClung achieved distinction by being elected to two honorary societies, and by being appointed a student assistant before graduating from O. S. U. with honors in the class of '38. Last fall he received the highest grade in the examination given for Registered Pharmacists, by the Ohio State Board of Pharmacy. Only six applicants out of twenty-two passed this examination.

This outstanding young man is the second Daytonian to be appointed at O. S. U. Barbee Wm. Durham, vice president of the Columbus N.A.A.C.P., has been doing well as a Chemist in the Contral and Reagant Laboratory of that institution, for the past eighteen months. Both are members of the same honorary societies and of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

CHARLES W. WHITE GETS HIGH POST WITH REPUBLICANS

Former Nashvillian Named Secretary of Executive Committee in Cleveland, Ohio

Cleveland, Ohio, (Special)—Attorney Charles W. White, Assistant City Law Director of Cleveland, a member of the Republican Executive Committee of the Cuyahoga County and a trustee of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., was chosen as secretary of the committee at its regular meeting last week. In chosing the able young Republican to the secretaryship, it marked the first time a colored leader has held so important a post with a major political party in Cleveland.

The retiring secretary, Jack Fetterman, white, made the speech placing the colored leader's name in nomination and the nomination was seconded by Chairman George H. Bender. White's election was unanimous.

Action by Cleveland Republicans in elevating a colored man of merit to the important post of secretary of its powerful executive committee is looked upon as presaging a more concerned attitude upon the art of Republicans here toward colored members of the party.

The new chairman of the committee is Alex Bernstein.

Attorney Charles W. White is a graduate of Fisk University and also a graduate in law from Howard. He is a son of the late Prof. R. S. White who for many years was a principal in the public schools of Nashville. His mother for a number of years was on the faculty at Fisk. The high esteem in which he is held by the Republicans of the Metropolis of Ohio is highly appreciated in Nashville where he was a popular college student for whom a bright future was predicted by his host of friends.

Political – 1938

Office Holding

Pennsylvania.

Deserts Farm in Georgia, Is Pa. Legislator

PHILADELPHIA—Choosing a career different from that of his father, Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, native of Georgia, studied dentistry, migrated to Philadelphia and since was elected to the State Legislature.

Young Thompson deserted the soil to study dentistry at Meharry and moved to Philadelphia. A member of the State Legislature, he is Commander of the George Bratcher Post V.F.W. and sponsor of the North Philadelphia Youth Movement. He is a member of

DR. E. THOMPSON

the Omega Psi Phi and Masonic Fraternities

Brother Runs Farm

The dentist, who lives at 1619 N. Twelfth Street, has been practicing for twelve years. The land accumulated by his father over a period of years is handled by his brother, Harold Thompson.

The legislator's mother resides with a brother, C. A. Thompson at 422 Calhoun Street, Augusta, Ga. Other members of the family are Mrs. B. E. Oliver of New York and the brother who operates the farm.

The elder Thompson purchased a small farm on the Savannah River near Augusta and through small purchases of land accumulated 2,000 acres by the time of his death. Twenty-two mules, fifty hands, and three tractors are required in the operation of the farm

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
May 29, 1938

Negro Legislator Of Pennsylvania

Dr. L. Marshall Shepard, Negro Democratic member of the Pennsylvania legislature, will be the principal speaker this afternoon at St. John's A. M. E. Church.

The meeting, which is scheduled to start at 3:30 o'clock, is being sponsored by the local chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in connection with its national "Education for Citizenship" drive.

Dr. Shepard, who is a graduate of Virginia Union University, Richmond, in addition to his legislative duties, pastors at the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, Philadelphia, the second largest Negro church in the country.

He will be introduced by Dr. Charles E. Stewart, pastor of the Emmanuel A. M. E. Church, Portsmouth. Others who are to participate on the program include W. T. Mason, president of the local chapter, Principal Winston A. Douglas of the Booker T. Washington Choral Club.

G. W. C. Brown is chairman of the committee which also includes Dr. Eugene Sumner, Cliff Mackay and Dr. S. F. Coppage.

Newest Philly Judge Is Left Without a Post

Action Follows Dispute with Republican Party Attorney

PHILADELPHIA — Although admitting that he had virtually been "suspended" by the Board of Magistrates because of differences with William F. Berkowitz, white, attorney for the Republican party, Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey refused to comment on Monday.

The magistrate, second colored member of the minor judiciary, was elected on the Democratic ticket in November, and was sworn in on January 3. The unofficial action was ordered by three members of the board's complaint committee, it was learned.

Won't Affirm or Deny

When queried the youthful magistrate said: "I won't say that I have been suspended nor will I say that I have not been. I will have something to say for publication in the future, perhaps, but nothing now."

Other members of the board refused to comment on the reported action.

The "suspension" means that Magistrate Rainey did not receive an assignment to a police court in June. The assignments for July will be made next week and it is reported that he will be ignored then also.

According to reports, Judge Rainey appeared before a committee of the board of magistrates on Tuesday and outlined his differences with Berkowitz counsel for the city's Republican committee. It was impossible to obtain a statement of what occurred at the meeting from members of the committee. Members of the board who voted on the committee's recommendation, it was stated, refused to make any disclosures.

Ordered Citation

Magistrate Rainey, during a hearing several weeks ago, ordered the attorney cited on contempt charges after several alleged epithets. The action followed a stormy hearing in the Branchtown police court during which the two engaged in a heated dispute, culminating in the contempt charge following political aspersions.

This and other incidents, including the action against a white constable who allegedly violated the rights of a colored tenant, resulted in the "disciplining."

Magistrate Rainey issued a warrant and held the white constable on two different occasions, causing a fellow magistrate to bring the action against him. The Board of Magistrates doesn't have the power to suspend. I have been elected by the people and can be removed only by impeachment, he asserted.

When questioned, "ARe you being disciplined? the magistrate stated, I have no comment. Chief Magistrate O'Malley when queried, snapped back a quick, I have no comment. Magistrates Amodei, Costello, Friedel and Roberts also refused to make a statement on the matter.

Political – 1938

Office Holding -

Pennsylvania

$2,500 UTILITY APPOINTMENT GOES TO COLORED ENGINEER

10-6-38

Irwin E. Jackson, Jr., 1816 Catharine street, was appointed as utility engineer last Wednesday by the Public Utility Commission at Harrisburg. The appointment pays $2500 a year and became effective on Monday.

Jackson is a graduate of Central High School, Penn State College where he took a degree of bachelor of science in engineering, and of the University of Pennsylvania where he received a master of arts in mathematics in 1936.

He was a valuation engineer and statistician of the P. R. T. Company in 1935, and engineering mathematician design division, Department of City Transit 1936 to 1939.

Phiamaphia

While at Penn State, Jackson gained athletic fame as a member of the freshman and varsity track teams.

He is a member of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity and Pi Tau Sigma, national honorary mechanical engineering fraternity.

South Carolina.

Political – 1938

Office Holding.

St. George, S. C., Eagle
July 21, 1938

GIVES FACTS ABOUT NEGRO POSTMASTER

Congressman Thos. S. McMillan who is undergoing treatment at a Washington Hospital, has issued a statement about the Negro postmaster at Johns Island. Following is the official record as disclosed by the Post Office Department:

"Adam Daison was appointed postmaster, fourth-class, August 4, 1903, George Legare, Congressman. Theodore Roosevelt was President; reappointed by Harding July 1, 1921 as third-class postmaster; reappointed third-class 1926 and 1930; relegated to fourth-class postmastership July 1, 1931, and on Hambright's recommendation was reappointed by Hoover August 8, 1931."

"It is obvious", says Mr. McMillan "from the above statement and record of this negro's appointment, that I have had nothing whatever to do with it. He was appointed under the Republican Administration and as a postmaster of a fourth-class office he holds office without term, which is provided for by law."

Political - 1938

Office Holding

Tennessee

Charlotte N. C. Observer
January 30, 1938

NEGRO PORTER APPOINTED TO CONDUCT LAW LIBRARY

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 29.—(AP)—Aaron Taylor, negro porter in the Tennessee Gentral library for 35 years, has been appointed librarian for the law library to be installed in the new State supreme court building.

Attorney General Roy H. Beeler said Taylor would be under the supervision of Miss Jennie Boyd, secretary of the law library board. 8

Tennessee Mayor Appoints First Member Of Race To Position In Nashville

NASHVILLE. — (By Herman J. D. Carter for ANP)—In appreciation to the Negro public for their support in the last election through the influence of the New Deal Progressive league, J. W. ("Pie") Hardison was appointed as an orderly to Mayor Thomas L. Cummings, as the first appointment made in Davidson county by the mayor since his election on Feb. 3, when he won by a majority of over 3,000, with actual counts showing 3,000 Negroes voted for him, 2,500 of whom were "New Deal" members under the leadership of Jasper C. Horne, the "Bob Church" of Davidson county.

In addition to his appointment of the orderly, Will Lathan, Negro automobile salesman, was named special policeman for the Negro district in North Nashville, covering the Fisk, Meharry and university sections.

Because of the influence of the club, and the acts shown the Negroes for their support by the Mayor, 800 new members have enrolled as members of the New Deal club, which has as its requirement the presentation of a poll tax receipt and registration slip. Just before the club endorsed the candidates who are to be elected April 14 as judges, sheriff, constable and trustee, the Rev. Marshall Sheppard, Democratic member of the Pennsylvania legislature, who prayed the South Carolina member of the Democratic convention, delivered a stirring address before a representative number of workers of the club at the First Baptist church in North Nashville Thursday night, urging them "not to take handouts; but to take the pie 'when it is cut'."

In his discourse, he cited Robert Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, who told a political party "I don't want a dime now, and you can't give me a job: but what I want is a piece of the pie to be handed to some of my pie-eaters and I want to be there to name the pie."

The mayor is behind the club and "all appointments that come to Negroes must come on the recommendation of the club." Already many Negroes have made attempts to get positions to the city's vacancies; but they have been referred o the president of the New Deal club.

NAPIER IS APPOINTED BY STRAUS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 24—J. C. Napier, banker and nationally known civic leader, has been appointed to membership on the newly organized Nashville (Tenn.) Housing Authority, administrator Nathan Straus of the United States Housing Authority, was informed last week. Mr. Napier was one of five members appointed by Mayor Thomas L. Cummings.

Mr. Napier brings to a total of 16 the number of Negroes now serving on local housing authorities, of which three are in southern cities and others located in the East and Middle West.

Andrew Jackson Courts, a PWA Housing Division project for Negro families, and Cheatham Place, a PWA Housing Division project for white families, are expected to be leased shortly by the USHA to the Nashville Housing Authority for further operation and management.

Political - 1938
Elections.

Alabama

A 'Political Comeback' in Reverse

• The "Solid South" isn't so solid.

Yesterday's defeat of J. Thomas Heflin, who ran for Senator in the Alabama State primaries, expresses the growth of the progressive movement in the South.

Heflin was—and still is a brazen spokesman for the murderous Ku Klux Klan gangs in the South, a rabid opponent of the New Deal and virtually all progressive legislation in behalf of the people of the South and the nation.

Characteristic of Heflin was his contemptible opposition to wages and hour legislation (a life and death need for Southern workers), President Roosevelt's progressive Supreme Court reform plan, and the anti-lynching bill.

Formerly a member of the Senate, he became known as "Tom-tom" Heflin, because of his vicious drum-beating diatribes against labor and the Negro people. Moreover, he is a shameless glorifier of lynch law and a bigoted tool of the reactionary plantation owners.

Heflin's race for Senator was to be his "political comeback" but the people of Alabama gave it a reverse twist.

The fact that Lister Hill, Heflin's victorious opponent, ran on a New Deal platform, showed that the people voted for the New Deal and its progressive measures.

Hill had the support of the progressive CIO, A. F. of L. unions, the State Board of the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, the Railroad Brotherhood and numerous middle class and Negro organizations. The common stand of these various groups indicates the tremendous possibilities of a powerful Peoples Front movement in the South against the lynch-reactionaries.

But Hill's opposition to the Federal anti-lynching bill plays into the hands of the Southern lynch lords who deny the most elementary constitutional rights to the Negro people.

His stand on the anti-lynching bill has already drawn protests from labor and progressives in Alabama, who have let him know that such a position is diametrically opposed to the progressive program on which he was elected.

Undoubtedly, Heflin would have gotten an even bigger and better trouncing if the disfranchised and super-oppressed Negro people of the South were protected under the Constitution and the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments were enforced. It is due to this cesspool of lynch oppression that democracy is at such a low ebb for the entire people of the South.

The defeat of Heflin, overwhelming sentiment among Southern people for an anti-lynching bill, the growth of the CIO movement—all mean a steady advance in the fight for progress and democracy in the South.

The American people can rejoice in these developments and support them as the fight for progress and democracy throughout the country.

Heflin's Defeat Pleases Negro Voters of Ala.

Negro voters all over Alabama have taken unusual interest in the Senatorial race between Ex-Senator Thomas Heflin and Congressman Hill for the seat made vacant by the promotion of former Klansman Senator Hugo Black to the Supreme Court by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the majority voted overwhelmingly against Heflin because of his record as a Negro hater, and prejudice raiser. While Mr. Hill has not gone out of his way to do anything for the Negro, they claim he has showed sportsmanship by not trying to ride in on their backs.

As one voter commented, "The day is over for the white man who goes about preaching race hatred—the white man who tries to make white people hate Negroes and the Negro who tries to make Negroes hate white people." There isn't anything in that, any more and Cotton Tom is finding it out.

If Tom Heflin had not been on that hate wagon, even with his funny jokes, he would have won more votes among his own people.

POLITICAL - 1938 DEMOCRATIC
PARTY AFFILIATION

D. C. Recorder of Deeds Says Race Voters Will Support F.D.R.

Discusses Voting Trend In Recent General Elections

Special to Journal and Guide

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—"Eighty-five percent of the Negroes will support President Roosevelt for anything, anytime," declared Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds of Washington, D. C., when he commented here on the recent elections. Dr. Thompkins, whose home is in Kansas City, was here to cast his vote in the November 8 elections.

Continuing he said that the New Deal administration "had given more recognition to Negroes, by way of appointments, than any administration in the 1[illegible] years of our history.

Dr. Thompkins declared that he believed that the Negro stayed with the president in the general elections this year.

Dr. Thompkins is editor of the Kansas City American, and is president of the National Colored Democratic Association with organizations in 38 states. He analyzed the election returns as applied to Negro areas in the country.

"The losses of the Democratic Party are not traceable to the change of the Negro vote," he declared. "In virtually all sections where Negro Democrats were candidates for office against Republican Negroes, the Democrats won."

"The Negro has walked out of the Republican party and will never go back so long as the white Democratic leadership provides what the Republican Leadership has promised for 70 years."

Dr. Thompkins pointed out that there is a belt of Negro votes extending 300 miles to the north and 300 miles to the south of the Mason and Dixon line that holds the balance of power in presidential elections. It contains 89 congressional districts and 1,800,000 Negro votes which for 64 years perpetuated the Republican party in office. However, he continues, this situation has changed and the Democrats are getting the support of these voters.

In discussing the recent elections, Dr. Thompkins pointed out that Negro Democrats elected two members of the Indiana legislature and a city councilman in Indianapolis. In Chicago, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, was reelected to his seat in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. He defeated Alderman William L. Dawson, Republican, by nearly 4,000 votes.

GOP WEAKNESS

William A. Wallace, Democrat, defeated State Senator William E. King, Republican, who was seeking reelection in Chicago. W. T. Andrews, Democrat, was returned to the New York State assembly from the 1st district. He defeated C. A. Johnson by over 6,000 votes.

Dr. Thompkins said: "Negro Republican weakness was strikingly shown when the Rev. Lorenzo H. King of New York City was defeated for Congress."

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS SEEK PARTY CONTROL

Those Who Remained Loyal Will Claim Their Rights

G. O. P. GOT NEGROES BACK

11-12-38

Determination To Gain Permanent Strength Mounts As South's Old-Time Legislators Get Ready For Next Congress

From The Commercial Appeal, Nashville Bureau

By GEORGE MORRIS

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.—Southern Democrats have expressed determination to take over control of the Democratic Party. With the South the only section to remain loyal to the party in recent election, members of Congress from the South propose to assume actual leadership in the future. Most of the important congressional committees are headed by Southerners, but they have been no more than titular leaders during the past six years. They propose to claim their rights from here out.

Southerners sat quietly by and watched control of the party pass to temporarily Democratic sections through collusion with the negroes. In Tuesday's elections the negroes went back to the Republican Party. They swung Ohio, Pennsylvania and represented the defection in Indiana. Southern Democrats have always regarded Democratic negroes as an anomaly, thoroughly unreliable as a political asset and a potential danger to the solid South.

Local Problem For North

Now that the negroes have returned to their natural allegiance, Southerners are determined to strengthen their hold on the party on a permanent basis and leave the North to handle the negro question as a local problem. They have never been willing to accept the negro into the party on political equality, for the reason that they figured the Northern Democrats were flirting with a factor that would prove their eventual undoing.

During the Ohio campaign, when it was known that Senator Bulkley was in serious danger of defeat, a call went out for speakers. Speaker Bankhead and other nationally known Democratic figures were called upon and were ready to respond. Then word came from Ohio that no Southern white speakers were wanted. The Democratic leadership in Ohio announced that it preferred negro speakers, one in particular was the wife of a White House butler.

Effect Is Questionable

What effect defeat of Northern Democratic senators will have on the horde of negroes they brought to Washington and installed in responsible positions in an effort to hold the race in the Democratic ranks, is questionable. Probably they will be supplanted by other negroes of Republican persuasion, since they have shown penitence and returned to the party of Lincoln and Harding. It is not likely that negro job holders will diminish.

More likely, Northern Democrats and Republicans will vie with each other, the Republicans endeavoring to solidify the prodigals and the Democrats endeavoring to woo them back. It looks as if the struggle will be a sordid one, with the prize going to the highest bidder.

Southern members of Congress will have no truck with the contest. Most of them have been in Congress for many years, and as a result of the rule of priority are heads of important committees. As the key men of the party they propose to exert their power of control. The Administration is expected to align itself with the Northern and more radical element of the party, while Southerners are manifesting a disposition to return to their natural conservatism. If the Southerners have their way the presidential nominee will be neither New Deal nor reactionary, but what they regard as a traditional, old-time Democrat.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation

Democratic

Greensboro, N. C. Patriot
November 8, 1938

Democrat Gifts Total $11,790.74

Around 2,500 faithful Democrats contributed $11,790.74 to the State Executive Committee between August 1 and October 24, and party leaders spent $3,936.66, a preliminary report to Secretary of State Thad Eure showed yesterday.

Meanwhile, the party operated with a cash balance that rose from $1,735.44 on August 1 to $9,589.52 on October 24. Dr. James E. Sheppard, of Durham, at North Carolina College for Negroes, was shown as the largest individual contributor with $275 to his credit.

Among the biggest individual contributions listed in the Democratic report were: $200 from Governor Hoey; $150 from James A. Hardison of Wadesboro; and $100 each from Senator J. W. Bailey, Lieutenant Governor W. P. Horton, Rep. J. W. Lambeth, Attorney General Harry McMullan, Revenue Commissioner A. J. Maxwell, Dr. F. M. Register, of Kinston, Thad Eure, Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn, of Woodland, Julian Price, of Greensboro, O. Max Gardner, of Washington, Judge J. A. Rousseau, Captain John A. Nelson, of Morehead City, C. C. Spaulding, of Durham, and J. Benton Stacy, of Raleigh.

Greensboro, N. C. News
October 17, 1938

CAMPAIGN IS PLANNED BY NEGRO DEMOCRATS

A fall campaign for membership will be launched by the Young Negro Democratic club of Guilford county Tuesday morning following a conference meeting Monday night at 8 o'clock at 901½ East Market street, J. Archibald Joyner, executive secretary and campaign head announced last night.

Seeking 1,000 members, negro Democrats will organize into divisions with committees canvassing each section of the county. The campaign will run for 10 days climaxed by a dance to be held October 28. Tentative plans call for Blanche Calloway's orchestra to furnish music for the dance at Friendly lake.

Officers of the Young Negro Democratic club include W. F. Frazier, president, J. Archibald Joyner, executive secretary, C. L. Raiford, vice president, E. Patterson, treasurer and Roas Lee Gibson, recording secretary.

Johnson City, Tenn. Chronicle
October 22, 1938

The Great Game Of Politics . . .

By FRANK KENT

MR. GUFFEY LOSES A PAL

Some time ago in this column the view was expressed that the Democratic candidates in this election would not retain the support of the several million negro voters in the Northern debatable States with anything like the solidity with which they supported Mr. Roosevelt in 1936.

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Confirmation of this has come in the announcement that Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh, is urging the 200,000 negro voters of Pennsylvania to vote for Judge James, Republican candidate for Governor, and to ignore the candidacy of Governor Earle, Democratic candidate for the Senate. Vann is one of the outstanding negro leaders of the country and publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier, probably the most influential negro paper. In 1933, through the influence of Senator Guffey, he was named Special Assistant Attorney General after the President had assured himself that the appointment would not have to be confirmed by the Senate. In 1935 he resigned and Mr. Farley made him head of the first negro division the Democratic National Committee ever had.

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Clearly if there were a negro leader from whom unswerving support might have been expected Vann was the one. It is not surprising, therefore that Senator Guffey, emitting cries of pain, is striken to the bottom of his sensitive soul at his defection. For five years he has nursed Vann as a bosom friend. He has operated with him and through him. They have been pals. Nor are the Guffey sufferings assuaged by the Vann assurance that he has taken his stand for Senator Guffey's own good, in order to see that leadership in his party is restored to him. Bitterly Mr. Guffey makes the charge that his friend Vann has "deserted the party" because he was not allowed to distribute Federal jobs to the negroes.

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Under the circumstances it is not easy to work up much sympathy for Senator Guffey. For one thing, he has been kicked around so much recently that one blow more or less should not make much difference to him. For another, the Vann "desertion" merely adds another incident to one of the most sordid and repellent campaigns ever conducted. It may or may not affect the result in the State—the interesting thing is the shock to the theory of the New Deal politicians concerning the negro vote. Having, through four years of intensive cultivation, unprecedented White House coddling, supplemented by a vast number of Federal jobs and immense relief funds, succeeded in getting ninety-eight per cent. of this vote away from the Republicans, they were under the impression that it would stay indefinitely on their side.

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Perhaps if Mr. Roosevelt were running this year or if he should run again some other year, the same negro solidarity could be achieved for him—because his personal popularity with the negroes is undoubtedly great. But with Mr. Roosevelt not running and in an off-year election, a considerable number of the negroes lined up for the New Deal ticket in the last campaign are bound to be recaptured by the Republican Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates. Ever since 1936 various negro leaders, including Vann, have contended that it was a mistake to conclude that the negro vote in the Northern States had become a permanent Democratic asset upon which the politicians could regularly count.

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It would be interesting if Vann, who unquestionably had more to do with transferring this great racial vote from the Republicans over to Mr. Roosevelt in one campaign, should be most potent in taking them back in the next. Of course, the goal of which the national negro politicians dream is to achieve racial political fluidity along with racial political solidarity. By that they mean the power of the negro voters easily to move in a solid body from one party to the other so as best to serve their racial interests. The claim is made that once that goal is achieved, the negroes will be in position to dictate to both parties and no President can be elected without their acquiescence. That at any rate is what negro leaders in Northern cities are now preaching to the negro voters. It isn't likely to happen, but that does not prevent the attempt being made. And it is ironic but just that the first white politician to be hurt by this new negro fluidity should be the one who taught the negro leaders how to play the game and put them in position to do it.

Negro Congress Votes Support Of Roosevelt

Birmingham News
Oct. 9, 1938

BALTIMORE, Oct. 9.—(AP)—Delegates to the Eastern Regional Conference of the National Negro Congress today pledged support to "every progressive measure" undertaken by the Roosevelt Administration and sent the pledge to the President in a telegram.

The conference also dispatched a telegram to Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, applauding his "magnificent plea for unity in the labor movement."

The delegates, representing church, civic, fraternal and labor groups in 12 Eastern States, brought their three-day conference to a close tonight following discussions of problems of job opportunities for negroes, of negro youth and of a legislative program.

Knoxville, Tenn. Journal
November 11, 1938

'Unusual People' Night Planned

Special to The Journal

COOKEVILLE, Nov. 10.—"Unusual People Night" will be observed Friday night at the high school auditorium.

Charlie Hughes, the "human alarm clock," who has aroused the sleepers in Cookeville for the last 15 years by a blast from his mail-order bugle, will be one of the featured performers. Each morning, Hughes climbs a 20-foot ladder and blows his horn.

Other "unusual people" to be on the program will be Robinson Crusoe Buck, 94-year-old Negro of Algood, who is said to be the oldest Negro Democrat in the nation, and the Burton brothers, 70-year-old twins who have been separated less than a week during their lives.

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Still another victory was won, too—and it is an extremely important one. It was won by the conservative, anti-New Deal wing of the Democratic party. This wing is dominated by the Southern Senators and Representatives, all of whom were returned to office as usual. It includes a number of Eastern, Western and Middlewestern Congressmen—some of whom were on the President's "purge" list—who also again received the stamp of approval of their constituents. From the standpoint of the Administration, it is not unlikely that this victory will prove a great deal harder to swallow than that of the Republicans. Any administration expects and can stand opposition from the other major party—few Administrations have been able to withstand strong and growing dissension within their own ranks. Democratic revolt, coupled with Republican resurgence, brought the Wilson Administration to swift collapse. Republican revolt, coupled with Democratic resurgence, was a major factor in bringing on the crash of the Hoover Administration. And now the Roosevelt Administration faces the same things.

This is best seen in the House. Next January a coalition of but 48 revolting Democrats with the Republican minority—which can be trusted to vote almost en bloc against what it regards as unwarranted New Deal experiments—would give the combined forces a bare but workable majority. During certain bitter legislative battles of past sessions, notably the Judicial reorganization and governmental reorganization battles, considerably more Democrats than that voted against White House "must" orders. And now to make matters worse, from the Administration's standpoint, a number of Representatives who could be safely trusted to "vote with the President 100 per cent" were beaten by other Democrats pledged themselves to accept dictation from no one.

What will come of this? It seems plain that one of two things must result. The President can "veer toward the right," as many of his advisors are now strongly urging, and by adopting a more conservative line, hold his Congressional majority. Or he can go ahead with a more radical program and take a chance on a legislative deadlock such as those which occurred at the end of the Taft, Wilson and Hoover regimes. Such a deadlock can almost paralyze government. Congress can refuse to pass any measure the President proposes. And the President, with the veto weapon at his disposal, can make Congress virtually inoperative. This reached an extreme at the end of the Wilson second term, when some boards and commissions could not do business at all because they were unable to obtain a quroum—Congress having refused to even consider Wilson's appointments to vacancies.

The outlook, according to some commentators, is for the President to bow to the inevitable, and take the conservative line. They will prove or disprove that.

In the meantime, much talk is going the rounds concerning the effect of the elections on Mr. Roosevelt's third-term ambitions, if any. Some think that the Republican comeback will kill those ambitions, on the grounds that the President will take them as an indication that he would be heading for almost certain defeat. On the other hand, a school of experts think that the opposite result may follow—that the Democrats will be forced to draft Mr. Roosevelt, on the theory that no other candidate would have a chance of winning. It seems to be a fact, as many surveys indicate, that an army of voters still like and support Mr. Roosevelt personally, though they oppose most of his policies, and tend to vote for Republicans for other offices.

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DEMOCRACY'S KEEPERS

We are, all of us in America, keepers of democracy. It is upon us as individuals that the fate of democracy depends. In a world that is hysterical and afraid, where people seek leaders in whom they vest all authority, it is the individual who is unafraid and loyal to democracy who is the keeper of the sacred trust of the ages.

In the current issue of The Virginia Quarterly Review Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt writes an impassioned plea for all Americans to search their hearts and reaffirm their faith in the freedom and liberty which make our [illegible] unique. She implores her reader not to be overawed by the fears that challenge men's souls.

"Somehow or other I have a feeling," the wife of the President writes, "that our forefathers, who left their women and children in the wilderness while they traveled weary miles to buy supplies, and who knew they were leaving them to meet Indians if need be, and to defend themselves as best they could, would expect us to meet present-day dangers with more courage than we seem to have.

"It is not only physical courage which we need, the kind of physical courage which in the face of danger can at least control the outward evidences of fear. It is moral courage as well, the courage which can make up its mind whether it thinks something is right or wrong, make a material or personal sacrifice if necessary, and take the consequences which may come."

Mrs. Roosevelt recalls the admonition she often heard in her youth: that when afraid to act was the time to act. "Every time we shirk making up our minds or standing up for a cause in which we believe," she writes, "we weaken our character and our ability to be fearless. There is a growing wave in this country of fear, and of intolerance which springs from fear. Sometimes it is a religious intolerance, sometimes it is racial intolerance but all intolerance grows from the same roots."

Mrs. Roosevelt illustrates her point by calling attention to a recent youth conference which was accused of being Communistic. There were Communists in the conference, she says, and there were also strong conservatives. There were heated debates, and many clashes of opinion. But when the resolutions were finally passed they "were rather sane and calm, perhaps a trifle idealistic and certainly very optimistic."

No harm, certainly, had been done. But if we prohibit such conferences because there were differences among the delegates, then we are beginning "to allow our fears of this particular group to overwhelm us and we are losing the opportunity to make our experience available and useful to the next generation," Mrs. Roosevelt writes, and then adds:

"I feel that unless we learn to live together as individuals and as groups, and to find ways of settling our difficulties without showing fear of each other and resorting to force, we cannot hope to see our democracy successful.

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Mrs. Roosevelt recognizes the fact that democracies are challenged, but more than democracy, she insists, is at stake. "When force becomes so necessary that practically all nations decide that they must engage in a race which will make them able to back up what they have to say with arms and will thus oblige the rest of the world to listen to them, then we face an ultimate Armageddon, unless at the same time an effort to find some other solution is never abandoned . . .

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Advertiser 12-20-38

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Political – 1938
Party Affiliation –

Democratic

Columbia, S. C. State
October 24, 1938

OHIO IS THE STATE TO WATCH.

New York's contest between the veteran, involuntary candidate, Governor Lehman (involuntary because he has been trying to retire these many years, but President Roosevelt and other Democratic leaders will not allow him to do it) and the politically inexperienced Mr. Dewey will continue to receive more space in the news than any other state campaign. But it is not necessarily the most meaningful race now being run by candidates. It is not a clearly defined test of New Deal popularity, plus New Deal pressure on the one side, and opposition to the New Deal on the other. Governor Lehman has not, to this moment, "come out" for the New Deal, and he has not been, since the supreme court fight, an ardent or even a warm New Dealer. The New York election will have deep meaning only if Dewey wins, which he is not likely to do.

But look at Ohio. In that barometer-like state, the senatorial contest is a clearly defined contest between Senator Bulkley, 99 per center, and Robert A. Taft, Republican candidate who is opposing the sitting senator. These two men are said to have genuine regard and respect for one another. They arranged a campaign of joint debates, six or a dozen or more, in order to present to Ohio voters the issues as they see them. Personal considerations always influence many voters, but in this Ohio campaign they appear to be of minimum importance. Each candidate seems to be trying honestly to present the political philosophy he represents. The Ohio voters may, therefore, vote on issues if they wish to do so.

Senator Bulkley says he has not always agreed with President Roosevelt, yet his voting record does not bear out that declaration; or it convicts him of voting against his own judgment. Mr. Taft, a son of the late President Taft thus states his case: "It is (on the one hand) the New Deal and its regulation of the livelihood of every citizen. Should our opponents win this fall they will take it as a mandate to go on with their planned economy program. . . You can't carry out a planned economy unless you get regulatory powers over all phases of industry. . . . When you have such powers you have socialism. It is voluntary at first, and when it fails to work it must be made iron-clad compulsion. . . . What must be done is to develop a policy which will retain the good parts of the New Deal, develop private industry, provide adequate relief, half regulation and encourage private initiative."

Mr. Arthur Krock, of The New York Times, declares the New Dealers are clearly awake to the significance of this contest and are "putting on all the pressure they can command. The great federal bounty and patronage machines are ceaselessly grinding grist for the relief beneficiaries and labor in the cities, for the farmers and for the Negro voters. The latter, completely captured by Mr. Roosevelt in 1936, will play an important part in Ohio's decision if they remain solidly Democratic as Chairman Farley is laboring to assure."

If Candidate Taft wins against the popular Senator Bulkley, and against all the power of the New Deal, the victory will have plenty of meaning in Ohio, and more outside of that pivotal state.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
November 6, 1938

Negro Would Like To Vote For Hull

Aged Democrat Who Drove Judge Wants Him For President

COOKEVILLE, Nov. 5 (AP)—Robinson Crusoe Buck's greatest desire is to keep right on voting the straight Democratic ticket, as he has done in every election since the Civil War, until he gets to mark an "X" by the name of Cordell Hull for President.

The 94-year-old former slave believed to be one of the oldest Negro Democrats, once operated a livery stable at Algood and often drove "Judge Hull" in buggy and surreys over the upper Cumberland section before Hull's rise to fame outside his native state.

In June, 1937, the aged Negro—on a sponsored trip to Washington—told the Secretary of State of his hope that he would run for President.

SOUTH RETAINS ITS SOLIDARITY

Democratic Candidates Are All Elected Except In East Tennessee

By United Press.

ATLANTA, Nov. 9.—The South abided by its traditional party solidarity today to place in office those nominated in the Democratic primaries by majorities as high as 100 to 1.

Sens. Walter F. George of Georgia and Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina, both of whom breasted the presidential purge in the primaries, were carried to new terms at the head of straight Democratic tickets in their respective states.

Georgia gave Gov. E. D. Rivers another term to complete his little New Deal program. Burnet Maybank, youthful mayor of Charleston, was elected governor of South Carolina.

Three of Georgia's 10 Democratic candidates ran far ahead of independent opponents, the others were unopposed. South Carolina Democrats elected five congressional nominees.

The Republican pocket in East Tennessee returned its two congressmen, Carrol Reece and J. Will Taylor, but Democratic candidates carried the other congressional districts and the two state-wide offices—Tom Stewart, senator, and Prentice Cooper, governor.

Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida led his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Swanson, at better than 5 to 1 in his bid for another term. Pepper was nominated with the inferential endorsement of the New Deal. In the only congressional contest in Florida A. Patrick Cannon was safely elected over J. S. G. Gallagher, Republican.

Democratic nominees were unopposed in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Democratic Leader Issues Statement

Dr. Oral S. McClellan

All forces among Negro democrats in St. Louis have joined in a concerted effort to return the biggest Negro majority for the Democratic party in the history of St. Louis politics November 8. Factional differences which have arisen from time to time within their ranks have been laid aside and the most intense campaign yet waged here is afoot. Dr. O. S. McClellan, director of the division made the following statement when questioned as to the reasons for the unusual activities apparent at headquarters; "The presence on our ticket of the names of Judges George L. Vaughn and Frank S. Bledsoe; Constable Jordan W. Chambers all seeking re-election, and candidates for constable Carl Glass and Alfred (Bum) Bruce, has given an added stimulus to our workers. The splendid and envable records made by the firs three, and the ability and worthness of the last two seem to imbue the division with added zea to insure victory for the party.

"There are other contributin factors also. To name a few, w have the record of Judge Finnegan who opened the door of opportunity to Negroes in his office by appointing Keith W. Pardo as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney. H. Sam Priest, candida for re-election as Circuit Cler has raised both the calibre patronage and the number of Negroes in his office, aside fro including requisitions for Neg

Democrats Use Rhythm To Get Out Race Votes

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—In Philadelphia during the political campaign which came to a close on Tuesday, Democrats hired Chick Webb and Ella Fitzgerald to swing votes to the Democratic side in Pied Piper style, with their hot rhythms and torrid tunes. In the city of Chicago, however, at the giant mass meeting and election rally held last Friday night, the method took a more aesthetic turn, and 50 Negro dancers, under the direction of Katherine Dunham, presented a pageant dance, interpreting the Negro spirit thru slave days and its rise to racial freedom. The presentation was called "the March of Democracy."

NEW DEAL LOSES AN ALLY

Just for many years Negro voters were the most dependable unit of the Republican party, these voters had become a decisive force in the victorious battles of the New Deal during the past six years. There is no denying the fact, however, that colored voters left the New Deal camp by the thousands on election day of this year and rallied to the standard of the Republican party. Whatever other implications leaders of both parties get from the November 8 election, it seems certain they will not overlook the behavior of colored voters.

It is not hard for persons who know what caused such a phalanx of colored voters to move into the Democratic party in recent years to understand why they departed this year in almost equally as great a number. New Deal failed to make good in its promises to the Negro and President Roosevelt failed to measure up to the high expectations of his great following of colored voters. Colored voters, now asserting their independence of political parties in larger numbers than ever before, will rally to the support of real liberals in any party and will oppose reactionaries of any party.

In its many pledges of devotion to the "forgotten man" and to the underprivileged of the nation, the "off the record" promises of New Deal leaders was that Negroes would receive equal treatment to that accorded any other group. However, in practice, when the New Deal began to spend money and give jobs, there were ever so many "differentials" that were introduced with the plain intent of depriving Negroes of the benefits they deserved and expected.

Both in the operation of the NRA and in Social Security these differentials were discriminatory toward Negroes, and in addition, the disposition of the National Administration to put the handling of government agencies in the hands of prejudiced persons, greatly deprived Negroes of a just share of the jobs and relief that they had a right to expect from a political party that prided itself on its zeal for humanitarian service.

President Roosevelt, much to the surprise and chagrin of millions of colored voters, failed to exert his great power to have a federal law against lynching passed. It was believed, with the strong majorities that had been mustered in support of the bill, and the fact that it exceeded in realism every other piece of "humanitarian legislation" of its administration, the President would make a dramatic appeal for the passage of the bill at some time during the recent session of Congress when that bill held the attention of the nation and the world.

The President failed to act and in addition, such strong New Dealers as Senator Bilbo of Mississippi and Senator McKellar of Tennessee, worked overtime to defeat the anti-lynching bill. They accomplished their task not by argument nor by votes. They accomplished it by a filibuster which prevented the bill from coming to a vote.

Colored voters of the nation believed that Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt was as courageous as his great kinsman Theodroe Roosevelt. But at a critical time he was weighed in the balance and found wanting. He appeared to yield to the reactionaries of his party who are in command of considerably fewer votes in the electorial college than are in those states where Negro votes hold the balance of power.

Colored voters of the nation DID rally to the support of Senator Robert F. Wagner in New York and his majority was greater than that of any man on the Democratic ticket. They DID rally to the support of the Hon. John Gavagan, who piloted the anti-lynching bill through the House and he easily won reelection in Harlem although an able and fully qualified colored leader was the Republican candidate.

Of course the loss by the New Deal of such a stalwart as Editor Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier was a great blow to the New Deal in Pennsylvania and hurt the party in other states as well. But the belief that the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt both "fell from grace" in their treatment of the Negro masses undoubtedly was responsible for the great loss of colored voters in vital states.

It remains to be seen what will be the strategy of the New Deal in its dilemma over having lost its great Negro following and also what will be the strategy of the Republicans as they ponder the need of holding the support and good will they received from colored voters in all parts of the nation.

POLITICAL - 1938
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

THE NEGRO REMAINS TRUE TO THE NEW DEA

The shock which the New Deal received in the recent election was hardly due to the Negro vote. In so far as the general returns can be analyzed and the colored vote segregated from the rest we may fairly conclude the Negro voted as generally for the New Deal in '38 as he did in '32, '34 and '36. The acid test can be found in segregated districts where Negro Democrats were opposed by a Republican of his own color. Congressman Mitchell was re-elected in the first District in Chicago over his Republican opponent by a sweeping majority.

Judge Ed. W. Henry of Philadelphia, who is in the habit of shifting from one side to the other with the regularity of a weaver's shuttle, afforded the spectacle of a Democratic municipal judge running for Congress on the Republican ticket. He was defeated by the Negro vote upon which he relied.

Robert L. Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier with a circulation of 150,000, attracted wide public attention by a sudden semi-reversal of form in the heat and height of the campaign. By reason of internal dissension among political bosses, Mr. Vann bolted the gubernatorial candidate in Pennsylvania while avowing his allegiance to Governor Earle and the rest of the Democratic ticket. Curiously enough the candidate whom Mr. Van commended was defeated by a larger margin than the one which he condemned. Mr. Vann's disaffection, however influential, was not effective. The candidate whom he bolted was defeated by a smaller margin than the one whom he commended.

The Negro candidates against their Republican rivals were elected to the Legislature in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Detroit and Indianapolis. In Cincinnati alone so far as reported did a Republican Negro succeed in breaking into the state Legislature. Thus it is perfectly safe to say that at least three-fourths of the Negro vote remains loyal to the New Deal.

Analysis of the situation shows that the Negro is likely to remain true to his new lineup. As far ahead as we now have data to predict, the Republican or anti-New Deal vote is recruited mainly from the rural areas and from the smaller towns and cities. The large cities have become the impregnable fortress of the Democratic party and are shaken from their legions only by occasional internal disseensions. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia , Detroit, Los Angeles, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, St.. Louis, Milwaukee, cities, of a half million or more inhabitants are irreclaimable liberal Democrats in normal elections. Cleveland, Ohio, is the only large city of its class which has stuck to the Republican fold, and this merely because the Democratic bosses could not agree among themselves. The effective Negro vote is found in the north and west and is large in the great centers of population where it adheres to political fortune of the dominant city machine.

In the last election there certainly was no reason why the Negro should forsake Roosevelt and the New Deal for its political adversary. . For it has been to him a "friend in need which is a friend indeed." He could truthfully say "I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was naked and ye clothed me." This fulfills the requirements of a practical political religion. It is entirely probable that a higher appeal might prove more persuasive a argument of loaves and fishes but no such appeal was forthcoming during the last campaign, nor does it seem likely to come from the forces of illiberalism and reaction.

The race as a whole is much concerned as to what affect a near defeat of Senator Van Nuys of Indiana will have upon the ill-fated anti-lynching bill which bears his name. It is probable that nine-tenths of the Negro voters in Indiana voted for his return to the Senate but the rural and small town white contingency of Hoosier voters did their best to keep him at home.

Conditions continuing as they are you may safely predict that Roosevelt and the New Deal may rely upon the Black Allies in the Presidential election of 1940.

In the last three elections the New Deal has swept the country by such large majorities that the Negro vote was relatively too small to be effective. Though appreciated it was hardly appreciable. But if the illiberal and reactionary influences continue to accumulate objections against the defects and mistakes of the New Deal, as the outs always lo against the ins by 1940 the Negro vote which during the last three elections has been ginle may count with telling effect upon the outcome.

The Negro Remains True to the New Deal

By KELLY MILLER

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RACE CONCERNED

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Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

'WHITE SUPREMACY' ISSUE REVIVED IN THE SOUTH

Attempted 'Purge' of Two Senators Warms a Controversy That Has Been Cooling Fifty Years

By TURNER CATLEDGE

WASHINGTON, Aug. 27. — A record of fifty years of progress in interracial relations in the South is being seriously menaced by the family fighting now going on in the Democratic party.

For proof of this one has only to go to South Carolina and Georgia, where two old-line Southern Senators marked for "elimination" have dragged up the most provocative issue ever to plague the South—the Negro question—to protect themselves against the "purge" campaign of President Roosevelt and the White House palace guard. Old shibboleths which many thoughtful people long since had relegated to the back shelf of demagogy are being dragged out again, and the significant thing is that they seem to be taking hold.

The realities of the case can be made no less by the mere argument that they should not exist.

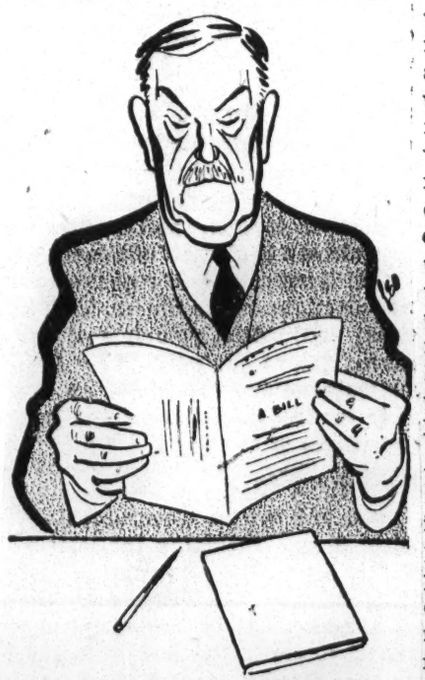
Any candid observer must report that throughout the South the belief, even the determination, still prevails that the Negro should not vote. Through various constitutional devices ranging all the way from the old "grandfather" clauses to high-flown educational requirements, the white voters reasserted their supremacy following the dark days of Reconstruction. These and other methods, such as rigid poll tax and registration restrictions, enacted to cover all voters but applied chiefly against the Negroes, and specific exclusion from the Democratic party primaries have been used to maintain predominance.

Court Decision in 1935

These devices have been employed successfully, and in most cases with the sanction of the courts. Even as late as April, 1935, the Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion handed down by Justice Roberts affirmed the right of Texas Democrats to bar Negroes from their primaries.

So it is that the Negro has been practically disfranchised in the South, except in a few States like Tennessee, where they are useful to both the Democrats and Republicans, and where they are more "voted" than "voting." Through the fifty years that this has been true, the Negroes themselves ceased as a class to demand the ballot. While this may not fit well with the ideal of universal suffrage, the cessation of the contest over the ballot smoothed much of the friction that had existed between the races, and is to the consequent good of racial relations generally in the South.

RAISING RACE ISSUE



Hershfield

Senator Ellison D. Smith, who is reviving the Negro question as a weapon against the "purge."

A One-Party System

Both as an effect in the developments between Reconstruction and the present, the South went to a one-party system. The Democratic party was, first, after the war between the States, the intellectual haven of the whites in protecting themselves against the excesses of Reconstruction and later it was the device through which they re-established themselves and remained in control.

The agitation today is not that this party is threatened by another in the South but that many Southerners are being made to feel that one of the foundation stones on which it has rested—and rested quietly for the last many years—is being removed from the inside. That foundation stone, in their estimation, is white supremacy. Constant reports from the North tell them of the wholesale transfer of Negro voters from the Republican to the Democratic party. Quoted assertions of outstanding party leaders, including the President himself, are taken by them in many instances to mean that universal suffrage, including re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro, is part of the goal of those who have set out to modernize the Democratic party.

A No. 1 Social Problem

In considering the race question in terms of Southern politics many persons outside of the South approach it strictly from an academic or idealistic standpoint. They admit of no argument against enfranchisement of the Negroes and, from a strictly philosophic view, one can hardly argue against it in the terminology of democratic government.

Yet, the people in the South are blinded many times to the philosophy of the cause by its realities. It is not altogether a matter of historical prejudice with them. There are present considerations, not the least of which is the large Negro population throughout most of the Southern States. Of the people comprising that part of the South included in the President's recent economic survey, 29 per cent are colored. By States the division ranges from more than 50 per cent in Mississippi and nearly 50 per cent in South Carolina to a comparatively small proportion in Texas.

Even as the South has been called the nation's No. 1 economic problem, this large block of colored people, concentrated as they are in certain States, might be called the No. 1 social problem. As for the South itself, the fear seems to be in some places that they would become political problem Nos. 1 to 10 if they should be re-enfranchised. They not only would hold the balance of power, as they do in certain urban centers of the North, but would in many places hold the preponderance of power.

The above is the reasoning not of demagogues alone, but also of many thoughtful Southerners who had hoped the day had come when candidates no longer could ride into office on the race issue. It must be borne in mind, however, that the hope was based upon the assumption that white supremacy was permanently established.

Against "Interference"

The present situation below the Mason-Dixon line is a real one. So far the Negro question has been raised mostly in South Carolina and Georgia, but this is no doubt attributable to the fact that it is only to these two States that the "purge" campaign has been extended so far. It is being used there again as a device against outside encroachments—against interference from the North, whether that interference be by Democrats or Republicans. The primary elections soon to be held in each—South Carolina on Aug. 30 and Georgia Sept. 14—may reflect its new appeal only partially. It may take a year or two yet, perhaps the Presidential year of 1940, to afford the real test, as in the interim Southern voters can judge more adequately the purposes of the Democratic party's present management and thereby determine more justly the degree of threat to white supremacy in Southern Democracy.

One can take it for granted now, however, that in the States where the Negro population is proportionately large, the tradition of white man rule will not be voluntarily surrendered. Therefore any attempt at giving substance to the ideals of universal suffrage will likely mean a battle for whoever may try it, be they New Dealers or Newer Dealers.

It cannot be said definitely now that the new management of the Democratic party has any definite designs toward re-enfranchising Southern Negroes or interfering in the South's segregation laws. It can be reported, however, that the politicians seeking to defend themselves against the "purge" are shouting the possibilities and citing evidence which, apparently, is carrying conviction to many that white supremacy has returned as a political issue in the South.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
October 13, 1938

MR. ROOSEVELT'S POPULARITY

It is possibly no exaggeration to say that without a disproportionate part of the relief vote, including Northern negroes, Mr. Roosevelt's chance of gaining another electoral victory would be slim indeed, says the Springfield (Mass.) Union.

"Much of his popularity is among those who in one way or another are beneficiaries of government largess, and Relief Administrator Hopkins knew what he was talking about when he said that WPA is 90 per cent New Deal.

"Add the fact that President Roosevelt and his administration have shown no qualms about using these vast funds to further their political ambition which is to perpetuate his regime, and it may explain suggestions appearing in the People's Forum that persons on relief should not be allowed to vote."

Mr. Roosevelt's popularity is mainly among persons who in one way or another benefit from the extravagant spending he has espoused. If the spending should be halted abruptly, Mr. Roosevelt's political following would dwindle rapidly.

There is no question that beneficiaries of his administration vote for continuance of policies which imperil the wealth of the nation and imperil the liberty of the people. It is unfortunate for the morale of the country that so many persons look to government for their support when government should be looking to all its citizens for its support.

It is profitless to remind that Mr. Roosevelt has been spending notwithstanding his solemn promises to the American people that he would insist upon economy in the federal government. Mr. Roosevelt's experiments have put upon the American people a burden far greater than that imposed by the Hoover regime. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt bitterly denounced the Hoover regime for its extravagance.

Mr. Roosevelt's seeming popularity is maintained at the expense of the people's morale. Not the business and industrial leaders, but the spenders of the people's funds, are the tyrants however benevolent and protective they say they are.—The Charleston News and Courier.

Will The Democratic South Go Along "Liberal"

EVER since good Miss Perkins ran by unexpectedly and caught us barefooted and suggested that we had been a party to putting seventy thousand shoemakers in the breadline by not wearing our quota of shoes we have had a slight suspicion that somebody in Washington did not like us. To make matters worse the President came behind her and told us at Gainesville that we did not earn enough money, that we put out our labor too cheap. After this the word was whispered around that we comprised Economic Problem Number one. Daily World

Shortly after all this the President again visited our balliwick and proceeded to read out of the Democratic party one of those who would not go along his liberal program. This was regarded as high treason and it was suggested that somebody was again "Marching through Georgia."

9-11-38

So, at the last stroke, the camel's back went down. The big dailies and the rank and file of those making up the membership of the white primaries are up in arms against the whole works of the New Deal. Those who, because of the Democratic tradition, went along under the wagon for euphony are up and outspoken since the last "attack". We find the senior senator from Georgia, occasionally taking an open crack at many of the President's current utterances. For instance, when the President made the assertion that he would prefer a liberal Republican to a conservative Democrat, where heretofore the senator and his school would have passed by unnoticed, the senator was quick to reply in the negative.

So it is seen the war is on. The President made plain what he meant by liberal in his Labor day address. He does not mince words, but comes straight down the road. He said in plain language, he was commissioned under a liberal mandate and he proposes as head of the Democratic party to keep it liberal. The word liberal covers a lot of territory. The word will inquire into whether those possessing liberal ideas and ideals are permitted to register those virtues at the polls. It will determine whether men who profess to be Democrats will be permitted to vote the Democratic ticket in any and all kinds of weather and occasions. It will probably form its base upon a faith instead of a limited principle seeking to speak in the open the language of Thomas Jefferson—equal rights to all and special privileges to none—and under cover, seek out and exclude certain people of color, professing the same faith.

The President is going to seek the assertion of his liberal program. At the same time he is going to insist that all such a program carries, be included regardless of section or color.

The conservative die-hards will have an option on going along or engaging the fruitless task of a long drawn out counter defensive on the outside of the party of their fathers.

The thing for more of our group to do is to get registered and be prepared to go along on the side of progress. Someday in the near future we predict the opportunity will be here to vote in the state primaries.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
September 12, 1938

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

Think for Yourself and Let Others Enjoy the Privilege to Do So.—Voltaire.

TOO GREAT A SACRIFICE

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

It will not be long before the Democrats of Georgia will march to the polls and reassert their ownership and control of their ballots regardless of veiled intimidation from any source.

At one time we were under the British yoke—I am not sure that we would not be immensely better off if we were still under the British yoke—but our colonist forebears became dissatisfied and so much so with the British way of doing things that they went into a war with the mother country for independence that lasted eight long years before the colonists were successful. During that war, known by us as the Revolutionary War but by the British as the Rebellion, it was necessary for the colonists to take their armies into winter quarters during severe winters.

During the severest winter they had to endure because the soldiers were scantily clothed and poorly shod, many of the soldiers being without shoes at all, the colonist armies were carried into winter quarters at Yorktown. That winter-quarter season was a season of snow and the soldiers nearly all of the time were obliged to walk around in the snow leaving behind them tracks of blood. Nevertheless they were not to be daunted so they followed their purpose and fought the war to a successful conclusion. Of course at that time the colonists had no idea that there would ever be a FDR or that he would ever be president and during his term of office would spend practically all of his time fishing on Sundays and during the remaining days of the week ramble over the country to tell those of whom he would be supposed to be servant whom to vote for and whom to vote against in any election in autocratic and dictatorial tones. The Revolutionary War was to get this country free and independent so that the people could do very much as they pleased, and especially about things of their own concern.

And such a thing never came about until the day of FDR, who was born with a silver spoon in his mouth and has been able to keep it there ever since.

Our self-appointed dictator would deceitfully have us believe he is very much opposed to all big business, especially the power trusts that he is afraid will wreck the country. FDR can't possibly be sincere in that when all things are considered. When Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas, who is dead now and peace be unto his ashes, was the retained attorney at law for one of the largest power interests in this country, on the regular pay roll, FDR, who wants the people to believe he knows everything, knew all about it. And all of that time FDR knowingly permitted Robinson to be recognized in the senate chamber as the White House spokesman. It looks as though the more we see the less we know.

FDR is not a Democrat or any part of a Democrat, and does not claim to be. He allows his henchmen down here to call him a Democrat but in all other sections of the country he is particular that he be known only as a New Dealer. He knew that the bulk of the population of the United States was very poor. That they wanted something but did not have anything to give for it. And from this condition sprang the New Deal under which political title FDR and his confederates were able to amass Socialists, Communists, Negroes, renegade Republicans and all of the riff raff of the country along with the Democrats. That is why he was elected president by such a stupendous margin.

So Democrats of Georgia do not be foolish enough to believe that FDR in our race for the U. S. senate is any further concerned than that you will place in what is supposed to be the very highest law-making body in the world a tool for him. A tool that will do anything and everything he tells to do without any regard to his conscience at all. It is too much of a sacrifice for the people of Georgia to make.

Sparta, Ga. JOE W. LEWIS.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation

Democratic

Miami, Fla. Herald
September 1, 1938

A Rebuff To the President

SOUTH CAROLINA Democrats have rebuffed President Roosevelt by nominating "Cotton Ed" Smith to succeed himself in the United States Senate.

There can be no other interpretation of Tuesday's primary elections in the Palmetto state. The issue had been "clarified." The President himself so stated on the eve of the election when he emphasized that the withdrawal of the third candidate left an open choice for South Carolina Democrats between two candidates representing different schools of thought, with the warning the responsibility lay with the voters of "selecting a representative in the United States Senate to play a part in the framing of legislation to carry out the objectives of the administration program."

Mr. Roosevelt, in other words, told the Democrats of South Carolina that he wanted them to nominate Governor Johnston and to retire "Cotton Ed," a veteran of 30 years' congressional service, to private life. He created the issue. He asked for it. South Carolina has answered him by nominating Smith.

There were many other factors to aid Smith. But they cannot lessen in any degree the fact that his victory is a frank and open disavowal of the President's assumption it is his right as head of the party to meddle openly in the party's affairs in the several states.

It makes little difference that "Cotton Ed" fluttered the bloody shirt to the breeze and shouted to the democracy of his state that he walked out of the 1936 Democratic convention in Philadelphia because a negro minister delivered prayer one morning. It has little bearing that he violently assailed the anti-lynching bill to rouse racial animosity by bellowing that "This so-called anti-lynching bill was sponsored by Senator Wagner, who was born abroad, and I wish he had stayed there and Senator Van Nuys whose name should be changed to Van Nasty."

It is not pertinent that "Cotton Ed" is 74 years old and Senator Jimmie Byrnes and his friends would rather have one of their own clique in the senate, if Smith should not finish his term, than Governor Johnston, whom they could not control.

Mr. Roosevelt knew or ought to have known all these political phases of Smith's campaign. Knowing them, he stepped right up and demanded that South Carolina Democrats throw Smith overboard.

As the nomination of Senator Barkley was a distinct victory for Mr. Roosevelt's program of interference in state politics, so the nomination of Ellison D. Smith in South Carolina is a decisive defeat. There can be no other interpretation. Mr. Roosevelt so ordered it.

The "purge" did not work in South Carolina. Smith's re-election is bound to have a decided influence in Georgia and Maryland, where Senator George and Senator Tydings have been branded as enemies of the New Deal program.

Academically the right of the President to attempt to dictate to the party in the various states may be open to debate. As to practical politics, South Carolina has informed the President that such interference is unwanted, unwarranted and resented.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 11, 1938

The Failure of the "Purge"

In Iowa the Democrats renominated Senator Gillette in defiance of Director Harry Hopkins.

In Connecticut Senator Lonergan is too strong to be opposed.

In Missouri, Senator Clark, one of the more outspoken Democratic critics of the Roosevelt administration, won a sweeping majority over two candidates in the first primary. No one in Washington dared to lift his voice against Clark.

In Idaho, Senator Pope, 100 percenter, was defeated in the primary by a "conservative" Democrat.

In Indiana the Democrats re-nominated Van Nuys, a leader against the court-packing bill and some of the other Roosevelt measures. The administration swallowed Van Nuys—it would have taken more courage than it could muster to oppose him.

In New York it is virtually assured that Governor Lehman will be elected senator—and he publicly opposed the court-packing bill. He is not counted among the administration backers.

In Texas Representative Maverick, the most consistent and fervent of all the Southern New Dealers, or "liberals", was defeated. Representative Sumners, on the other hand, the first congressman to attack the court packing scheme, was re-nominated. All the signs are that Vice President Garner and his associates are in the saddle in Texas.

In California the Democrats nominated a "Townsendite" New Dealer over Senator McAdoo, the president's friend and 100 percenter.

What has happened in South Carolina we all know—and we know too that Senator Smith had the sympathetic assistance of Senator Byrnes in his campaign.

In Pennsylvania the quarrel between the Guffey and Earle forces has made probable the election of a Republican senator.

McCarren has been re-nominated in Nevada.

What victories have the "liberals" won? Pepper in Florida, Hill in Alabama (it was no great victory to beat "Tom" Heflin), and Barkley in Kentucky. They have been successful, so far, in Ohio, and in North Carolina and Tennessee they have not been beaten. The North Carolinian is opposed to the anti-lynching bill.

The "purge" has failed. In the congress opposition to the administration will be bolder than it has been.

The congressional campaign committee has taken ground sharply antagonistic to the president, or party leader. It will help to elect all regularly nominated Democratic candidates whether "liberals" or not. That is defiance of the president.

President Roosevelt's declaration at the press conference last week that he "would not object to the election of a Republican good liberal, that the country rises above party", is charged with significance. It is a threat.

It is pregnant with purpose to bend the Democratic party to his "liberal" opinion or split it.

It is confession that the party in which the Southern conservatives and Wheeler, Burke, others and others, stand for their independence and the independence of their states in congress, is not a party that he wishes to lead.

No sincere, no honest American "liberal" can draw a color line in politics or industry. None does. To do that is to repudiate the "liberalism" that they boast.

A "liberal" party, calling itself Democratic or Republican, in South Carolina, in any Southern state of large negro population, would necessarily be a negro party. There is no escape from that conclusion. President Roosevelt is not less aware of it than The News and Courier is and would not dispute it.

State Federation Of Negro Democrats Is Formed In New Haven

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—At a recent meeting held here, the presidents of all Negro Democratic clubs formed a permanent state organization for the purpose of making a drive to solidify the ranks of the Negro Democrats in the state and toward a better integration of the Negro voter into the activities of the Democratic Party. The need for such an organization has long been felt by all Negroes in the state, due to the many pressing problems which are facing the Negro group. The lack of Negro representation in few, if any, of the state and federal departments which deal with Negro problems is an issue of paramount importance.

At the regular meeting E. Bramwell, of Stamford, was elected president; Robert Hawkins of Waterbury, vice president; E. H. Goin of New Haven, executive secretary; Dr. Allen Jackson of Hartford, treasurer.

At present the following cities are represented: Greenwich, Stamford, Norwalk, Bridgeport, New Haven, Hartford, Branford, Ansonia, Waterbury and New Britain.

All organizations can communicate at the mailing address, State Federation of Negro Democratic Clubs, 573 Orchard street, New Haven.

Vitalizing the Democratic Platform

Paragraphs eight and eleven in the state Democratic platform, adopted at Tulsa, carry with them the dynamite which will either make or unmake the Phillips administration. All who know about conditions in Oklahoma at this time realize that patronage racketeering, and political coercion of heads of insttiutions have been developed to unbelievable and outrageous degrees by a legislative cabal. While all may appear harmonious on the surface at this time, when the Phillips administration starts out in the next legislature to make effective these two planks in the party platform, subversive influences will seek to wreck the new regime.

Paragraph eight of the platform reads as follows:

"To grant adequate support to the higher educational institutions of the state and prevent the coercion of heads of institutions for political advantage."

Paragraph eleven:

'To bring about the adoption and enforcement of such policies in all the departments of state government as will insure the employment and retention of efficient personnel in all major and offices and positions and the complete elimination of all forms of political racketeering."

In order to make the appointive power of the governor effective, and to remove the legislative influence which has many times threatened impeachment when an Oklahoma governor refused to do its will, confirmatory power must be removed from the Senate. Not alone in the smaller institutions but in the larger designations such as the highway department, tax commission and other important administrative positions, confirmation of the governor's appointments must come from the senate.

It is idle to assume that the Senate is going to voluntarily grant this independent power to the chief executive's office, and with this in mind the Phillips organization should prepare now to ring the fire bells, initiating measures directly with the people effecting this end. There is no need to go through this campaign and on up to inauguration with the thought that water is going to run upstream. The Senate is not going to relinquish its strangle hold on the governor.

From now until November there should be sent into every section of Oklahoma speakers who would bring directly to the attention of the people the desirability of such legislation. Exposures should be made of obvious graft and corruption in patronage racketeering. Members of the House and Senate should feel sentiment for this character of legislation developing in their own bailiwick. Pressure should be brought from within as well as from without.

With such a foundation already laid, it ought be easy during the first months of the administration to carry direct to the people these very necessary measures, and being already informed, the Black Dispatch predicts they will be pased. The mistake of the Murray campaigns, when the fire bells were rung, rested in the fact that the people had not been educated with respect to Murray's viewpoints. In this instance such an unfortunate situation can be obviated by starting a campaign of enlightenment now.

Negroes especially, should be interested in paragraphs eight and eleven of the Democratic platform. Our state institutions have almost been wrecked through the evils of patronage. At one of our state institutions this writer was shown by the superitnendent a list of employes listed and indexed on a basis of their selection by legislators. On the back side of each one of those cards was the endorsement of certain state senators and representatives.

Not a single one of these employes was selected by the superintendent because of special preparation for the task. These folk are drawing pay from the state simply because men who do not have any interest in the insttiution are laboring under the impression that these individuals have helped them get elected to office.

So long as such a condition exists our state institutions, both black and white, will be completely demoralized. In fact, our governmnet agencies are overloaded with unnecessary employees in order to satisfy the greed and avarice of our unwise legislators. This is what Nominee Phillips referred to when he warned the Oklahoma realtors Monday that there could be no substantial reduction of the tax burden until the spending mania had been squelched in this state.

It ought to be evident to all that if Leon C. Phillips is to be upheld in his wise program, announced at Tulsa, the people must be educated now. We must get away from academic and theoretical pronouncements. We must sit down before truth, naked and bare, remembering that passage of scripture, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free."

LIBERATE US ECONOMICALLY, MITCHELL PLEA

Congressman At Lincoln's Home, Asks Freedom For Poor Folk

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Oct. 21—Full text of address made by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell at State Democratic convention follows:

We have met here in Springfield the home and final resting place of Lincoln, the great emancipator. The cause for which we have assembled today is just as important to the future life and welfare of the nation as the great and burning questions which confronted Lincoln three quarters of a century ago.

The outstanding question confronting the nation in Lincoln's day was the emancipation of 4,000,000 Negro slaves in the South. The outstanding question which confronts us today as we meet, is the economic emancipation of a third of our population, numbering perhaps 40,000,000 souls. We are now engaged in a great struggle to the death, which will determine whether the freedom decreed to all Americans, regardless of race or color, shall in fact extend to the common people of the nation, or whether a third of the nation shall be held down and ground into dust at the will and for the express benefit of the great captains of industry.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking to a large audience assembled in Philadelphia, a few months ago said among other things the following: "Lincoln took only the first step toward freedom. His declaration that slavery would no longer be tolerated was only a declaration, not a fact, because we did tolerate slavery in different ways and still do. It is not only people of one race who are slaves. Slavery is of many different kinds. Today we are facing another era, in which we have to make certain things become facts rather than theories. We have gone on for years in a world where special privilege, selfishness, and greed predominated, when it was alright to do things if you could get away with it. But now the conscience of the people is being aroused.

"We are getting to a point where we are going to insist that all human beings have certain basic rights in modern civilization—that all should be equal before the law, that there should be no discrimination in citizenship rights, and that all should have the same opportunities for economic and educational activities."

Lincoln was truly the leader and hero of the nation's struggle in his time. No one dares to speak of him now other than a great statesman, a devoted leader of the country, and the savior of the nation. Please do not forget that there were thousands who denied him this honor while he lived and worked to save the nation.

In the present great struggle through which we are passing, I want to mention the name of the leader, who like Lincoln, will go down in history as a great world hero. He will be spoken of by posterity as the greatest humanitarian of our nation, if not of the world. Every sane and well meaning American knows that I am referring to none other than President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He, like Lincoln, has encountered the bitterest kind of opposition in his effort to lift the helpless and needy. In Lincoln's day South Carolina had its Calhoun and Hayne, just as it has its Byrnes and Cotton Ed Smith today. It is encouraging to note that the cause for which Lincoln labored triumphed in spite of opposition of reactionaries and obstructionists from the South and from the North. The great cause of justice and equal opportunity for all—this new and complete emancipation of the workers and the farmer demanded by our present leaders, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in Washington, and Gov. Henry Horner in Illinois, will eventually triumph over all the opposition and obstruction offered by the reactionaries.

Governor Horner, I want to assure you that my group is 100 percent back of the constructive program which you are giving this state. We know that under your wonderful administration and under the administration of our great President, we have enjoyed the largest opportunities which have come to us during our three quarters of a century of freedom. We are not unmindful of your deep interest in the man farthest down. As we stood back of your program and back of the President's program in 1932 and 1936, you may depend upon us in a larger measure in November, 1938.

Democratic-

Political -1938
Party Affiliation

Politics and Politicians

* * * * * * * * *

By CARLISLE BARGERON

(Formerly of Eatonton, Ga., Now of Washington, D. C.)

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From Woodrow Wilson's experience Mr. Roosevelt had become convinced that politically there was nothing to be gained by trying to placate the conservatives. At the end of Wilson's first four years there was hardly any questioning of the need of the reforms he had enacted. They were accepted, there was general agreement that they had been helpful to the country.

Yet the business and financial interests fought him tooth and nail in his campaign for re-election. He barely scratched in and he did it on a fluke issue, at that.

They opposed him not for what he had done but because of what they were afraid he would still do. You can't blame them. Men conducting businesses and financial operations cannot carry on with the rules being changed every day. Why, you can't even build a house unless you have reason to believe its value will go up or at least remain what it is.

Well, these people were perfectly willing to applaud Wilson for what he had done. They would gladly have joined in a movement then and there to erect a memorial to him or to have assured him his niche in history. But being human beings and assuming that the president is there to serve the people instead of the people serving his ambitions, and figuring that once embarked upon "reforms" Wilson wouldn't be able to stop, naturally they opposed him.

Mr. Roosevelt saw this picture clearly. Although conservatives had joined in his election of '32 he reasoned that after things had settled down they would be afraid of him. He reasoned also that the Democratic party in itself is a minority party, that it only wins when there is an upheaval. His plan was to make it a majority party through the absorption of the radical Republican elements, the Farmer-Laborites and the other loosely knit malcontents. He formed his cabinet to this end. He so shaped his policies. The conservative Democrats didn't make any serious complaint. They saw his reasoning, though they did register objection when he made these elements the head and front of the party, instead of just fitting them into it.

Then as the apparent recovery progressed they began to see how the Democratic party could become the "recovery" party, the "full dinner-pail" party and remain in office for 20 years, how it could shake off the stigma of being the reform or hard times party. When they saw millions of business men vote for Mr. Roosevelt in '36 they were satisfied they were right and that they could make Mr. Roosevelt see their way.

But a new element had entered the picture. Some 3,000,000 Negroes had come into the party, normally the margin of victory in six eastern and middle western states. Committed to reform and more reform Mr. Roosevelt saw in these Negroes an opportunity to carry on as he had started. New vistas opened to him. His advisers pointed to the vast reservoir of potential Negro votes in the South. They have got to develop it to hold those 3,000,000 they've already got.

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The fight is only beginning. But there is no need to look too far ahead. There is nothing more ridiculous insofar as this campaign is concerned than the question "Are you for or against the president?" He will be president until January 1941. He is not running now.

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MR. ROOSEVELT'S PROBLEM

There undoubtedly always will be wide differences of opinion on the achievements of the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and whether or not the nation has been helped by the policies of the New Deal. But there is general agreement that the President has done more to make the Democratic party a national organization, capable of winning national elections, than any man the party has had as its leader since the Civil War. The President and those associated with him have been realists to the extent of doing what was necessary to win elections. They have not, for instance, failed to take whatever steps were necessary to "make themselves solid" with minority groups in this country and thus we note the strong efforts which were made to get the votes of Negro men and women throughout those enlightened sections of this country where citizens are permitted to vote regardless of their color or previous condition of servitude.

The fact that Mr. Roosevelt has been successful in capturing from the Republicans a strong faction of Negro voters and as a result put the Democratic party in position to win victories in Northern states should have made all Democrats appreciative of this Roosevelt achievement and likewise appreciative of the support Negroes have given the Democratic party. But it has taken only the primary campaigns of 1938 to prove that the dominant forces in the Democratic party are wedded to the idol of bigotry and race hatred to the extent that they would rather play continually the role of "minority party" in the United States than be a party capable of reflecting the sentiment of a majority of the American people.

The victory of Senator Smith in South Carolina and the expected victory of Senator George in Georgia, made possible by violent appeals to race prejudice and on issues which are amusing to all intelligent people, represent in the minds of Negro Americans what the real Democratic party stands for as an organization. These victories are certain to have their effects in making Negroes believe stronger than ever the oft-repeated assertion that the Democratic party has as its controlling influences an Old Guard oligarchy which is able, whenever it is necessary to do so to defeat the aims of any liberals in the party who show a disposition to treat Negro Americans as worthy citizens of this country.

President Roosevelt is chagrined, evidently, over the antics of the Old Guard judging by a paragraph in his Labor Day speech at Denton, Maryland. That paragraph was as follows:

> "You in the state of Maryland—and the people of other states—have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class feeling which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of constitutional government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics."

The President should not be surprised at the "political hysteria" that anti-New Deal Democrats are now giving vent to in their efforts to escape the New Deal "purge." Nor should the President believe for a moment that it is only the anti-New Dealers of his party who will take refuge behind a barrage of Negro-baiting propaganda when they fare forth to seek office or national notoriety.

Were not the New Deal senators of Florida, Bilbo of Mississippi, another charming New Dealer, and New Dealer McKellar of Tennessee but a few of the many New Dealers who helped to deal death to the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill? When New Dealers got away with their violent appeals to race hatred in defeating the Anti-Lynching Bill, without any reprimand from the head of their party for their action, that could have served as a reminder to anti-New Dealers that they could use the same tactics in opposing some man or measure really dear to the heart of the President without losing their standings as "good Democrats."

From what he observed in the fight to defeat the Anti-Lynching Bill and in the primaries of this year, Mr. Roosevelt should now realize that in making the Democratic party "liberal" in keeping with what Negro Americans understand the term "liberal" to mean, it is going to be necessary for him to direct his telling them that Senators Frederick "purge" efforts toward New Dealers as Van Nuys and Bennett Champ Clark and those who opposed his court bill and his plan for reorganizing the departmental bureaus. Any effort to make Negroes believe that the Peppers, the Bilbos and the McKellars are lovely liberals while many liberals in the party who show a disposition to treat Negro Americans as worthy citizens of this country.

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Violating "Political Morality"

The past few hours have brought an unusual number of those "violations of political morality" of which Mr. Roosevelt complains—in theory. Telegraph

The people of the South have been definitely warned that it is the purpose of the New Deal strategists to destroy the Democracy of the South by exploitation of the Negro vote. The first stage in that process was to secure the enactment of the anti-lynching bill so as to win the support of the Negro vote in those states where it has become practically the balance of power. We were told in plain terms that another step would be to break down the white primary and to abolish the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to participation in any primary. 9-11-38

There may be those who honestly believe it would serve a good purpose if the poll tax were abolished, but the advocacy of such a measure when it is part of the general pattern to destroy the Democracy and white supremacy of the South becomes a matter of suspicion. Macon,

At his Friday press conference Mr. Roosevelt came out strongly for the abolishment of the poll tax and admitted that he had written a letter to Brooks Hays, Democratic national committeeman for Arkansas, endorsing a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the state poll tax.

Here we find not only a further unfoldment of the New Deal strategy against Democracy in the South, but another instance of that interference with the rights of the states which has become a mania with the administration at Washington.

It is a state, and a state alone, which confers and regulates the right of franchise on its citizens, and federal interference in this important function becomes highly significant at a time when all the power and prestige of the White House are being thrown into Maryland and Georgia to carry out the New Deal conspiracy.

Thus it is all the more apparent, as pointed out in these columns, that the anti-lynching bill and the so-called civil liberties bill may have to be strangled before they come to a vote and it is important that Georgia should be represented in the senate by a man like Senator George whose experience and personal character have endeared him to senators from the North and West who would join him in smothering these legislative attacks upon the Democracy and the white supremacy of the South.

Practically at the same moment when Mr. Roosevelt was disclosing his efforts to write a constitution for Arkansas, Senator Millard E. Tydings was broadcasting a speech in which he quoted the strong denunciation of federal interference in state affairs uttered by Presidents Washington, Jefferson and Tyler, and also by Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was governor of New York.

Eight years ago the federal government was also interfering in state and local affairs. At that time Governor Roosevelt said:

> We in this state (New York) in every city and on every farm, know the high impropriety of interference by the federal government in the purely local affairs of any state, and we are fully conscious of the effective manner in which the people of this great state will at the polls SHOW THEIR RESENTMENT AGAINST SUCH CONDUCT.

In any discussion of "violation of political morality" it is pertinent to inquire how the Governor Roosevelt of 1930 can reconcile the foregoing language with the bitter tirade he delivered against Senator George at Barnesville or even his milder intervention in those other states into which he traveled, not as president of the United States, but as a politician.

The best friends of the president might very well appeal from the Roosevelt of Washington, D. C., to the Roosevelt of Albany, New York.

It is hardly surprising to find that Mr. Harry Hopkins gives us another instance of the "violation of political morality." Senator Shepard's committee to investigate campaign expenditures, after persistent efforts, finally secured a reply from Mr. Hopkins to the charge that relief funds had been used for political purposes in Kentucky in the most "flagrant" manner. Mr. Hopkins was told that in two of the most important counties in the state during the Barkley campaign thousands of workers on WPA rolls had been required to say whether they intended to vote for Senator Barkley or not.

Mr. Hopkins comes back with the lame and impotent statement that he saw "no cause or reason for disciplinary action" against WPA officials in Kentucky who canvassed the political affiliations of relief workers.

He denied that this was an attempt to promote the candidacy of Senator Barkley. He said the canvass was made in Russell and Pulaski counties because of a complaint that "a preponderant number of persons being certified (for relief) were Republicans and that Democrats were being discriminated against."

Mr. Hopkins might as well be invoking the vicious man-eating habits of a sheep. Does any man of sound mind and discretion really believe that the WPA organization in Kentucky was being manipulated, not in the interest of Senator Barkley, but in the interest of the Republican party? It is too childish for words, and certainly raises the question of political morality in its most acute form.

Again, the people of Georgia are under no illusions as to why 53 million dollars of WPA highway money was suddenly tossed into the state on the eve of our primary, when the funds have been available for the last four months.

But the effort to make political capital for the New Deal purge by giving us a little of our own money has had a contrary effect. It has set the people of Georgia to asking why this state has been so grossly discriminated against in the past and is still so far below its rightful quota of federal funds, even with this latest allocation.

We find that up to a few days ago the average per capita amount of federal funds distributed throughout the country was $256 and that Georgia, with only $160 per capita, was thirty-ninth on the list.

The figures show that this state was entitled to not less than 250 million dollars more of federal funds. When we are paid a mere 53 million dollars, we have a right to ask, therefore, in the most peremptory terms what has become of the remaining 193 million dollars of our own money we are entitled to receive.

All these developments in the violation of political morality point the same supreme lesson: The nomination of Senator Walter F. George by a landslide.

Gulfport, Miss. Herald
September 13, 1938

A PORTENTOUS PLAN

What some Southerners think of at this time is what a certain "inner circle" is thinking of, and what probably the President has been thinking of, to-wit: enfranchisement of the Negro in the South.

The President received a large portion of the Negro vote in its division in 1936, and the agitation of a large movement for such enfranchisement makes a tremendous fight ahead more momentous and perilous to the South than any lynch-bill ever proposed — a zephyr compared to a whirlwind. Then, indeed, will there be a fight in the Democratic party the like of which has not been known.

Analyzing the potentialities by referring to some accomplished acts by the party, we may point to the first great loss of sectional power, the majority rule adopted by the presidential convention in place of the long-time two-thirds nominating rule by which Sampson's locks were shorn by those all of whom have not been well-wishers or good friends of this section.

The second was the Democratic support given to the lynch bill which was sponsored in the last Congress by two Northern Democrats in order to hold the Negro vote of the North.

The third is the design and plan of the "inner circle" mentioned to enfranchise the Negro in the South by getting the States to repeal their poll tax laws. If the States cannot be "persuaded" (in the ways that we have seen them persuaded) to repeal the poll tax then some other way, to be dug out of the Constitution or some Reconstruction civil rights statute may be thought of now and expected to be advanced after the elections of 1938. It is said (we do not know) that the President favors repealing of the poll tax as a prerequisite to registration and voting. The suspected plans of the Inner Circle may include some proceeding in every State like that in Texas, in which a Negro sued to enforce his rights to vote in a Democratic primary. Such or similar suits, (to be thought over) probably backed by pressure from high political authority, may be expected in many Southern States. Is the President so committed that he may send a must-message to this Congress?

The fight of Southern Democracy again may have to call for statesmen and a citizenship of spirit and calibre of the Reconstruction period — men proof against flesh pots and pottage.

Is there such a storm brewing, and will this be the bitter fruit of years of sacrifice, loyalty and struggle in the South—this the ripening apple of hope which will turn to ashes on the lips?

The poll taxes in this State go to the common schools. This is not proposed to be diverted, it is believed, but failure to pay it or lose the franchise is to be destroyed.

The matter seems vague, as yet it is seen as a possibility, and some signs indicate that it is a probability. As it becomes clearer, perhaps there are loins to be girded and political quarter-staffs to be taken in hand.

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Gadsden, Ala., Times
September 6, 1938

Democratic Stalwarts Are Going To Survive

BY THE GADSDEN GADABOUT

WHILE the poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion, showing Senator George as likely to win the Georgia senatorial contest on the first ballot, sorter punctures the Gadabout's fascinating vision of a runoff race between George and 'Gene Talmadge, he still thinks it was a corking good concept. That certainly would have been a show worth anybody's money!

Still, there is such a thing as too much even of a good thing and this Georgia senatorial fight has become so tense and interest is whetted to such a keen edge that it will be a relief to a lot of people, inside and outside of Georgia, to have it over with on the first round, as now seems probable.

And, speaking of interest, there rarely has been a campaign in a Southern state that excited more interest outside of the state than has been created by the torid Georgia contest. This gripping interest, with its national spread, is due to the fact that the Georgia election, like that in South Carolina, is most fateful in its relation to the Democratic party. It bears intimately upon the national struggle for control of the party and upon the future of the South.

The fact is widely recognized that if control of the party passes entirely out of the hands of Southerners, who throughout the years have given it most of its devotion and most of its character, revolutionary changes will come about, with some of these changes of enormous importance to the South.

Indeed, what would happen to the South under a Democratic party that was dominated by such persons as Cohen, Cocheran, Ickes, Hopkins, Perkins and the like staggers the imagination. Promising an anti-lynch bill in exchange for negro votes in doubtful Northern states wouldn't be a patch along side of what might and probably would happen.

It is fighting Southerners who have saved the South from the anti-lynch bill, and if through some unhappy fate they should be erased as protectors Southern institutions and traditions it would simply be too bad. But they won't be erased. The spirits of Robert E. Lee, of Stonewall Jackson, of Jefferson Davis, of Alexander Stephens and a host of others are marching on and the Democratic party is going to be saved for continued service to the South and to the nation.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
September 6, 1938

MIXING OF RACES THREATENS SOUTH, SENATOR STATES

TRION, Ga., Sept. 6.—Introduced by G. E. Maddox, of Rome, former chairman of the State Democratic Executive committee, Senator Walter F. George spoke here Monday before a highly responsive audience, his address being punctured by frequent applause.

Mr. Maddox praised the courage and devotion of Senator George and expressed surprise and grief at the stand taken by President Roosevelt at Barnesville.

Senator George said that he was "not the kind of Democrat to support liberal Republicans against one of my own party," and went into a discussion of various issues of the campaign. He paid particular attention to the anti-lynch bill the passage of which had been promised in exchange for negro votes in Northern states.

He said that the anti-lynch bill "was just the beginning" and that if such movements were not checked it ultimately would cause to be wiped out the barriers the South has erected and there would be seen the same indiscriminate mixing of the races, in public schools and elsewhere, that is witnessed in the North.

Maryville, Tenn. Times
September 12, 1938

This Week In Washington

Washington, September 10—A political angle which has been largely overlooked, but which definitely figures in the split between the two wings of the Democratic party has been brought sharply to the front by the primary campaign of Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith of South Carolina. That is the racial issue which the South refers to as the "Negro Problem".

Probably nothing has so aroused the antagonism of Southern Democrats toward the New Deal, not even the invasion of state rights by Washington, as the successful efforts of the national party organization to swing the Negroes of the North away from their traditional allegiance to the Republican party. They have been converted into Democratic voters, and old-line Southern politicians do not like at all the idea of accepting them as political comrades.

"Co[illegible] Ed" in his campaign for reno[illegible]ation made the most of the sloga[illegible] of "White Supremacy," and his opposition to the Federal Anti-Lynching bill in the last Congress. While he has been more vocal in public on the subject than have most other Southern leaders, there is no doubt that the friendliness of the Administration's supporters toward the Negro as a voter, rather than as an object of charity, has much to do with the Anti-New Deal sentiment in the party in the South.

Party Rift Widening

All the reports reaching Washington continue to indicate that the rift in the party is widening. The latest bit of Capital gossip is that the differences in outlook between the President and the Vice-President have reached a point where Mr. Garner may take a public attitude of opposition to the President almost any day, if occasion offers.

If that situation should develop, which it is not likely to until after the November Congressional elections, the anti-Administration group in Congress would be materially strengtehened. Mr. Garner has a very large personal following in both houses of Congress.

If the election result, as expected in a material reduction in the Democratic representation in the House, and an increase in the proportion of anti-Administration Democrats, the nation may easily witness a hand-to-hand struggle for personal control of Congress between the President and the Vice-President of the United States.

Such an open break would not only accentuate the battle for party control in 1940 ,but would have a powerful effect upon legislation by the 76th Congress. The issue between the Administration and its opponents inside the Democratic party is a complicated one, but in the main it is one of expending or contracting government expenditures.

There is little hope or expectation that the Federal budget can be balanced by 1940, so the question becomes one of whether to meet the deficit by further borrowings or by increasing taxes and reducing expenses.

There are political reasons why it is not likely that the income-tax base will be broadened by the next Congress to levy on incomes of "little fellows" who now imagine that they escape taxation because they do not see the toll which the "hidden" or excise taxes take from them.

Agricultural Problems

A plan which government tax experts and economists favor of repealing the manufacturers' excise taxes and substituting income taxes on all incomes above $800 a year may be killed off because the first of such new direct income taxes would be payable just before the Presidential election. While Senator Pat Harrison, chairman of the Finance Committee, and Floor Leader Barkley, have both put forth the suggestion of the broader tax base, commentators here regard it as "bad politics" at this time.

The big headache of the Administration right now is its agricultural program, which is not working out as Secretary Wallace planned it. Nature intervened with bumper crops of wheat, corn and cotton. Farm subsidies this year will run to above a billion dollars. The outlook is that this will be "upped" next year to a billion and a half, or more.

While there is little chance of revival of the processing taxes to pay for farm subsidies, there are farm relief schemes shaping up which may be more expensive than the A.A.A., and which will have strong Congressional support. Among these are cash bonuses for livestock and dairy farmer, government fixing of farm prices and the old domestic allotment plan.

Consideration of methods of financing the export of 100 million bushels of this year's wheat is giving the Agricultural department something to worry about. There is much talk about possible export subsidies for other crops. Government loans on corn and cotton will be fixed around Nov. 1. Cotton is really worrying Secretary Wallace more than any other crop.

With 13 million bales of U. S. cotton overhanging the world market before this year's picking has begun, the problem of helping the cotton growers becomes acute. The prospect is for cotton loans averaging about 8 1-4 cents a pound, depending on grade and staple.

The estimate of this year's farm income is about 7½ billion dollars, including subsidies. That is about 12 percent less than last year, but there is much less distress among the farm population in general.

Stirred by the widespread changes of political activities in and by the W.P.A. and other Federal agencies, the U. S. Civil Service Commission has issued a drastic warning to the 553,000 Federal employees in the classified service against taking any active part in politics, under penalty of dismissal. They risk their jobs if they so much as wear campaign buttons or display political "stickers" on their cars.

ANOTHER SETBACK

THE FIGHT OF NEGRO. Democrats. in the 19th Assembly District to control their own destinies received another setback on Primary Day, Tuesday, when the candidates of Harry C. Perry, white Tammany leader, came out victorious, one by an act of God and the other by the act of man.

The untimely death, just a week before the Primaries, of State Senator Duncan T. O'Brien left opponents of Harry C. Perry without a candidate to oppose his son, Charles Perry, who was given the nomination by a combination of the Democratic leaders of the 13th, 19th and 20th Assembly Districts. O'Brien was denied the renomination because Perry had to take care of his son some way and the best way to do it was at the coffers of the state treasury; Assemblyman Justice was denied the renomination because he had served three terms and was becoming too popular for the good of the district leader.

Also in the field was Dr. L. B. Capehart, leader of the Citizens' Democratic Club, who sought the Assembly nomination in an effort to defeat Perry's choice, Daniel Burrows, heretofore a political unknown. Well, the primaries are over and Burrows, according to unofficial figures, has been nominated having 288 votes more than Dr. Capehart. Justice was a poor third.

According to Dr. Capehart, the fight has just begun, however. He intends to file action for a recount of the ballots in each of the 39 election districts claiming that fraud was openly practiced by the Perry machine. It is also his intention, he said, to go even further by seeking the aid of District Attorney Dewey in criminal prosecutions. Just how successful he will be with either or both of his moves remains to be seen. The important thing is how to defeat or discredit Perry.

For the sake of illustrating our point we shall assume that court action sustains the nomination of Burrows, Perry's candidate. What then? The only logical thing to do is for Justice and Dr. Capehart to combine their forces and either enter as independent candidates in the general election or openly throw their strength behind the candidacy of Dr. Mark E. Rivers, the Republican-American Labor parties candidate for the Assembly. It is the general and accepted practice for all defeated candidates, after the primaries are over, to go back into the fold as regulars and work to help elect the successful candidate. But can either Dr. Capehart on Mr. Justice afford to do this without losing the respect of right-thinking citizens of the district?

Under ordinary circumstances, they would be justified in going back into the fold and becoming "regular" once more. But the issue in this instance should transcend all else. The district wants Negro leadership of the Democratic organization and nothing else will do. The district is entitled to Negro leadership and should have it. This is where Dr. Capehart and Mr. Justice can do the race a great service by continuing the fight they have started. They have, as we said before, two alternatives — to combine forces and enter as independents or else come out for the Republican-American Labor candidate. Whichever way they select would succeed for it would so divide the vote that Burrows would be defeated and a defeat for Burrows would mean the defeat of his sponsor, Harry C. Perry, and a victory for the race.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 11, 1938

Mr. Roosevelt's Popularity

It is possibly no exaggeration to say that without a disproportionate part of the relief vote, including Northern negroes, Mr. Roosevelt's chance of gaining another electoral victory would be slim indeed, says the Springfield (Mass.) Union.

"Much of his popularity is among those who in one way or another are beneficiaries of government largess, and Relief Administrator Hopkins knew what he was talking about when he said that WPA is 90 per cent. New Deal.

"Add the fact that President Roosevelt and his administration have shown no qualms about using these vast funds to further their political ambition, which is to perpetuate his regime, and it may explain suggestions appearing in the People's Forum that persons on relief should not be allowed to vote."

Mr. Roosevelt's popularity is mainly among persons who in one way or another benefit from the extravagant spending he has espoused. If the spending should be halted abruptly, Mr. Roosevelt's political following would dwindle rapidly.

There is no question that beneficiaries of his administration vote for continuance of policies which imperil the wealth of the nation and imperil the liberty of the people. It is unfortunate for the morale of the country that so many persons look to government for their support when government should be looking to all its citizens for its support.

It is profitless to remind that Mr. Roosevelt has been spending notwithstanding his solemn promises to the American people that he would insist upon economy in the federal government. Mr. Roosevelt's experiments have put upon the American people a burden far greater than that imposed by the Hoover regime. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt bitterly denounced the Hoover regime for its extravagance.

Mr. Roosevelt's seeming popularity is maintained at the expense of the people's morale. Not the business and industrial leaders, but the spenders of the people's funds are the tyrants however benevolent and protective they say they are.

AT THE DEMOCRATIC HEADQUARTERS

The Democratic headquarters at Tenth and Olive streets offers an interesting study in human affairs. Someone has said that the activities which are seen there, remind one of the proverbial "beehive."

But the most interesting thing of all to the writer was the evidence of the work which was being done there by the colored people under the leadership of Dr. Oral S. McClellan. The set-up carried the impression of coordination among both white and colored workers, laboring for a common cause. Then, too, there was a spirit of cooperation among party leaders. Any factional difference which might have previously shown itself was conspicuous by its absence. The relations of the Priest forces and the Dickmann forces which were strained during the recent primary seem to have healed, and as the expression goes, "everything is hitting on all six."

Another thing which was noticeable was the fact that more Negro candidates than ever before are on the Democratic ticket, and as Dr. McClellan well said: "The presence of the names of these Negro candidates on the Democratic ticket has given added zest to the campaign."

With these elements coordinating as they are, a Democratic victory in St. Louis and in the county seems inevitable.

Political – 1938
Party Affiliation

Democratic.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
August 21, 1938

If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.—I John 1:9.

* * * * * * * * * * *

To err is human; to forgive, divine.—Pope.

MOVE TO CRUCIFY SOUTHERNERS TO PLEASE NEGRO POLITICIANS

THE SOUTH is now being called upon to face the "pay off" on some unsavory political bargains made during the last national campaign and it is time to deal with the facts as they actually exist, however unpleasant the facts may be.

The facts are these.

In the most recent national campaign a deal was made by certain Northern Democrats—or persons calling themselves Democrats—under which more than a million negro voters were brought into the Democratic party and they were a tremendous factor in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

How these negroes, who were and are Republicans, were induced to vote the Democratic ticket forms the crux of the political situation as it exists today.

They were bought with a promise that the infamous anti-lynch bill would be passed. Thus the South was betrayed for negro votes in the North.

Fortunately, however, those making the odorous deal were unable to deliver. Because of the courageous and unfaltering opposition of a group of Southern patriots the scheme was defeated.

Naturally this has enraged the negro politicians in the North and those who promised them an anti-lynch bill and could not deliver it, are faced with the necessity of doing something about it. They must satisfy these negroes or they will go back to the Republican party.

Now what it is proposed to do is to crucify those Southerners who dared to vote against the anti-lynch bill and thereby defeated the promised "pay-off."

These Southern Democrats who voted against the anti-lynch bill and thereby incurred the wrath of the negro politicians of the North, are to be sacrificed to provide a Roman holiday in Harlem and in the negro sections of Chicago, Pittsburgh and other Northern centers. Southerners who dared to do duty are to be tossed to these negroes even as Nero tossed Christians to the lions to gratify the lust of hose who hated the religion for which they stood.

This is the situation and it is up to Southerners themselves to say whether the sacrifices shall be made. They have it in their power not only to prevent the sacrifice but to administer a deserved rebuke to those who made the unsavory deal in the first place.

And in considering the situation, Southerners might well recall that the type of negro politicians with whom this deal was made and in whose behalf the sacrifices are proposed, are an entirely different breed from the well-behaved, courteous and friendly negroes who constitute the great majority in the South.

For the most part, these Northern negro politicians are a crowd of smart alecks who hate the South and who would be glad to see a restoration of reconstruction conditions in this section. Their primary interest is not in stopping lynchings but in heaping humiliation upon the South.

That's the crowd that's trying to run the Democratic party in the North and it is up to the South to tell them in no uncertain language that they can't run the Democratic party in this quarter.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
August 14, 1938

THE CHALLENGE

Senator Walter F. George told President Franklin D. Roosevelt, at Barnesville last Thursday, "I accept the challenge." It was immediately following that astounding speech in which the President of the United States attempted to "purge" the senior Georgia senator out of congress, by asking the people of this state to vote, instead for the "100 per cent New Deal candidate," Lawrence S. Camp.

Senator George placed the correct designation upon the President's words when he labeled them a "challenge."

They were a challenge to Senator George. But they were more than that.

They were a challenge to the Democratic voters of Georgia.

They were a challenge to freedom of suffrage.

They were a challenge to the structure of the American form of government.

They were a challenge to the democracy upon which this nation was founded and upon which it has grown great.

* * * * *

Senator George has disagreed with some details of the policies sponsored by the President and his advisers. He was joined, in those disagreements, by many Democrats, both in and out of congress.

He voted against the bill to pack the supreme court of the United States. That bill was defeated.

He voted against the bill to give the President full powers to reorganize the departments of federal government as he saw fit. That bill, too, was defeated.

He voted against the politically inspired and vicious anti-lynching bill. That bill, likewise, went down to defeat.

For these oppositions the President, at Barnesville, told Georgia that he and the senior senator "do not speak the same language."

By the same token, the President and all those others in the senate, sufficient in number to defeat these three measures, "do not speak the same language."

And all those Americans who disapproved those measures, likewise "do not speak the same language."

* * * * *

In the court-packing bill and the reorganization bill the President sought to increase the power of his own, the executive branch of government, at the expense of the judiciary and the legislative.

He sought to create a situation whereby he could place upon the bench of the United States supreme court men who would interpret the constitution to fit his own desires.

He sought to place all the governmental departments and bureaus in a position where they would be under his control, instead of that of the congress.

Now, by his attempted "purge" of those senators and congressmen who will not, on all occasions and under every circumstance, submit to his dictation, he attempts to gain complete control of the legislative branch.

* * * * *

"It is important that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers

of one department to encroach upon another."

The quoted paragraph is from the farewell address of George Washington, delivered in September, 1796. An address which set forth the fundamental principles of America and stated in plain terms the conditions for safety for the foundations of the government. An address which is as true, and as applicable today, as it was 142 years ago. Washington further said:

"The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. . . .

". . . let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield."

* * * * *

The words of Washington are particularly applicable to the situation created by President Roosevelt in Georgia, because the most sacred fundamentals of American government are today endangered.

The President has asked for blind commitment of the nation's fate into his hands. He has, in effect, declared that those who do not give 100 per cent faith to his leadership are enemies of the nation and not fit to represent the people.

He has asked the people to yield to him all their prerogative of independent suffrage, by voting under his direction for representatives who are pledged to blind, unswerving obedience to his command.

He seeks, not only a subservient judiciary, but a subservient legislative branch, both bowing to the will of the executive. In the words of Washington, "thus to create . . . a real despotism."

Any government which depends upon the dreams and aspirations of one man alone is no longer a democracy. It is, no matter how noble that man's dreams and aspirations may be, a despotism. And such a rule is no less repugnant to the American system because it is a "smiling despotism."

Thus the challenge flung at Barnesville is not merely a challenge to one man. It is a challenge to the most sacred tenets of America's political faith.

Once again, as many times long past, this state of Georgia becomes a political battleground to decide the fate of the nation.

The issue is plain.

Georgians have been challenged to decide whether they shall retain their independence as voters, or whether they shall wait, before they cast their ballots, for instructions from Washington.

In so deciding, they will likewise make plain whether they wish to be represented by a senator who follows his conscience and his belief in American democracy, or by a senator who abandons his freedom of opinion as he enters the doors of the national capitol.

* * * * *

Senator George has accepted that challenge. So, today, has every true Democrat of the state.

The answer to the challenge will be written at the primary polls on September 14.

Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
August 25, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS

We were talking with one of the workers for one of the candidates who is opposing Senator Ed Smith for reelection the other day. He said: "If what Smith said about negroes in the Democratic convention is true, Mr. Brown would have walked out of the convention sooner than did Cotton Ed."

We told him that we did not have to take Senator Smith's word for it. Did you readers, or any of you, in 1936, see movie news reels of the Democratic and Republican conventions? We did, and at the time we noted that at the Democratic convention hall at Philadelphia was checkboarded with negroes—they were not segregated but mixed about the whole crowd. At the Republican convention they were separated into a group and were not mixed in the crowd.

Then, take the words of Senator James F. Byrnes at the last session of congress: "The people of the South had just as well know now, that the Democratic party is controlled by the negroes of the north."—The Keowee Courier.

Montgomery, W. Va. News
August 26, 1938

Negro Democrats To Meet Saturday at County Seat

The Negro Democratic Executive Committee of Fayette County will hold its regular monthly meeting Saturday, August 27th, at one o'clock in the county courtroom at Fayetteville.

All district committeemen and officers are especially urged to be present and report on the political situation as it affects the voters in their respective districts. It is expected that several Democratic candidates will put in their appearance before the committee in order to outline their policies and plans for the November election. It has been reported that representation from the state committee will be on hand with several resolutions condemning certain practices of discrimination in various parts of the state.

All registered democrats are urged to attend, it was stated by Tom Cosby, chairman, and John Holmes, assistant secretary.

Political – 1938
Party Affiliation

Democratic.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
August 13, 1938

George May Be Better Southerner Than His Distinguished Critic

BETHANY, BEACH, Del., Aug 13—"And Joab said to Amasa, art thou in health, my brother? And Joab took Amasa by the beard with the right hand to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab's hand: so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib and shed out his bowels to the ground." This happened before a crowd in a great political contest 3000 years ago because Joab, who was captain of the hosts, didn't like Amasa's "co-operation."

Gen. Johnson

Senator, (God-bless-you-Walter—Let's-always-be friends) George of Georgia got his in the fifth rib, from the captain of the hosts before all the people, too, because he hadn't always voted for or didn't "really in his heart" believe in the captain's objectives. "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, oh Lord."

Senator George voted for all Mr. Wallace or Mr. Hopkins ever requested—for NRA, TVA, SEC and the Wagner Act. The President says he is a "gentleman and a scholar." Yet the suggestion is that he didn't "really in his heart" believe.

What outward evidence supports this searching of human hearts? Only that Senator George didn't vote for the Court-Packing and Federal Reorganization by Presidential fiat, or the Wages-and-Hours Bill.

* * *

Has Lots of Company

STATED another way, the senator was a good first New Dealer but not so hot for the third New Deal. He went along with the Democratic platform of 1932 but not with the astonishing sequence of radical, semi-red, surprise proposals which appeared in rapid succession after the second inauguration—and had not been mentioned before. If that is the senator's attitude he has lots of company among ardent Rooseveltians of '32 and '36—including this writer.

The sharpest difference between the first and third New Deal is that the first proposed to reach its objectives without changing our form of Government and the third (after the 1936 elections) proposed to take it apart and put it together again.

The build-up for the southern purge is that the South must be rescued and that this requires senators whose constituents are "directly concerned with southern economics and southern social needs. Senators and congressmen who are not whole-heartedly in sympathy with those needs" are to be purged.

"Old friend" Walter George seems not to have constituents concerned with, and he himself is not in sympathy with, "southern needs." And this from a carpet-bagger—Warm Springs notwithstanding! Boiled down, it amounts to this: God bless you, Walter. You vote insincerely and are not representing your state or the South. We know this—not because you didn't vote their interest whenever you could—but because you voted not to puppeteer the Supreme Court and turn the executive branch into a personally conducted oligarchy.

* * *

Hopkins Move Belated

GENERALLY the South regards the Wages-and-Hours bill without differentials as anti-southern. Voting against that, but for NRA which applied differentials to Wage-Hour provisions, this sincere and able Georgian has supported every important New Deal economic proposal and every measure for the South.

In the tragic era of reconstruction, a law was passed intended to impose Negro supremacy on the South. When that black period ended, it fell into disuse until it was revived by this Administration in the Harlan County mistrial. Southern democracy was reunited to the northern branch through the 2-3 rule for nomination of a presidential candidate to protect the South from exploitation by northern political associates. This Administration has killed that. The Anti-Lynching Bill was an attempt to democratize the northern Negro vote. Mr. Hopkins' belated sudden election-year concern to scale down wage differentials and increase southern WPA handouts and other less conspicuous moves look forward to southern Negro Democratic majorities. It is a difficult and delicate subject—but maybe the senator is a better Georgian and southerner than his distinguished critic.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
August 18, 1938

George, of Georgia—By Heywood Broun

IT HAS BEEN said by some that Roosevelt's opposition to George, of Georgia is a spite fight and that the senator is actually a liberal. Washington commentators identify him as a conservative, but maintain that he went a long way with the New Deal and kicked over the traces only in the Supreme Court fight and the Reorganization measure. This overlooks his opposition to the Wages and Hours bill, which is rather more pertinent at the moment. But the true reason for the effort to unseat George goes deeper than his record on recent legislation. As a matter of fact, it is a test which should be welcomed by both conservatives and progressives, for the issue between the old and new dispensations has seldom been so sharply drawn.

There is nothing hypocritical in Mr. Roosevelt's expressing a personal warmth for Senator George and at the same time seeking to ease him out of the Democratic side of the Senate. For that matter, the gentleman from Vienna, Ga., has always expressed a profound feeling of regard for Roosevelt.

It is not the integrity of George which is under attack, but his political philosophy. He illustrates the tragic fact that the south is solid and that representatives are chosen not in elections but in primaries. Walter Franklin George sees the economic issues of the day from almost the same point of view as Herbert Hoover. But since he lives in Georgia, he functions as a Democrat. Just now the senator is under pressure, and his first public address at Waycross was admitted and by design a deeply emotional expression. What, then, was the spirit and substance of George's oration to the Georgians?

It was throughout a sectional appeal based upon every prejudice and passion of the old south. It was an attempt to turn back the clock to the days before the war and a sentimental plea to the voters to pretend that no economic changes have occurred in the last seventy years.

"I was born in a Democratic family. I am no part-time Democrat. And I never scratched the pary's ticket from constable to President—never."

In other words, Senator George is a hardshell traditionalist. He spoke of John L. Lewis, and you do not need to be told that he referred to "his Communistic following." You hardly need to read the address to guess that Senator George, of the Georgian Georges, let his tongue rasp as he mentioned the name of Benjamin Cohen. And, of course, he called him "Benny."

"I stand with those like Samuel Gompers and William Green," he declared. Mr Gompers has been dead these many years and William Green is the president of the American Federation of Labor. He spoke of white supremacy and state rights. Throwing his head forward so that a lock of hair shot back and forth across his brow like a whipcracker, he paused and said "I wear as a shining emblem the condemnation I have received from James Ford, the negro vice presidential nominee of the Communist party." And Senator George decorated himself again by adding "Another badge I proudly wear is the condemnation of Oliver, of Labor's Nonpartisan League."

But the shrieks and rebel yells came when Senator George told his listeners of the courage of their forebears who had fought the carpetbaggers for the right to a white and honest ballot. "I wouldn't vote for a bill which would permit the attorney general of the United States to send a Connecticut judge down here into the state of Georgia to try you under an anti-lynching law. That bill would have been carpet-baggery and caused riot." And, rasing his hands to high heaven, Walter Franklin George, of Vienna, Ga., declared, "I am persuaded that this generation of white Democrats will not let Democracy down in our beloved state."

Senator George is not a progressive. He is asking Georgia to vote that there wasn't any Appomattox, that this is the year 1850 or 1840 and that the workers are happily strumming their banjos in their little cabins and asking God to bless good old Massah George in his big white house upon the hill.

If any millworker or field hand asks for bread Senator George may feel constrained to refuse, but he will do the next best thing. At the drop of a hat or the standard of living he will sing "Dixie."—(c1938.)

Birmingham, Ala. Post-Herald News
August 21, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS

We were talking with one of the workers for one of the candidates who is opposing Senator Ed Smith for reelection the other day. He said: "If what Smith said about negroes in the Democratic convention is true, Mr. Brown would have walked out of the convention sooner than did Cotton Ed."

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Then, take the words of Senator James F. Byrnes at the last session of congress: "The people of the South had just as well know now, that the Democratic party is controlled by the negroes of the north."—The Keowee Courier.

Macon Ga. Telegraph
August 26, 1938

Watching the Plot Unfold

The pattern of the New Deal conspiracy to destroy the Democratic party and particularly the Democracy of the South unfolds itself with startling uniformity and persistence day by day.

More than a month ago this newspaper, on the basis of information from Washington which seemed to be authentic, sounded a warning that the little group of left-wing advisers who are shaping the New Deal strategy were determined to wipe out the traditional Democracy of this section with the ultimate purpose of delivering the government into the hands of un-American conspirators.

An outstanding feature of this program, as we then indicated, was that the New Deal plotters intended to exploit the Negro vote and revive that reconstruction era of "black heels on white necks."

Although the cloud is not larger than a man's hand, there is a world of significance in the fact that a former college professor, Walter G. Cornett, although listed as a member of the Republican state executive committee, has written a letter to H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee at Athens, in which he said he had been "requested by certain Negroes to get a ruling as to their qualification to vote in the Democratic primary."

Although this letter purports to come from a Republican, the writer added that the unnamed Negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator."

Just why an enrolled Republican should be so solicitous as to the rights of Negroes to vote for Lawrence Camp in a Democratic primary we do not pretend to explain or understand. But at all events we have here an outward and visible sign of the strategy which lay behind the anti-lynching bill, which Senator George fought to a standstill.

It has already been explained that lynching is practically the only crime which is on the decline in this country. There were only eight lynchings in the United States last year.

Moreover, the original anti-lynching bill was amended so as to exempt from its provision that form of lynching which is most frequent in the North, namely, murders committed by racketeers and those incident to mob violence in labor troubles.

If the framers of this bill were sincerely interested in the suppression of lynching they would have drawn it so as to cover Northern lynchings as well as Southern lynchings. In fact, as Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi describes it, it is simply "a "poisoned dagger aimed at the heart of the South."

This bill was sponsored in the senate by Robert F. Wagner, the Hessian immigrant who also drafted the national labor relations act which Roosevelt and William Green now say must be modified.

In advocating the anti-lynching bill Wagner was courting the thousands of Negro votes in Harlem and Joe Guffey of Pennsylvania was seeking to hold in line the Negro vote of his state which he had recently brought into the New Deal.

The anti-lynching bill and other appeals to the Negro have been so effective that, as already shown in these columns, James Ford, the Negro candidate for the vice-presidency on the Communist ticket, boldly predicts that a Negro will be sent [illegible]on-gress from the Twenty-first [illegible]t of New York.

If the left-wing conspira[illegible] Washington are successful i[illegible] purge, the anti-lynching bill u[illegible]tionably will be passed at the next session of congress and a 10-thousand-dollar premium will be placed on murder in every county in the South.

Other information from Washington is to the effect that Mr. Roosevelt is angrily determined that the court-packing bill and the bill which would empower him "to abolish the presidency" would also be introduced in congress and supported with all the power and influence of the federal government.

We have said that this effort to break down the Democratic white primary in Georgia is, thus far, a cloud no larger than a man's hand. Such also, only a few months ago, was the cloud which afterwards darkened the heavens as the New Deal purge, under which Mr. Roosevelt claims the right to tell the voters in a sovereign state how they shall cast their ballot.

Even as great Caesar three times thrust aside a kingly crown, Mr. Roosevelt on three separate occasions made the emphatic statement that he would not interfere in state or local elections, in any circumstances whatever, except in his own town and county. On the third occasion he was so angry in his resentment of the very imputation that he said it was the "thousandth time" he had gone on record to the effect that he had not interfered and would not interfere.

The next thing we knew this cloud had become far larger than a man's hand. In his notorious fireside chat, Mr. Roosevelt made the amazing statement that, as president of the United States, he had no right to interfere and would not do so, but as head of "my party," he had "every right" to intervene in primary elections.

This Jekyll-and-Hyde performance was swiftly followed by his barnstorming tour of the country in which he set the purge in motion.

In Kentucky he appeared to have set up the standard of experience as the basis of his support when he said that "Happy" Candler had made a good governor, but would be the first to admit that "as a very junior senator" it would be "many, many years" before he had the experience and influence which Senator Barkley had acquired. Moreover, he was merely appealing for the re-election of an incumbent senator.

At Warm Springs and with bitter rancor at Barnesville he threw off the mask entirely and demanded the defeat of an incumbent senator who, moreover, had five years more experience than the man he endorsed in Kentucky on the basis of experience.

Is any Georgia Democrat so blind as not to see the signs of the times? "Just a little further, Simon." Forecasts that the left-wing advisers would mobilize all the subversive elements to carry out their plot have been abundantly confirmed by the Communist endorsement of Roosevelt and Camp and by testimony before the Dies committee that it is the purpose of the radicals to destroy the Democratic party by "boring from within."

The eyes of the American people are concentrated on Georgia. The ablest of metropolitan newspaper correspondents have been sent into this state to observe and report the history-making developments of this hour. The candidacy of Senator George is no longer a political candidacy. He is the sign and symbol of that true Democracy established by the founding fathers and his defeat—happily becoming less possible every day—would mean the destruction of the very pillars of this republic.

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Rome, Ga News Tribune
August 23, 1938

SOUTH MUST SAVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FROM OPPORTUNISTS IN THE RANKS

IF THE Democratic Party is to be saved as a useful organization to Americans of all classes it is up to the South to act as savior and it imposes a tremendous responsibility.

Unfortunately, a situation has arisen under which immense power and authority within the Democratic Party has been achieved by persons who are steeped in none of the old loyalties and none of the old traditions that have made the party great.

In many instances opportunists are at the helm, guided by the desire to win rather than by the imperishable principles that have guided the party in the past.

It was this lust for victory rather than devotion to principle that caused these misguided party leaders to make their infamous trade with negro Republican politicians in the North under which the negroes were to vote the Democratic ticket in exchange for an anti-lynch bill.

That unholy alliance won votes but it was at an enormous sacrifice of principle and further sacrifices of a hideous nature will be made unless Southern Democrats, men and women who are Democrats through principle, arise in their might and stop it.

The same negro politicians in the North who sold their votes for promises of an anti-lynch bill, are now demanding that Southern statesmen who dared to oppose their wishes, shall be slaughtered at the polls and that men shall take their place who will be amenable to their demands.

The insolence of the suggestion should stir the wrath of every Southerner and this wrath should find expression in a grim determination to lift the Democratic Party above the frousy business of making shady deals with black politicians who are not Democrats and who will never be Democrats.

The party must be saved from those who would engage in such practices and the job of saving it is up to Southern Democrats—the great army of loyal men and women who are Democrats in reality and not merely in name.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
August 18, 1938

Shaping His One-Man Rule

Mr. Roosevelt's berserker rage against all who oppose his one-man rule flamed out again at his Tuesday press conference, this time against Senator Millard F. Tydings of Maryland and Representative John J. O'Connor of the Sixteenth (New York) congressional district, who is chairman of the powerful rules committee of the house.

Less polite than the "gentleman and scholar" who spoke at Waycross on Monday, Mr O'Connor intimated that Mr. Roosevelt had better confine his efforts to his own congressional district, which has sent the Republican, Hamilton Fish, to congress for twenty years, instead of telling the people of New York city, or anywhere else, how they ought to vote.

It will probably occur to the voters elsewhere throughout the United States that a man whose own friends and neighbors, knowing him best, refuse to support him with a vote in congress, is hardly the man whose dictation should be accepted in sections where people have only a "part-time" acquaintance with the man and his "part-time" Democracy

But there were other incidents in that Tuesday press conference which make it one of the most notable occasions of the year.

When asked what had been the public reaction to his Barnesville speech he said he probably had not received more than 15 communications, for or against his attack upon Senator George.

His own explanation was that the weather was probably too hot for people to put their thoughts down on paper.

But the weather was not too hot for the people of Georgia to shower Senator George with more than 4 thousand communications within the first few hours after the Barnesville speech, and as the political weather gets still hotter these communications will increase in number.

The most amazing feature of the press conference was Mr. Roosevelt's flat admission that his plan to pack the supreme court of the United States WAS NOT A PART of the Democratic platform.

An Associated Press telegram in Wednesday's Telegraph, in describing the press conference, says:

> A reporter asked whether in the case of Tydings, O'Connor and Senator George (D., Ga.) who also is on the "purge list," the presidential disfavor was due to the fact that these men opposed his bill to reorganize the supreme court.
>
> His reply was a vigorous negative, with an added statement that he did not expect this denial to end the publication of assertions to that effect. THE COURT PLAN, he said, WAS NOT A PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, and was not an issue today, since 98 per cent of its objectives had been obtained.

Here we have, in the most explicit terms an admission that the personal wishes of Mr Roosevelt rise superior, in his estimation, to anything in the platform on which he seeks office. In the 1932 platform he was pledged to reduce the expenses of government by at least 25 per cent and abolish many of the bureaus and agencies already set up. Instead, he has doubled even the ordinary expenses of the government and has practically doubled the number of agencies in the executive department of the government.

He pledged himself to preserve a "sound currency at all hazards," and then he devalued the dollar, on the advice of a dairy specialist.

What was the position of the Democratic party on reorganization of the supreme court in 1936?

There had been rumors that Mr. Roosevelt would seek the power to pack the supreme court. The country was alarmed at this radical suggestion. Just how certain would have been Mr. Roosevelt's renomination and re-election if these rumors had not been quieted we do not know. We have every reason to assume, however, that he would have been supported far less enthusiastically if the great body of the people had not been assured through the Democratic platform that Mr. Roosevelt would not try to pack the court.

The platform committee of the Democratic national convention at Philadelphia, of which Senator George was a member, labored long in trying to draft a plank which would assure liberal legislation without doing violence to the constitution or the courts and this is the plank that finally was drafted:

> If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendments as will assure to the legislatures of the several states and the congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the state

and federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the constitution.

Mr. Roosevelt was again nominated and elected on the basis of this pledge.

And yet in the first year of his second term he began his assault on the constitution by demanding the power to pack the supreme court.

Can any fair-minded man doubt or deny that the effort to pack the supreme court was the overshadowing issue in congress and throughout the country in the spring and summer of 1937?

Is it not a fact that such legislation as was specifically promised in the platform of 1936 was held up for months while men like Senator George battled the court-packing monstrosity? Is it not true that the intensity of this fight, in the midst of a Washington summer, claimed the life of Majority Leader Joseph T. Robinson?

Is it not a fact that the time spent in fighting this bill and the Brownlow bill, which gave Mr. Roosevelt the power to "abolish the presidency," was in part responsible for failure to work out a scientific crop-control measure and the hasty adoption of the hodge-podge which today is penalizing the growers of cotton and tobacco in Georgia?

And now Mr. Roosevelt calmly admits that "THE COURT PLAN WAS NOT A PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM."

No, it was just a part of his personal plan, under his system of one-man rule, and as president he had been specifically committed against it under the pledges to take "clarifying amendments" to the people.

Again, if it be admitted that the court-packing bill was not a part of the platform, what is the excuse for the "purge"? Is it not clear that Senator George, for example, has not opposed the president on any major issue except court-packing, wages and hours, reorganization of government and the anti-lynching bill.

Mr. Roosevelt says he has won 98 per cent of his objectives as to court-packing and the wage-and-hour bill is the law of the land.

Are we to understand that the present purge is merely a prelude to the anti-lynching bill? As Dr. Eugene A. Murphey of Augusta said in his radio speech Tuesday night, there is no need to ask if Lawrence Camp is committed to it. He not only has received the blessing of the Communist party, which nominated the Negro, James Ford, for the vice-presidency, but he has pledged himself to support anything the president wants, and that includes the measure by which the New Deal hopes to strike down Southern Democracy through exploitation of the Negro vote. It fits in with the sending to Georgia of Dr. Clark Foreman, in whose "interracial relations" office at Washington white and Negro girls work side by side.

At all events, Mr. Roosevelt has cleared the atmosphere. He admits that in 1937 he made a paramount issue of something which was not in the Democratic platform, but loomed large in his platform of one-man rule.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 25, 1938

White Primary in Danger

It behooves every Georgian, before they go to the polls on September 14 to nominate a United States senator, to weigh in their minds and be certain that they comprehend the full implication and significance of the warning which Senator Walter F. George gave them in his address at Thomson yesterday.

Senator George said that the passage of the anti-lynching bill by congress would be the forerunner of a civil liberties bill which would vitally affect the suffrage of every Southern man and woman.

The senator did not say so in plain words, but what he meant, we are quite certain, was that the next step after the passage of the anti-lynching bill would be the enactment of some kind of measure TO KILL THE DEMOCRATIC WHITE PRIMARY IN THE SOUTH.

What Senator George meant was that if the Communist Party and its political child, Labor's Non-Partisan League, and Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, are successful in "purging" the Democratic Party of a few stalwart Southern Democratic congressmen, that it will only be another step to destroy the Democratic white primary in Georgia and other Southern states.

That, fellow Georgians, is no fable; it is a fact.

Only through the courage and tenacity of a small group of Southern Democrats was the vicious, vote-getting anti-lynching bill defeated at the last session of congress. Senator George and Senator Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina were among this group which blocked its passage. That is why Walter White, the Communist Party, the C.I.O. and other radical factions have called for their defeat.

If these Southern Democrats are removed from public life, the iniquitous anti-lynching bill will be passed. Walter White knows this. E. L. Oliver, head of Labor's Non-Partisan League knows this. The Communist Party knows this. These same enemies of the South know that if the anti-lynching bill can be enacted into law, it will be just as easy to obtain the passage of some kind of civil liberties measure which would forever destroy the Democratic white primary which is the very bulwark of Southern Democracy.

If there are those who vote in Georgia and South Carolina who are too young to know of the mighty struggle of their forbears for political independence and an unsullied ballot box, they should be told by those who are acquainted with the dark period in Southern history when the shadow of the federal bayonet hung over our ballot boxes. All others of us should review the bloody history of the post-War Between the States period.

Too long have we taken the Democratic white primary for granted. If true Southern Democrats like Senator George are removed from political life, the future of the white primary is in grave danger. This is not a fabulous campaign issue. It is a real threat, one which cannot be met by apathy on the part of Georgians.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
August 26, 1938

What Confronts You

From The Columbia State's report of the meeting in Newberry last Wednesday:

"Governor Johnston, moving up a notch in his charge that Senator Smith was disloyal to the Democratic party, declared that 'Tieless Joe' Tolbert, South Carolina Republican leader, was actively campaigning for the veteran senator."

Were we running for senator and convinced that the Democratic primary had come under the influence of the Republican party or of Labor's Non-Partisan League (a white-negro political organization) that might provide us a sufficient excuse and pretext to repudiate the result of the primary and appeal to the general election. The Democratic primary would have ceased to be a Democratic primary.

President Roosevelt holds that Senator Pope would be justified in running as an independent in Idaho because Republicans voted in the Democratic primary—although in the Idaho primary the votes cast for governor were 3,000 more than were cast for senator.

Governor Johnston who was given a ride by President Roosevelt from Gainesville, Ga., to Greenville, is the only South Carolina candidate with whom the president has conferred during the campaign.

The News and Courier does not say that Governor Johnston expects to appeal to the general election if defeated, it carefully refrains from saying it.

Nevertheless it is fair to inquire why Mr. Johnston is harping on Republican party interference in South Carolina and "Joe Tolbert" at the moment that President Roosevelt is advising a defeated 100 per center to repudiate the verdict of his party primary and run as an independent.

Of this The News and Courier has no doubt: President Roosevelt, Secretary Ickes, most of the president's advisers in Washington, the whole Northern Democratic outfit in congress, wish the white man's primary broken up in the South, particularly in South Carolina and Georgia.

They are looking for men to break it up, however we do not say that they have found their man in Johnston.

If this were not so, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ickes and the rest would deny it. Mr. Roosevelt would have stated in Greenville his position on the anti-lynching bill, as requested by Greenville's mayor, instead of stabbing at Smith from under his coat as he was running away on the train.

In the last election less than 1,500 Republican votes were cast in South Carolina, yet Candidate Johnston, 100 per center, is harping on "Republican" help for Smith. Tolbert stoutly denies that he is for Smith or any other Democrat and says, dolefully, "But the Democrats are taking the negroes away from us."

The News and Courier does not like to say it, but the fact is that an independent New Deal candidate would get the great majority of the South Carolina negro vote in November. Tolbert is right about that. As Senator Byrnes says, "Negroes control the Democratic party."

The white Democratic party in South Carolina is in grave peril.

Both national parties, Democratic and Republican, are trying to break it up. The Roosevelt administration is out for the destruction of state rights.

Even that poor old Southern politician, Sheppard of Texas, was declaring yesterday for a constitutional amendment regulating primaries for federal offices—and if we had it we would have a "force bill."

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

NEGRO ISSUE RAISED IN SOUTH AT 'PURGE'

Old-Line Southerners Tell Voters New Deal Threatens White Supremacy

POINT TO RECONSTRUCTION

Argument Aids Senator Smith in South Carolina and It Is Used Also in Georgia

By TURNER CATLEDGE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 22.—The most provocative of all the bloody-shirt issues ever to trouble the South, the Negro question, is being raised deliberately as a chief defense of old-line Southerners against the current New Deal drive to "purge" their champions from the high councils of the Democratic party.

This is true in South Carolina, where the veteran Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith has been marked for elimination from the Senate; in Georgia, where President Roosevelt has interceded personally against the renomination of the scholarly Senator Walter F. George, and in various Southern Congressional districts—even in campaigns for State and minor offices—into which the Washington purge campaign has extended. Here, in the old Confederacy, racial prejudice is being raised with the aid of many who had hoped and thought it was dying; and with an effectiveness not apparent since the heyday of the Ku Klux Klan.

The candidates themselves, are using it, shouting from the housetops that the purge is actuality and design an attack on white supremacy. Campaign organizations are working overtime pumping out propaganda about it. This ranges all the way from printed statements condemning the receent anti-lynching bill to whispered instructions as to where those interested might find pictures of prominent New Dealers associating with Negroes.

Trend in North a Factor

This type of campaign is calculated most of all to break the hold of the Washington Administration where its influence is greatest, among the factory workers and tenant farmers—the (wool hat boys) as they are called here. These are the people who come nearest to economic competition with the Negro. A specific objective of the move is to spike the efforts of John L. Lewis's Committee for Industrial Organization at organizing the cotton mill operatives and other industrial workers in this part of the country. This latter also is largely political as of the present moment.

The political trends of the last few years have lent themselves readily to this sort of campaign in the South. The awakening of the Negro as a voting class in the North; the virtually wholesale transfer of this class from the Republican to the Democratic party; the evident catering of many Northern Democrats to the Negro vote, as expressed in such things as the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill in Washington and the anti-segregation laws in Pennsylvania—all these things are to Cotton Ed Smith what an actual battle would be to the painter of war pictures.

And how this old artist can paint the picture—in bright and challenging colors against the background of the tragic era of Reconstruction and the continuing fact that the Negro comprises such a substantial portion of the South's population.

It is the above group of developments which, among others, has made this passionate racial issue susceptible to reawakening in the South. Although it has been here since emancipation and will be here as long as the present color ratio within the population continues, it took these things, together with the "purge," to arouse it from a slumber into which it apparently had sunken with the better elements of the South. What awakens it now is not the old demagogic preachments which these people have heard for all these years, but the fact that events outside of the South lend themselves to the conclusion that the Negro and his political friends of the North have designs on the Democratic party in the South.

These circumstances have done more to push Senator Smith to the top place which South Carolina observers give him in the Senate primary race than perhaps anything else. It has been his chief weapon in mitigating the effect of President Roosevelt's known opposition to him. It has enabled him to challenge the hundred-per-cent-ism of his opponents, Governor Olin D. Johnston and Edgar Brown, either of whom the Washington administration would dearly love to see defeat him.

The Senator has called upon them to declare themselves on the Anti-Lynching Bill, and then to try to reconcile it with full-fledged New Dealishness. Although the President never took an open stand himself on the measure, the veteran campaigner apparently has made it stick with his constituents that the inside managers of the "purge" are for it.

Senator Ignores the Attack

The only reply of his opponents is the suggestion, gathered from records of some proceedings in the South Carolina Legislature nearly forty years ago that by some vote the Senator had opposed segregation of the races on railroad cars—that and a forlorn attempt to minimize the Negro question as an issue in the campaign.

"Why, Ed Smith voted for a bill that would permit a big buck Nigger to sit by your wife or sister on a railroad train," Governor Johnston charged in a speech last week at Greenwood.

Senator Smith did not even stop to reply to that remark, or even to include it under the blanket of "miserable falsehoods" with which he repeatedly covers the charges of his opponents. His advocacy of white supremacy is nearly a half-century old. The most recent chapter of it opened in blazing letters at Philadelphia in 1936 when he walked out of the Democratic National Convention because a Negro minister was chosen to ask the invocation.

The Senator charged before his audiences that the Negro's prayer was not to ask divine blessing but to invoke colored votes. He walked out of the Convention Hall, he confessed proudly, and dares his opponents to criticize his act.

"I want any man, black, white, red or yellow to pray for me," he says, "but I don't want any one praying for me politically."

Friends who thought the Senator had made a horrible political mistake when he walked out at Philadelphia have changed their minds in light of recent reactions over the State. One does not have to go far out in the highways and byways to find their reason. Of all the causes people cite for voting for Mr. Smith's return—his seniority, the nature of his opposition, his adherence or lack of adherence to New Deal measures and his championship of the cotton farmer—the most consistent is that he stands against Negroes participating in the Democratic party.

"This is one time whether you like Ed Smith or not every red-blooded white man should vote for Smith," the Senator tells South Carolina crowds, "because outside organizations are seeking to defeat me because of my stand for white supremacy."

The entire back page of the Senator's principal campaign document, a tabloid-size paper entitled, "The Smith Record," is devoted to his stand for white supremacy. Across the top there is this headline in large type: "Senator Smith is a white supremacy Democrat; his re-election will be a wholesome warning to the East."

Half-way down in the main column, in bold-face print, is a reputed statement of labor's non-partisan league, the organization formed by John L. Lewis and associates to campaign for Mr. Roosevelt in 1936, advocating passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

In the center of the page is a huge picture of the Senator, made on the Senate steps of the Capitol with the dome in the background. The caption line says in part: "Dressed in a cotton suit, Senator Smith is leaving the Capitol for his office in the Senate office building, after a hard day in the Senate chamber only a few hours after the South Carolinian had delivered one of his speeches against the (anti-lynching) legislation which he termed an insult to the South."

Some of the Senator's political advisers, including close friends of his colleague, Senator Byrnes, advised him early in the campaign to soft-peddle the Negro issue. They felt it was a dead one, and that, moreover, it might draw unnecessary fire from Washington. They told him to show the people that he could discuss more serious and nationally important issues.

The Senator says he tried to take their advice. He spent considerable time preparing and rehearsing his next speech in order to make it high-toned and learned. But here, according to his own story, is what happened:

"Oh, I was going to make it high-brow if there ever was a highbrow speech. I got away up there in the clouds and began it. I started off on the Plains of Runnymeade, got down through the battle of Kings Mountain and was headed for the Civil War via the cussed protective tariff, with a lot about the immortal John C. Calhoun."

"I felt somebody down in front was watching me. Of a sudden I looked down and there on the front seat was an old farmer with a torn black hat on his head and tobacco juice running down both sides of his mouth. I hesitated for a moment and looked at him, when I did he growled:

"'Aw, hell, Ed, tell us about Philidefy'? After that I came on down and I never did get back up on that high plane. I know what the people of South Carolina are interested in. White supremacy, that time-honored tradition, can no more be blotted out of the hearts of South Carolinians than can the scars which Shermans's artillery left on the State House at Columbia. And, please God, I'm tellin' about it."

He told them more about it tonight. In a radio address advertised by headquarters as one on "National Issues," Senator Smith took occasion to retell a previously published story that in a C. I. O. chapter of Federal workers, recently organized in a veterans hospital at Columbia, two Negroes were chosen vice presidents and one Negro a member of the board of directors. That, he said, was the "entering wedge." He warned that the time would come, if the C. I. O. were successful in its activities, when the white workers of South Carolina would be placed alongside Negroes at the looms in the cotton mills.

IT'S F. D. R. VS. NEGRO ISSUE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Smith Shouts Against Race Equality; Foes Stress 50-Cents-A-Day

By Thomas L. Stokes
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

NEWBERRY, S. C., Aug. 27.—South Carolina's bitterest senatorial primary since the days of Pitchfork Ben Tillman is winding up in a lather of sweat and venom.

The public debates in which South Carolina candidates must engage have attracted more national attention to the state this year, it seems, than anything since some hot-blooded young men started firing at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor because they didn't like the way the Yankees were running the country.

Yankees, and particularly one named Franklin D. Roosevelt, are being blamed once more; that is, if you listen to Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith as he fights back the President's attempt to unseat him. (You can almost hear the guns of Sumter rumble again.)

They Vote Tuesday

But it's not quite that way if you listen to the two other men who want the Senate seat that old "Cotton Ed" has warmed for nigh onto 30 years—broad-shouldered Gov. Olin Johnston and business-like State Sen. Edgar Brown, who never gets excited enough to shake off his nose glasses. Both of them say it's the New Deal that the senator doesn't like. They're for it.

The primary is Tuesday.

Newberry got the last of the traveling circus—and Newberry was proud.

The crowd spilled out onto the Courthouse steps under a sun that was blistering even at 10 a. m. Inside the lobby the folks scraped their feet noisily as they tried to worm their way inside—men in shirt sleeves and overalls, women clutching palm-leaf fans and damp handkerchiefs.

Negro Issue Raised

Then the show started, with "Cotton Ed" first.

Before long he was taking the campaign back to where lots of folks predicted months ago he would take it—to the Negro issue—and as he walked up and down in the little space before the front row he waved his arms and bellowed mightily.

"When I walked into that convention I couldn't believe my eyes! It was black and white like a checkerboard. And a kinky-headed, blue-gummed, black Senegambian led us in prayer. Then I thought, 'The religion of Jesus Christ is being prostituted for politics.' As he raised his hand I walked out."

The audience cheered.

Assails CIO

They gave "Cotton Ed" a good hand, too, as he told of the Committee for Industrial Organization, Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Association for the Advancement of Colored People being against him, and described these organizations as "the combination that has taken the Negro in as an economic and social equal."

But his foes will not let him forget the "50 cents a day"—that is, the charge that he said 50 cents a day was enough for anybody in South Carolina.

The senator didn't exactly say that. But he might as well have said it. Ever since Mr. Roosevelt repeated the charge it has become the leading issue of the campaign—which all goes to show that it is not possible in the Roosevelt regime to sidetrack the issues as was always done in the South hitherto.

Governor Johnston was at the Philadelphia convention and didn't walk out when the Negro prayed. But he proclaimed his opposition to the anti-lynching bill, as did State Senator Brown, and also dug way back to 1896 to prove that "Cotton Ed" in the South Carolina Legislature had voted to recommit a Jim Crow law.

But old "Cotton Ed" came back at his opponents for the 50-cents-a-day charge, which he branded a "damn lie."

Neither one of them, he said, would be worth 50 cents a day. The crowd guffawed.

York, S. C., Yorkville Enquirer
August 19, 1938

Edgar Brown declares that the part of the negro in South Carolina politics was forever settled by the Hampton campaign of 1876. That shows how much—no, how little—Edgar Brown knows about the negro in South Carolina politics. Also it shows how far a man will go in order to uphold his claim of 100 per cent for the President.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
August 22, 1938

Editorial Comment

TWO SENATORS ON THE SPOT

From The Southern Lumber Journal.

Organized negroes of the North, now a component part of the New Deal Democracy, are waging a hard fight to remove the able, veteran Senator Smith of South Carolina from office. Working under the guise of "Labor's Non-Partisan League," a white-negro organization has come into South Carolina, not to engage in a general election but in a white state primary.

They are after Senator Smith's toga because he opposed the anti-lynching bill and especially because he walked out of the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia in 1936 when a negro was called upon to deliver an invocation. Senator Smith did not walk out on that convention because he is not a friend of the Southern negro. A true Southerner, he knows the race problem of Southern states, and knows that his party must continue to conduct white primaries in South Carolina or come to virtual extinction.

Senator Smith's walkout was his recognition that the Northern Democrats in control of the national party had allied themselves with the Northern negroes who hold the balance of voting power in seven great northern cities. He was putting the Southern white people on notice, quoting the able editor of the Charleston News and Courier, that no longer could they expect sympathy or help in Southern questions from Northern Democrats.

Senator Smith did not make the negro issue. It was made by Northern Democratic party leaders, Jim Farley, Joe Guffey, Bob Wagner and Secretary Ickes, cooperating with Walter White and other negro leaders, all with the blessing of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

No national party in which negroes have immense power can afford to consent to the exclusion of negroes from the affairs of the party in Southern states. The national Democratic party as it is now composed cannot afford to do it. And no national leaders of the Democratic party, not even Roosevelt, can give public assurance to the white people of the South that they shall be at liberty to conduct their own political affairs without interference from negroes.

The News and Courier truly says that the Northern negroes have made Senator Smith of South Carolina an issue. His defeat would be proclaimed throughout the United States as a negro victory over the Southern whites. They would have the right to so proclaim it.

In the neighboring state of Georgia there is also a contest to purge an able senator, Walter F. George, from the roster. In this case it is not a negro issue but one that is equally offensive, if not more so. Here we have an example of a courageous Southern statesman who has not been a President's Yes-Man. Senator George has opposed a number of pieces of legislation that Roosevelt desired, particularly the court packing and reorganization bills. So he has been branded for the slaughter house.

Sometime this month we shall have to witness the triumphant entrance of the President into Georgia, bound homeward from a fishing trip in the Pacific that has cost the taxpayers countless hundreds of thousands of dollars, to put his blessing on Senator George's opponent.

Such insolence and such impertinence deserves a rebuke at the hands of all Georgia voters who believe in the preservation of free speech, fair tactics and the right of a representative of their own choosing to vote his convictions.

Political — 1938

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 23, 1938

The Danger Is to White Integrity

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendmen were adopted when the Southern states wer bound hand and foot, when they were un der duress and occupied by a conqueror' army. The News and Courier has not fel that these states are under moral obligatio to obey the amendments and does not apol ogize for whatever ways they resorted t n 1876 to save themselves from destruction

The News and Courier in its references t the enterprise in which the Northern whit and colored Democrats are now engaged namely, the removal of Senator Smith fro public life, has not raised objection to ne groes voting.

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The News and Courier is insisting upo he right of white men and women in Sout Carolina to maintain a party of their own That is all.

If Northern "Democrats", white and black acting through the medium of "Labor's Non-Partisan League", the Republican, the Communist, or any other party, wish to organize in South Carolina, nominate and vote fo candidates in the November elections, The News and Courier offers no objection.

They can hold a primary and nominate their candidates if they wish. They can even call their party "Democratic" if they wish. It is no concern of ours if the colored people organize a separate "Democratic" party.

The protest is against the incoming of the forces of a white and black party of distant states, not yet organized in South Carolina, to disrupt and corrupt the white party of South Carolina and seek to name its candidates for office. If this man Oliver who is said to have announced the plan of Labor's Non-Partisan League to remove E. D. Smith, shall put up his man, white or negro candidate, to run against Smith in the general election, the way is open for him, as it is open to "Joe" Tolbert's party.

The News and Courier's warning is against a sneaking attack on the integrity of the white party and its primary.

Is it not plain that if Labor's Non-Partisan League control the white primary, if it can "purge" it of Smith, the day of the white primary is gone in South Carolina?

If it shall win one victory will it not try to win others? Will it not endeavor to control the state convention of 1940, demolish the rules that make it a white party's convention?

These outsiders, this "Non - Partisan League", is fighting Smith because it is hostile to the white man's party.

A white man's party is necessary to South Carolina. If this party shall admit 300,000 or 100,000 negroes to vote in its primaries, its condition will be worse than is the plight of the "Democratic party" in New York and Pittsburgh where it lives and thrives by corrupting the negro voters.

The design of Northern Democrats to purge the white party of E. D. Smith is to convert this South Carolina party into the kind of thing that the Democratic party is in their cities, and they are trying to do it because the Northern negro leaders are their masters. And—don't forget it—they will go out for Byrnes when he is up for reelection because of his bold speeches against the anti-lynching bill.

Columbia, S. C. State
July 23, 1938

Out to "Get" Smith.

Chester Reporter.

Northern Negroes, headed by Walter White, are said to be actively engaged in attempting to bring about the defeat of United States Senator Cotton Ed Smith in South Carolina. They can't work openly, of course, as that would defeat the very thing they are attempting to do, but there are probably ways they can work through their buddies, Senators Wagner, Costigan and others who don't happen to be members of the United States senate. Senator James F. Byrnes remarked a few months ago on the floor of the United States senate that the Democratic party today is the property of Northern Negroes, and there is ample reason to believe that he is correct.

PA. SOLON WINS PLAUDITS AS LONE DISSENTER IN STATE PROBE

Pittsburgh, Pa. Aug. 5.- Because he was the lone member of the more than 150 Democratic majority in The House of Pennsylvania's State Legislature to oppose Governor Earle's taking a grand jury investigation of his administration out of the hands of the courts and placing it in the hands of the legislature, Homer S. Brown was hailed by local papers here this week as a "Patriot" and a man of "rare courage."

Said the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, in an editorial entitled "Homer S. Brown, Patriot;"

"We salute Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh. Of the colored race, he has demonstrated a character that is above either race or color...he is an American citizen of the type so greatly needed to preserve our democratic institutions."

The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, in an editorial entitled "He Showed Courage," said:

"He showed rare courage in resisting the pressure especially in view of his professed belief in the integrity and honesty of the high officials of his party who have been accused of graft and corruption."

Mr. Brown, a native of this city, is president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a member of the Association's national legal staff.

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PRESIDENTIAL BLESSINGS GIVEN CANDIDATE CAMP IN BARNESVILLE TALK

Chief Executive Declares That On Most Public Questions He And Senator "Do Not Speak Same Language"

TALMADGE 'CONCERNS—NOT AT ALL'

BARNESVILLE, Ga.—(SNS)— President Roosevelt expressed frankly his disapproval of Senator Walter F. George being returned to the United States Senate Thursday, and declared to his vast audience that on most public questions he and the senior senator "do not speak the same language."

Though the President was dedicating the Rural Electrification Administration project here, his speech only touched lightly upon the project, but dealt heavily with the present senatorial primaries of the state, in which four candidates are in the race.

The President prefaced his criticism of Senator George by stating that "he is, and I hope always will be, my personal friend."

Ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge's record was sternly discredited by Mr. Roosevelt, who declared that Talmadge's attitude toward him and other members of the government does not concern him at all.

PRAISES CANDIDATE CAMP

In announcing his blessings upon Lawrence S. Camp, the President said:

"United States Attorney Lawrence Camp I have also known for many years. He has had experience in the state legislature, he has served as attorney general of Georgia, and for four years he has made a distinguished record in the United States district court, his office ranking among the first two in the whole nation in the expedition of federal cases before that court. I regard him not only as a public servant with successful experience but as a man who honestly believes that many things must be done and done now to improve the economic and social conditions of the country and is willing to fight for these objectives. That is of the most importance.

"Therefore, answering the requests from many citizens of Georgia that I make my position clear, I have no hesitation in saying that if I were able to vote in the September primaries in this state, I most assuredly would cast my vote for Lawrence Camp."

The President pointed out that the political situation in Georgia was different from that of Kentucky, in which primary the chief executive gave as his reasons that Senator Barkley should be re-elected because of his long experience in the senate. Though Senator George has also had 16 years of experience as senator from Georgia, the President termed George as a "dyed-in-the-wool conservative" against a liberal, while there was no clear cut similar issue in Kentucky, he said.

George, President Friendly

Following the President's speech Senator George, who was seated on the platform with the President, stepped forward and said as he shook hands: "Mr. President I am sorry you have questioned my democracy. I accept the challenge."

The President shook hands and said: "God bless you, Walter, Let's always be friends."

Desires Party Harmony

Showing his desire for harmony in the Democratic party, the President declared:

"To carry out my responsibility as President, it is clear that there should be co-operation between members of my own party and myself. That is one of the essentials of a party form of government. It has been going on in this country for nearly a century and a half. The test is not measured, in the case of an individual, by his every vote on every bill. The test lies rather in two questions: First, has the record of the candidate shown, while differing perhaps in details, a constant active fighting attitude in favor of the broad objectives of the party and of the government as they are constituted today, and secondly, does the candidate really, in his heart, believe in the objectives? I regret that in the case of my friend, Senator George, I cannot answer either of these questions in the affirmative."

Talmadge Dismissed

The President sternly dismissed Talmadge from his consideration for the senate with the following remarks:

"In the case of another candidate for the United States senate —Ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge— I have known him in Georgia for many years. Hs attitude toward me and toward other members of the government in 1935 and 1936 concerns me not at all, but I have read so many of his proposals, so many of his promises, so many of his panaceas that I am very certain in my own mind that his election would contribute little to practical government. That is all I have to say about him."

Governor Rivers introduced the President in a lengthy laudatory speech, praising the achievements and objectives of the New Deal. Rivers concluded his introduction: "My friends. I present to you the most loved man and the greatest leader in the world today, the greatest humanitarian statesman of all times...our fellow Georgian, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

The President still reiterated his interest in the welfare of all the people. He said in conclusion:

"In dedicating this project, I want to express my abiding faith that we as a nation are moving steadily and surely toward a better way of living for all of the people. This electrification project is a symbol; it is one bill out of ten thousand which must be captured. You and I will never be satisfied until all economic inequalities are corrected, until every one of us, north, east, west, and south, has the opportunity so to live that his education, his home and his job will be secure."

Given Georgia Degree

Prior to his Barnesville speech, Mr. Roosevelt delivered an address to summer graduating classes at the University of Georgia at Athens, Thursday morning at 10 o'clock. Following his Athens address, he was conferred the degree of LL. D., by Harmon W. Caldwell, president of the University.

Colored Georgians Come From Long Distances, Say 'Amen' To Roosevelt Utterances

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

BARNESVILLE, Ga.—More than a thousand colored Georgians were scattered among the crowd that stood beneath a blazing sun Thursday afternoon to hear President Roosevelt.

Another thousand or more who did not enter the stadium where Mr. Roosevelt delivered his address, lined the streets and waved at the Chief Executive as he rode by in his automobile to and from the speaking grounds.

They came from long distances. Some came in trucks, others in automobiles, while many walked.

Women who had to walk several miles to the scene of the elaborate occasion, held broken tree branches above their heads, shading their bodies from the burning sun.

There were no "Negroes Sit Here" signs tacked around the place, so the anxious colored Georgians selected their own parking spots. They stood and sat in bunches, however, but that was a matter of choice.

The women of the race equalled the men in number, and quite a few were young women who came from far and near to glimpse the President.

Prominent among the colored persons present were Joseph H. B. Evans, Race Relations Specialist, Resettlement Administration, and his wife. They were en route to Washington after having visited Flint River Farms, government project near Montezuma.

While Governor Rivers, in his welcome address, heaped praises on the President, pointing out the good he has done for Georgians, several colored onlookers commented:

"Sure is true."

Throughout Mr. Roosevelt's speech, several colored citizens chimed in with such expressions as "amen," and "ain't it the truth."

There were many of the colored race who agreed with the President when he recommended Lawrence Camp for U. S. Senator over, Senator George and Candidate Talmadge.

Like the white people, who let out whoops of approval, the political-conscious Negro ladies and gentlemen did the same.

One elderly lady, who had never seen Mr. Roosevelt before, put her hand to her heart and gave a deep moan when the Chief Executive rode by.

"Gracious, he thrills me to the bone." she said softly.

Colored Barnesville was gay Thursday evening and night. It was a holiday and there was no work to be done. Parties were [illegible] business.

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
June 21, 1938

CRITICAL CONDITION FACES SOUTH

NOW that Congress has adjourned and Southern representatives are at home, there should be a concerted movement of some nature to ascertain all the implications of the new war upon the South and to develop some effective means of meeting it.

Never before was such progress achieved by those who would reduce the South to a colony, destined to pay increasing tribute to the North, and the situation is greatly complicated by the fact that there is an element in the Democratic party that has assumed leadership in this task of subjugation.

In discussing what has been done and what is in prospect, the Northern Virginia Daily declares "The South cannot afford to have its industry and agriculture destroyed or seriously damaged. It cannot afford to have a revival of race agitation. It cannot afford to have its democracy trampled under foot at Washington." Yet, this Virginia newspaper continues, if the South cannot afford these things "it must act and act quickly."

Northern industrialists want the South forced out of the industrial field. Northern agriculturists want the South restricted to cotton and kept from competing in dairy products, livestock or wheat. John Lewis wants Southern industrial workers thrown upon the farms and out of industry because he can't control them. Northern negroes want Southern negroes admitted to Democratic primaries. And since these forces exercise political control in many Northern zones, they are listened to by Democratic leaders in such zones.

Will the South sub[illegible]it, or will it organize and fight to make the Democratic [illegible] the instrument of service to the South and the natio[illegible] should be?

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 8, 1938

Roosevelt and South

To The News and Courier:

It would appear that President Roosevelt's desire to enfranchise the Southern negro is beginning to take concrete form, and that it is a pretty safe prediction that an effort to accomplish this end will be made before the next election is evidenced by the president's recent reference to himself in his Gettysburg address, in which he likened himself to Abraham Lincoln, and by his statement in his recent conference with a number of Southerners, bureau heads, and department administrators, in which he referred to the South as the chief economic problem of the country.

This economic problem to which the president refers is caused by the industrial growth and the increase in wealth and population of the South in the last few years. This menace to other sections of the country is attributed to the low labor costs in the South, and it is thought that if the negro can be enfranchised and unionized, any advantage which the South may have will be nullified by the exercise of the right of suffrage and the unionization of the negro.

The negro vote in the politically powerful states of the East and the Middle West has been captured by the Democratic party under President Roosevelt, and controlling, as it does, the balance of power, is of much greater political value than the vote of the Solid South. If the negro is enfranchised in the South by the Democratic party most of the white voters would probably bolt the party and leave it to the negroes, which would be exactly what would be desired by those controlling the negro vote in the country as it would put them in undisputed possession of the party machinery.

That President Roosevelt is no friend of the South, is indicated by his record. He advocated the repeal of the two-thirds rule in the national Democratic convention by which repeal, the influence of the South was greatly lessened and the power to veto the nomination of an inimical president and vice president taken away. He advocated the passage of the anti-lynching bill under which the federal government could come in and punish the sheriff of a county in which a negro was lynched. He strongly pressed the wages and hours bill which was intended to cripple Southern industry and to do nothing else. He advocated the processing tax which imposed a levy of practically five cents a pound on cotton or five cents on ten cents worth of cotton, while the tax on the corn miller of the West was about four cents a bushel, or four cents on sixty cents. He has permitted a WPA wage in Northern states of over twice as much per day as the wage paid in the South for the same work.

H. M. W.

Greenville.

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
JJune 24. 1938

It means that he approved of sinecure jobs paid for with tax money for the Negro editors of this country. It means that he favors the ideas of the Roosevelts on equality for the races.

Seventy-five Negroes at Sumter, South Carolina, went to a Johnston meeting at night at that city. One of Johnston's supporters advised the Negroes to leave and they did so. They naturally want to hear him, thinking that as a one hundred per cent Roosevelter he would welcome their presence at his political meeting. Roosevelt would have been glad to have seen them at a meeting he addressed.

The Negro question is going to bob up again and again during the campaign and make it harder and harder for Johnston to maintain his attitude of favoring everything Roosevelt does. In plain English, he cannot be truly one hundred per cent for Roosevelt without extending a hand of welcome to Negro voters. On the other hand he cannot extend a hand of welcome to them and be elected in a South Carolina white primary.

He can make his choice but he cannot blow both hot and cold and get away with it.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
July 10, 1938

WHO'S TO VOTE IS DETERMINED BY DEMOCRATS

Manning Says 'Color Line' Not Drawn in Resolution Setting Qualifications

A resolution which, according to Chairman Earl Manning, does not draw the "color line," and provides that "only well known democrats shall be allowed to participate in the primary election Aug. 4" and "that the judges shall be so notified," was passed yesterday by the Hamilton county democratic board.

The board adopted the resolution after hearing a number of candidates for party nominations express their views on the application made by representatives of the Hamilton county Negro democratic club for permission to vote in the coming democratic primary.

Says "Buck Was Passed"

"Several candidates were here and we heard them," Chairman Manning said. "They finally passed the buck back to me and we adopted the resolution."

Manning said the resolution was not to be considered as having drawn the color line. If a Negro presents himself to vote in the democratic primary Aug. 4 and is a known democrat, he may vote, Manning said. If, on the other hand, the right of a Negro or a white person is challenged on the grounds he is not a democrat such a person will be required to make affidavit that he is a democrat and that he agrees to support the democratic nominees in the general election in November, irrespective of the outcome of the primary, the chairman explained.

There are a number of Negroes in Hamilton county who are "known democrats," Manning said, and under the provisions of the resolution they will be permitted to vote without signing affidavits.

Buckner Presents Plea

Robert Buckner, a barber, who has been voting the democratic ticket for several years, presented the application of the Negro Democratic club to the board.

W. B. Cullom, Negro, is a candidate for the democratic nomination for state senator. A question has been raised, however, as to whether or not he is properly qualified as a candidate. The primary law requires that to qualify as a candidate for a party nomination for a seat in the general assembly, twenty-five qualified voters who are bona fide members of the party in which the prospective candidate seeks nomination must sign a qualifying petition. A question has been raised as to whether or not Cullom's petition bears the names of twenty-five qualified voters. The board is checking the names on his petition.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 22, 1938

Have ~~Made the Issue Plain~~

"A blanket endorsement to Senator Van Nuys of Indiana?" No indeed, The News and Courier has given that gentleman no endorsement whatsoever. It has said, and now repeats, that his renomination by the Indiana Democrats was equivalent to unconditional surrender by the New Deal in that state. They had read him out of the party and his threat to run as an independent brought them to their knees.

Again The News and Courier points that Senator Smith's "walking out" of the Philadelphia convention was his recognition that the Northern Democrats in control of the national party had allied themselves with the Northern negroes.

He was putting the Southern white people on notice that no longer could they expect sympathy or help in Southern questions from Northern Democrats.

He did it instantly, effectively and dramatically. The News and Courier can speak for Smith in asserting that he is no "negro hater," he is no lyncher; his kindly feeling for the negroes is more to be trusted than is that of a candidate who "runs them off" from his meetings.

This "negro" issue was not made by Smith. It was made by James Farley, "Joe" Guffey, "Bob" Wagner, Secretary Ickes, in coalition with Walter White, "Bob" Vann and Rainey, negroes of the North. In each of seven Northern cities negroes are more than 100,000; 40 per cent. of them are on relief, and in New York city they are more than half the whole negro population of South Carolina. They are "in control of the Democratic party," and saying this The News and Courier repeats the assertion of Senator James F.

Byrnes on the senate floor.

Now the organized Northern negroes are openly trying to remove Senator Smith from public life. "Labor's Non-Partisan League," a white and negro political organization, is now coming into South Carolina to engage actively, not in a general election, but in a white state primary, and in that its right is as good as is the right of "Tieless Joe" Tolbert's Republican party and no better.

Were Byrnes up for reelection Walter White's effort would be to remove Byrnes too from public life, and Mr. Byrnes well knows it.

It is nonsensical to suppose that a national political party in which negroes have immense power will consent to the exclusion of negroes from the Democratic party in Southern states.

It is nonsensical to suppose that Wagner, Van Nuys, Farley and Guffey will dare to tell Vann, Walter White and Rainey that they will permit the exclusion of the Southern negroes from their national party.

The fight of these Northern negro and white Democrats has begun. It is on. That is why this Labor's Non-Partisan League is actively engaged in the effort to defeat Smith.

If proof be demanded, we point to the fact that NOT ONE NORTHERN DEMOCRATIC LEADER, WHITE OR BLACK, WILL GIVE PUBLIC ASSURANCE TO THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH THAT THEY SHALL HAVE LIBERTY TO CONDUCT THEIR OWN POLITICAL AFFAIRS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. President Roosevelt dares not give it.

When Chairman Farley and his associates invited the negro preacher to take part in the Philadelphia convention and the negro congressman of Chicago to second Mr. Roosevelt's nomination they were repeating the performance of the Republicans when they placed Lynch, a negro of Mississippi, in prominent place in their national convention half a century ago.

We take it that Wade Hampton and M. C. Butler would have walked out of a national convention if the Georgetown negro congressman, father of the Boston Democratic leader of this day, had turned Democrat and been invited by Voorhies and Bayard to second the nomination of Tilden or Hancock or Cleveland.

The Northern negroes have made Smith an issue. His defeat would be proclaimed throughout the United States as the negro victory over the Southern whites—and they would have the right so to proclaim it.

Equal rights in courts, equal rights in separate schools, a dollar's worth for the negro's dollar, swift punishment of lynchers as murderers, all these things The News and Courier demands for negroes, and it demands for white men and women the right to control political affairs in South Carolina without dictation or interference from a negro party whether it call itself Labor's Non-Partisan League, the National Democratic or Republican party.

The issue is plain. Northern Democrats, white and black, have made it plain.

Camden, S. C. Chronicle
July 22, 1938

SMITH—OR WALTER WHITE

Frederick William Wile, who writes "Washington Observations" in The Washington Star, says that the Roosevelt fight on E. D. Smith is based "not alone on his opposition to the Roosevelt court plan" but that it is made because "the negroes of the United States are most bent on removing him from public life." The New Deal is dependent on the votes of negroes in the north.

"The Society for the Advancement of the Colored People has three separate grudges against 'Cotton Ed'" (we quote Mr. Wile), his objection to the selection of a negro to pray in the national Philadelphia convention, his protest against the choice of a negro congressman to second Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, these incidents being "symbols" of the Democratic capture of the northern negro vote and the cause of Smith's walking out of the convention, and his active opposition to the anti-lynching bill, so-called.

Let no one think that these actions by Senator Smith in Philadelphia were a hot-headed outburst of "prejudice" against negroes. They were nothing of the kind. Smith's feeling about the negroes is that of the average Southern man of decent instincts. His conduct in Philadelphia expressed his swift and accurate recognition that the national Democratic party had "gone negro," that no longer could it be relied on as the fortress of the south against the determined and unceasing effort of the Walter White negroes to destroy the white people's control in the Southern States.

The appearance of the negro clergyman and the negro congressman in conspicuous posts in the convention Smith recognized as the national Democratic party's capitulation to the Northern negroes, and, experienced congressman that he is, he instantly perceived that the day when Northern and Western Democrats, men like William Jennings Bryan, Stone and Reed, of Missouri, Kern of Indiana, O'Gorman of New York—all the Northern Democrats—stool with Tillman, John Sharpe Williams, Simmons of North Carolina and himself on Southern questions, had passed.

That is why he "walked out." He saw that the old effort of the 'seventies is on again, this time to be carried on insidiously and adroitly, and that to awaken the South he had to walk out.

How surely he saw the truth is now proved by the invasion of South Carolina by Labor's Non-Partisan League, a strictly political organization composed of Northern whites and negroes, to "engage actively" in a South Carolina primary for the purpose of defeating Smith.

This capture of the Northern Democratic party by the negroes had been seen and declared by the junior senator of South Carolina, Mr. Byrnes, who said on the floor of the senate last January that "the negroes control the Democratic party."

The issue is clear. Do with it what you will, Voters of South Carolina.

If you vote against Smith you vote for the victory of Walter White of the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People. There are no two ways about it.—News and Courier.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
August 10, 1938

Editorial Comment

THE STATEMENT OF THE CASE

From the News and Courier.

The News and Courier does not attack Labor's Non-Partisan League in South Carolina nor resent its presence. The News and Courier emphasizes that because it is "non-partisan" yet actively and aggressively political it is not Democratic. The Democratic party in South Carolina positively and distinctly is a partisan league, and one of its partisan principles and practices is that it does not receive into its membership other than white people. In New York, Pennsylvania, other Northern states, negroes are received as members in Labor's Non-Partisan League; indeed they are sought as members. Are negroes denied membership in Labor's Non-Partisan league in South Carolina? That is a question that, one presumes, its president in South Carolina, Mr. Dowell E. Patterson, could answer. If they are denied membership in the South Carolina division of the league, the league's concern with a white Democratic primary would scarcely be disputed by Democratic candidates and voters. If it does not accept negroes as members it is a different league from Labor's Non-Partisan League in Northern states and is antagonistic to it. The white Democratic party in South Carolina is not big enough and broad enough to include other poiltical organidations or parties within its fold

Political - 1938

Party Affiliation.

Democratic

Discovering the South's Problems

"By the way," says Mr. Roosevelt, as he dips into the South to tell life-long Democrats how to vote, "the South offers an economic problem. In fact, it is the No. 1 problem of the entire country."

After 17 years of intimate contact with the people of the South, and more than five years in a position of great power, where he might have done much for the South, he suddenly remembers that the South is a No. 1 problem—just as the primaries begin in which he hopes to win supporters in congress for his own "liberal" views, instead of the Democratic platform and the constitution.

And he proceeds to do something about it—now.

Telegraph

He appoints a committee to study and report, and since he probably regards labor as a major aspect of the problem, he appoints on his committee, as a member from Georgia, an emissary of John Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization, whose remedy for our great problem may be easily guessed.

But why should he appoint any special committee? Has he not had at his elbow, since the beginning of his administration, the expert knowledge and experience of Muddum Perkins, who told him and the wide world long ago that the barefooted South offered an inviting field for the sale of shoes?

The archives of the departments of Commerce, Labor and Agriculture are literally bursting with facts about the South. Genial John Biggers was drafted to take a census of unemployment, which was fairly accurate for at least 24 hours, and several stout volumes have been published in which the causes of unemployment, in the South and elsewhere, are carefully analyzed.

7-10-38

So the new committee is not to gather additional facts, apparently, but to study them and tell Mr. Roosevelt what he ought to do about his No. 1 problem.

This belated interest in the South, so closely linked with the boost in the pay scale of the Works Progress Administration, as the primaries draw near, awakens many interesting lines of thought. Up to now $19 per month was sufficient for any Southern job, as against $45 for the same work in the North.

It is a fair inference that Mr. Roosevelt seriously thinks that the people of the South are a little below the general level, of energy, intelligence and resourcefulness and have made little progress in solving their own problems.

But there is a large body of public sentiment in the South which holds that this section has done the most marvelous job of rehabilitation, since the period of war and reconstruction, ever performed by any people in any land or time—getting to where Georgia alone is paying 99 millions of dollars per annum for government.

The problem created by the war itself was bad enough, when the wealth of this section was utterly destroyed and the ragged soldiers of the Confederacy returned to such ruined homes as Sherman and Sheridan had left, to live on parched corn and sassafras tea while they dug a living from the reluctant soil. With millions of this once proud and prosperous people reduced to destitution, they started on the way back from conditions as elementary as when their ancestors carved the farm lands from the wilderness.

But within the ranks of the Republican party of that day were men like Thad Stevens whose dream of hate was to see "black heels on white necks," who said like the degenerate son of Solomon, "My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will scourge you with scorpions."

It was the era of reconstruction which brought crucifixion of the soul to the people of the South.

It is fair to say that the problems of the South are due to the Republican party more than anything else—and yet at the Jackson day dinner in Washington, this year, Mr. Roosevelt boasted that the first ballot he ever cast for a presidential candidate was for his Republican kinsman—and he would do it again.

It is not strange that he should have voted for a Republican and boasted of it, for when he came to power himself, he devoted all his skill and magnetism to the task of breaking down the rights of the states. More than any man who ever sat in the White House he has sought to destroy that sovereignty of the states for which our fathers fought and for which we went through the agonies of reconstruction.

Over a radio network on March 2, 1930, Mr. Roosevelt said:

> The preservation of home rule by the states is not a cry of jealous commonwealths seeking their own aggrandizement at the expense of sister states. It is a fundamental necessity if we are to remain a united country. Washington must not be encouraged to interfere in such matters as the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare and a dozen other important features.

And yet, one by one, he has intefered in all these and today he is in the South, telling the commonwealths, whose home rule is essential to a united country, that they are no longer free to elect their own senators without dictation from Washington.

It was without any aid from Mr. Roosevelt that the South, beginning with a bare subsistence, grew cotton enough to enable the federal government to resume specie payment and retire its "monkey" money. It was without the aid of Mr. Roosevelt or the Republican party for whose candidate he cast his first presidential ballot, that the South lifted 6 million Negroes from ignorance and helplessness, and set up schools, vocational and academic, in which they might become educated and self-sustaining.

The South had done this without the aid of Mr. Roosevelt, and it was through the dominance of the Republican party that the South poured millions of dollars into the federal treasury to pay pensions to the men who had wasted our lands and desolated our homes.

In more recent times we have seen the Republican, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, telling the manufacturers of New England that the wages-and-hours bill was deliberately contrived to strike down the industrial competition of the South. It was indeed a sorry service to the South when Mr. Roosevelt moved heaven and earth to secure the enactment of this bill, in its most drastic form, and would not let a weary congress go home until it had at least established the principle of creating an army of federal snoopers to pry into the private records of Southern employers and send to prison the violators of this law.

The South has asked nothing but common justice. The differential freight rates, which give the North a 25 per cent advantage over Southern industry, has been in effect ever since Mr. Roosevelt was born. Almost with a wave of his hand, at any time since he has been in office, he could have wiped out this unjust burden imposed upon the South.

But for five and a half years he has ignored this important aspect of the No. 1 problem of the country, and Southern governors have to fight desperately to get even a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

And now after this long trek through the wilderness, unaided by Mr. Roosevelt in any real effort to help us help ourselves, he suddenly discovers that we are a problem.

And he appoints a committee to study the accumulated facts and tell him what to do about it.

The South is indeed faced with a problem. It is faced with the problem of paying its heavy proportion of the debts imposed by Mr. Roosevelt upon our children and grandchildren. It is faced with the problem of reasserting its individualism and independence which brought us through reconstruction. It is faced with the problem of being able to elect its own senators and representatives without having to overcome the odds of 4-billion-dollar slush funds and 15 million pay checks flowing from the federal treasury.

Mr. Roosevelt can best help us to solve our problem by reverting to the policies of the Democratic party, whose teachings he has perverted and whose name he takes in vain.

He cannot do it by studying statistics, through the jaundiced eyes of such people as the unspeakable Perkins woman.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 17, 1938

Why "Run Off" Negroes?

What could be more natural and to be expected than that the colored people in Sumter should gather in numbers to hear a speech of a 100 per center for President Roosevelt? Are they not 100 per centers for Mr. Roosevelt? Are they not true believers in "Bob" Vann, Walter White and Julian Rainey, distinguished colored leaders of the Democratic party in Pittsburgh, Boston, New York? Are they not now "Democrats", though "disfranchised"?

Could one imagine President Roosevelt refusing to address colored persons in Sumter? How could he refuse without giving mortal offense to Vann, White and Rainey and at least 1,000,000 colored Democratic voters whose ballots contribute to Democratic success in Northern States?

Who could think of President Roosevelt, if he should come to South Carolina to speak in behalf of Governor Johnston, insulting the negroes of Sumter by allowing them to be invited out of a Democratic meeting which he was to address? He would not wish to hurt their feelings. That is to his credit. It would be to any man's credit.

Are not the "disfranchised" negroes in South Carolina now "disfranchised" Democrats? Was not the Republican vote for Landon in 1936 in South Carolina even smaller than it has been for other Republican candidates, although Mr. Landon had a considerable sprinkling of white supporters?

Mr. Johnston is 100 per cent for Roosevelt, but the incident in Sumter will cost Mr. Roosevelt more needed votes in Northern states than Mr. Johnston can make for him in the South in a hundred years—unless President Roosevelt shall promptly and publicly repudiate his dear friend's behavior.

How the negroes in Sumter happened to come to the Johnston meeting has, after all, nothing to do with the case. They were Roosevelt supporters and wished to hear a 100 per center. (Some of them may have been on the relief rolls.) In the North from 35 to 40 per cent of the colored folks are on relief—40 per cent of them or from 400,000 to 500,000 of the colored voters.

Anyway, Governor Johnston might have said pleasantly: "This meeting was called especially for my supporters, white voters in the primary, but you colored people are welcome to hear what I have to say and I take it as a compliment to the office of governor that you come out and hear me."

Why does a governor "run off" quietly behaved negroes?

Greenville County, S. C., Observer
July 1, 1938

VERY NAIVE

In his campaign speech, Edgar A Brown, a candidate in South Carolina for the office of United States senator, asserts that the question of white supremacy is not debatable, as "it was settled in 1876." It was settled then, but not permanently. It was settled then because Northern Democrats sympathized with the attitude of Southern Democrats and backed them. Today a president elected in large part by Southern votes and practically all Democratic senators and representatives from Northern states back the ambitions of the Negroes in order to get the votes of Negroes in their states. Senator Borah, a Western Republican, was conspicuous for his great fight against the anti-lynching bill. There is no greater constitutional lawyer in the public life of this country. He does not favor lynching, of course, but he opposed the anti-lynching bill because it is clearly unconstitutional. Its Negro backers did not want it to stop lynching. They backed it as the entering wedge to destruction of the last vestige of state's rights. If that bill can pass and be sustained by the courts, the next step will be passage of a national law such as a Democratic legislature passed in Pennsylvania, a law signed by the Democratic governor of that state, prohibiting any discrimination on account of race or color by hotels and restaurants and places of amusement in serving customers. Then will follow a like prohibition of discrimination in employmen on account of race or color. And Brown and another candidate, Johnston, are campaigning on promises that they will fully co-operate with an administration which brought about Negroization of the Democratic national party.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 27, 1938

"Run Off" the President?

This thrust is from The Berkeley County Democrat:

"Why should he (Governor Johnston) have objected last week when some seventy-five of the race (negro race) wanted to hear him at the Johnston rally in Sumter? Surely the 100 per cent New Dealer is not going back on his friends in Washington? We cannot imagine Harry Hopkins, Jim Farley, or even President Roosevelt, having colored Democrats driven out of the hall."

The Columbia Record remarks that "South Carolina voters have a right to feel slighted" that President Roosevelt did not mention South Carolina in his plans to visit Kentucky and "almost surely pay a visit to Georgia."

Is it not very probable that President Roosevelt skips South Carolina in his plans lest if he come into the state to speak for a 100 per center, Governor Johnston, who "runs off' negroes, or for Mr. Brown, another 100 per center who in speeches uses the word "niggers" rather contemptuously, it would cause him serious embarrassment? For, you see, as Senator Byrnes says, "the negroes control the Democratic party," and, as is well known, they have the balance of power in Northern states.

Of course President Roosevelt is wise not to come into South Carolina and let himself be caught with these gentlemen at public meetings. Were he and Governor Johnston speaking from the same platform and seventy-five or eighty well behaved negroes were to come to the meeting, might not Governor Johnston "run them off"? That would be disastrous to the plans of the president. He can't take that risk.

It looks as if the president had been "run off" from South Carolina by his 100 per centers.

In Kentucky Senator Barkley does not "run off" negroes, he votes for the anti-lynching bill, and President Roosevelt is outspoken for Barkley.

Aiken, S. C., Standard & Review
July 8, 1938

COMMENTS BY SPECTATOR

THERE is something in this Senatorial race which makes me wonder. Senator Smith has not always run with the crowd; he has not tried to get all the loaves and the fishes; he has balked at times because he just couldn't follow the pack. Was he wrong? Did we elect Cotton Ed six years ago to follow somebody? Was this great nation built on me-toos? Did the great George Washington try to make this nation a one-man affair of friends, sons, sycophants, coat-tail swingers and servile flatterers?

Let us South Carolinians ask ourselves whether we have in us the stuff of our forefathers, who through sacrifice made this nation, or whether we condemn a public servant who has shown some of the spirit we profess to praise on the Fourth of July?

Was he wrong? Well, he was acting like a man, wasn't he?

I am no negro-hater; I have much consideration for those colored men whom I know well; they come to me in trouble and I am happy to have their confidence; but the charge that Senator Smith is capitalizing the negro issue unduly is not true. We here in South Carolina know that no law of our State will endanger white supremacy but we must not be so ignorant or credulous as to assume that the leaders of the two million negroes now in the Democratic Party are not asking for anything.

I have no axe to grind; I am not a candidate; I am not seeking favors from any candidate; I have noting to gain by speaking the truth soberly except the satisfaction of treating my readers fairly and I say as one Carolinian to his fellow Carolinians that the Northern Democrats have made trades with the negroes and that we of the South must pay the bill. This is no idle statement. When Smith walked out of the Democratic Convention he did exactly what you would have wished him to do. Of course the prayer of the Colored Minister could be as acceptable to God as anyone else's prayer, made in the proper spirit; I am not raising race issues between men and God; but the Colored Minister was not invited for the spiritual blessing which might come from his prayer; he was invited because he was a negro and in the effort to influence negro votes. He wasn't invited to pray to God, but to the negro voters.

Smith did right. Which of us will deny it?

The Colored Minister may have been the victim of the political schemes of the Northern White Democrats; he may have invoked the blessing of God in all fervor; I am not condemning him; but the White men who put him on the platform tried to make a Colored Minister and the Great Jehovah bring the negroes into the Democratic Party. And now Methodist brethren; you have been afraid of this in your own church through union with the North, what say you of the big wigs of our Democratic Party today?

Political — 1938.
Party Affiliation.

Democratic

Oxford, Miss., Eagle
June 30, 1938

Farley Says "No" On Negro Activity

Aroused by Clipping in "Moonbeams," Postmaster General Calls Local Citizen to Deny Allegation

Postmaster General Jim Farley chairman of the national Democratic executive committee, called long distance from New York to Phil Stone in Oxford Wednesday.

The Democratic chief denied that he had written a letter to an official of the Mississippi Democratic executive committee asking him to use his influence in organizing Democratic clubs among the negroes in Mississippi.

"I never wrote any such letter," said Farley. "I don't know anything about it and you have my authority to deny it."

From Moonbeams

An article in the Moonbeams column of the Eagle of June 9 brought about the denial. A clipping of the article was mailed to Farley by Phil Stone, Oxford lawyer, who was a delegate to the last national Democratic convention. In his letter which accompanied the clipping, Mr. Stone said that he didn't believe that he Farley) was guilty of such a political error. And that he wanted to clear up the situation.

The article in question quoted a writer in the Houston-Times Post:

"From reliable sources comes the report that Big Jim Farley, chairman of the national Democratic executive committee, has written an official of the Mississippi Democratic executive committee, asking him to use his influence in bringing the negroes into the party in Mississippi. From the same source it was learned that Farley's letter was simply ignored."

Knowing the Houston writer as a responsible and well informed citizen —himself, a former member of the Mississippi committee—the Eagle writer joined in condemning the reported affront to the Mississippi Democratic party.

From the Commercial Appeal

In Tuesday's Commercial Appeal the news story about the meeting of the Mississippi Democratic executive committee included the paragraph:

"Chairman Holmes (Herbert Holmes of Senatobia) also revealed that a proposal by National Chairman Jim Farley looking to organization of negro Democratic clubs in the state had been 'nipped in the bud'."

In Wednesday's Commercial, Mr Holmes gave the following statement

"I did not make the statement that Mr. Farley, chairman of the national committee, had attempted to organize negro Democrats in Mississippi. I did state that some such movement had been started in certain quarters, notably around Mound Bayou, but that it had been 'nipped in the bud'."

Sanity

Evidently, from subsequent publicity, the Houston Times-Post columnist, who first brought light on the issue, had considerable basis for his charges. But Farley's concern and positive denial that he was not responsible will reassure Mississippi Democrats that there is still some sanity around national headquarters.

Can't Do It

While on the wire to Mr. Farley, Mr. Stone put in a request in regard to the possibility of bringing President Roosevelt to the Sardis dam for a short visit on his planned trip through this section when he will stop in Memphis within a short time. However, "Big Jim" said such was impossible because the plans were all laid out and could not be changed.

Walterboro, S. C. Press & Standard
June 16, 1938

THE PARTY AND THE NEGRO

IN his talk at Walterboro, Judge J. Henry Johnson undoubtedly reflected the views of many thousands of South Carolinians in voicing his apprehension that the national Democratic party is trying to destroy states rights and white supremacy in the south.

Judge Johnson's reference to the conspicuous parts given northern negroes in the Philadelphia national convention and his evident dislike of that performance are clearly based upon his feeling that it represented an ostentatious play to the northern colored citizenship purely for "political" purposes.

And the average southerner, it is safe to say, feels about it like Judge Johnson. Much has developed since that time to confirm the view that northern politicians who have stood high in party counsels and in the favor of the party leadership went in for a very deliberate program of wholesale catering to and courting of the negro vote, with distribution of jobs, relief funds and conspicuous party "recognition" of leaders. It has all been done to win elections and keep these politicians in power. Observing how the party, at the behest of these politicians, has so solicitously coddled the negro in the north by any means possible in order to get him to vote "right," numerous southerners, like Judge Johnson, cannot help but feel that these same influences would very willingly sacrifice anything the south might hold dear in the way of white supremacy if and when it should suit their political purposes to do so.

—The Greenville News.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
June 17, 1938

Objectives Approved, Methods Disapproved

Nation-wide polls of all descriptions are not always accurate in their conclusions, but when conducted by reputable organizations or groups they often indicate definite trends, and their results usually are interesting to note.

The magazine Fortune has just completed its quarterly survey indicating what occupational and income groups make up President Roosevelt's present following, and exactly which of his policies are approved and which are disapproved by each of these groups.

The magazine claims that this is the first time in American history that the popularity of a president and his policies have been broken down into its component parts by scientific sampling of public opinion.

Briefly, the survey shows:

A clear majority approves of Mr. Roosevelt and his objectives—but disapproves of his methods and advisers.

President Roosevelt's still tremendous majority is due entirely to his overwhelming popularity among the poor and the Negroes.

The President no longer has a majority in the Northeast and the Northwest plains, which have a total of 191 votes in the electoral college, and his majority has declined in the Middle West.

The two Roosevelt policies which command the strongest popular support are his rearmament and international policies — without exception every group favors these.

The magazine's survey for three years has mirrored the popular approval of Mr. Roosevelt personally and the New Deal's main objectives. But as far back as April, 1936, it was discovered that "there is political dynamite in appealing to the nation to curtail the powers of the Supreme Court."

The latest survey again reveals the deep seated American opposition to any change in the balance of power between the three branches of the government.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 27, 1938

President Not Cooperating

Curiously the two candidates for the United States senate professing to be 100 per centers for Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal have by utterance about the negroes made it impossible for themselves to be 100 per centers for the president or the New Deal if one of them should be elected. Governor Johnston says that he "runs off" negroes. and Mr. Brown flippantly speaks of "niggers". In the senate the Democratic majority "cooperates" with the negroes. In the last campaign President Roosevelt sent them an approving telegram when they held a Roosevelt meeting in New York. If the negroes of South Carolina should hold a great Democratic meeting, or a series of them, President Roosevelt would send them cordial telegrams. Surely he would. He wants New Deal and Democratic support, black and white, all he can get. He is not cooperating with Governor Johnston or Mr. Brown, in a way that you can notice. He leaves them to the mercies of Old Smith. How could Governor Johnston or Mr. Brown cooperate with President Roosevelt on negro questions in Washington? Senator Smith resented prominence of negroes in the Philadelphia convention, but he treats negroes politely and kindly.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 27, 1938

The Party and the Negro

(From the Allendale County Citizen)

In his talk at Walterboro, Judge J. Henry Johnson undoubtedly reflected the views of many thousands of South Carolinians in voicing his apprehension that the national Democratic party is trying to destroy states rights and white supremacy in the South.

Judge Johnson's reference to the conspicious parts given northern negroes in the Philadelphia national convention and his evident dislike of that performance are clearly based upon his feeling that it represented an ostentatious play to the northern colored citizenship purely for 'political' purposes.

And the average Southerner, it is safe to say, feels about it like Judge Johnson. Much has developed since that time to confirm the view that northern politicians who have stood high in party counsels and in favor of the party leadership went in for a very deliberate program of wholesale catering to and courting of the negro vote, with distribution of jobs relief funds, and conspicuous party 'recognition' to leaders. It has all been done to win elections and keep these politicians in power. Observing how the party, at the behest of these politicians, has so solicitously coddled the negro in the north by any means possible in order to get him to vote 'right', numerous Southerners, like Judge Johnson, cannot help but feel that these same influences would very willingly sacrifice anything the South might hold dear in the way of white supremacy if and when it should suit their political purposes to do so.

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
July 3, 1938

Continued Warm, Forecast In Both Weather, Politics

By Thomas Fauntleroy

It's here, at last—Summer and warming-up weather, after one of those rare Junes they so frequently write about in England.

Also here, the special session of the Mississippi Legislature, which meets Wednesday in an atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty to decide the outcome of Governor White's plan to exempt Mississippi homesteads from taxation. (See below).

Meanwhile, politics warmed up in Arkansas with the opening speech of Congressman McClellan for the Senate, and got warmer in Tennessee, where virtually all of the candidates are on the stump.

Interesting turn in Tennessee at the weekend, a near scandal over reports that truck operators have been exceeding the 18,000-ton limit for their trucks, someting is wrong somewhere. As the State Highway Patrol vigorously denied that everything was not on the up and up, Commissioner of Finance Stokes admitted that he had been conducting an investigation, would submit the results to Governor Browning.

Not to be outflanked were truckmen themselves, who, rising to a point of personal privilege through the Tennessee Motor Truck Association, said that the charges of overweight were inspired by the railroads, were particularly peeved at Mr. Stokes' activities, since the duty of checking truck weights was taken from his department months ago. Insisted the truckmen, that Mr. Stokes is also a director in the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, he may be prejudiced. Said Mr. Stokes, "I will answer this in time."

Otherwise, the Fourth of July came on apace, as did the boll weevil, with both looming large in the calendar ahead.

Democracy Must Reconize All Minority Rights, Says Roosevelt

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—No democracy can long survive which "does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of its minorities," President Roosevelt asserted in a message of greeting to the 29th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which opened here June 28.

The President's message in full.:

Dear Mr. White:

I am happy to extend to the Twenty-ninth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cordial greetings and best wishes for the success of their efforts in advancing the interests of the Negro race and bringing about that cooperation and understanding between the races so essential to the maintenance of a vital democracy.

I have watched with interest the constructive efforts of your organization, not only in behalf of the Negro people in our nation, but also in behalf of the democratic ideals and principles so dear to our entire nation. For it is evident that no democracy can long survive which does not accept as fundamental to its very existence the recognition of the rights of its minorities.

I wish you a most successful meeting.

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Browning Purge Will Start Tuesday

"We're moving in," so ran the news from Nashville yesterday when word finally came that Governor Browning had named Mack Fuqua, widely known Nashville lawyer, to proceed Tuesday with a purge of the Shelby County registration books. Purpose of the purge, to remove around 40,000 of the 96,000 names which Browning headquarters insists are bogus. Assisting in the purge, Joseph Hanover, Memphis lawyer and Browning supporter, brother of Dave Hanover, Republican member of the new County Election Board which was seated by the Supreme Court after a three-months' battle.

Meanwhile, the purge instituted some three weeks ago by Abe Waldauer, member of the State Board will proceed "in an orderly manner."

While the purge may bring comfort to the Browningites, it has lost its terror for the Crump organization who have discovered that there are more ways of killing a cat than by choking him to death. The supplemental registration has been set for July 11-14 and everybody will be asked to register. This will mean a new list of voters for the August primary—and while the Browning Election Board holds the registration, an antiBrowning board holds the primary.

Tennessee Mountaineer Attends Own Funeral

"This man is no exhibitionist," said the Rev. Charles E. Jackson, pastor of the First Christian Church of Paris, Ill., as he stood up in the packed Little Cave Creek Church in Roane County up in the East Tennessee hills, looked first at an empty but flower-laden homemade walnut casket and then at 74-year old Felix Bush Breazeale, who sat silently weeping, added, "it is serious business."

Outside, a crowd of from 5000 to 7000 people milled and fretted as the loud speaker inside the church failed to work. They had come from here, there and yon to hear an extraordinary sermon, do the honors at an extraordianry occasion. It was Breazeale's own funeral.

Living alone in his mountain cabin with no companion nighabout but a faithful mule, Breazeale sometime ago got religion, announced that he wanted his funeral to be held before he died. Down came a big walnut tree in his back yard. It was made into a coffin. Mr. Jackson, his preacher friend, whom he knew at Rockwood, was called back, Breazeale wanted a minister who could and would tell the truth about him. Arrangements were made for a hearse, singers from Knoxville and Chattanooga were engaged, the date was set.

Discarding his usual overalls, Breazeale turned up with a store-bought pin-striped suit, was persuaded to abandon his mule and ride on the front seat of the hearse with the driver over the rocky two miles leading from the main highway to the church. There, as highway patrolmen, deputy sheriffs tried to break the traffic jam, soda pop and hot dog stands had sprung up, the church yard took on the trappings of a Roman holiday. But it was a curious crowd, nevertheless as evidenced by the fact that the grave was stripped bare of the flowers that florists from all parts of the state sent, while other souvenir hunters were lucky if they got Breazeale to autography a copy of the funeral invitation.

Mighty proud, was Breazeale of the way the whole thing turned out. Recalling that he was particularly anxious to know what was to go on at his funeral, see that the preacher got things about him straight, he said he wanted it all cleared up before he died. Added he, "If a man's going to Heaven he's going to Heaven; and if he aint, there ain nothing no preacher can say that can get him there."

Pat For President! 'Hell No!' Says Bilbo

"Aye," chirped the Democratic State Executive Committee of Mississippi unanimously Tuesday when Mrs. Nell Hunt, committeewoman from McComb upped with a resolution praising "the great intellect, the loyal devotion to the Democratic Party, the patriotism" of the illustrous Senator Pat Harrison, unreservedly commending him as the ideal man for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1940.

"Hell, no!" shouted Senator (The Man) Bilbo, when reporters found him, asked him if the agreed with the committee. Added he, "do you suppose that after voting against him as majority leader I would vote for him for President? I am a 100 per cent Democrat and a New Dealer of the first water."* Decidedly on the bit at the moment was The Man as he turned from Senator Harrison, waded into Governor White, criticized him sharply for going to Washington to seek $26,000,000 for roads through the aid of Senator Harrison. Insisted he, "you can rest assured that there will be no commitals for Mississippi without my participation."** Commented Senator Harrison, deeply appreciative of the compliment, "I am not a candidate for president."

Meanwhile, the State Committee approved the list of entrants for the August primary, heard Chairman Herbert Holmes of Senatobia explain that the Democratic National Committee wanted help in raising campaign funds. Slightly upset was Chairman Holmes over newspaper reports quoting him as saying that an effort was made to shake down Federal employes for $25 apiece, and that he stopped Chairman Farley's efforts to organize negro Democratic Clubs in Mississippi. Explained he, that since Mississippi had no Jackson Day dinner, the National Committee had asked for some funds, he promptly named Mrs. Mary Louis Kenall, Louis Jiggitts and Edward Lipscomb, he presumed that Federal employes contributed, but there was no shake down. Neither did he tell the committee that Mr. Farley wanted to organize negro Democratic Clubs. Explained he, he did state that some such movement had been started around Mound Bayou, the negro settlement in Bolivar County, but that it had been nipped in the bud."

Adding to the negro-club denial was Mr. Farley himself, who in a long distance call to Phil Stone, old Oxford friend, who had "Dear Jimmed" him in a pointed letter, told Mr. Stone that he had never had anything of the sort in mind, authorized Mr. Stone to deny it.

PAT HARRISON FOR PRESIDENT? 'Not by a whole lot,' says Senator Bilbo.

* Referring to the battle last Summer, in which Senator Barkley of Kentucky defeated Senator Harrison, 37 to 36, for the majority leadership, with Senator Bilbo voting for Barkley.

** Said Governor White as he was asked to comment on his visit to Washington, his call on the President and Secretary Ickes with Senator Harrison, "I don't care which of the senators gets the credit—all I want is the money."

Political — 1938

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

30 Counties Near Williamston's Call

Black dispatch

Plans Laid To Register More Negroes in Democratic Column

Delegates representing thirty counties of the state arrived in Oklahoma City Saturday morning at the call of Dr. H. W. Williamston, chairman of the Negro Democratic Central Committee. The meeting was held in the Slaughter Hall beginning at 2 p. m.

6-4-38

Dr. Williamston, who has been confined for seven weeks in Jamison Hospital, Texarkana, Ark., was present although on crutches, to preside over the meeting. Attorney Joe Evins, chairman of the executive committee, Okmulgee, was unable to be present on account of his confinement in Park Sanitarium, Guthrie, suffering from a severe case of diabetes.

More than 300 citizens piled into the hall to witness the deliberations of the Central committee. Dr. Williamston opened the meeting with an extended talk. He said that the meeting was not only a get-together meeting to cement the members into a united front for the coming campaign, but that in addition he wanted to start immediately a registration campaign to place more Negroes in the ranks of the Democratic party.

"This organization does not endorse candidates in the primary," declared Dr. Williamston when George R. Ragland sought to have the committee go on record as endorsing candidates. "We'll be ready to get behind the ticket named by the Democratic party in the fall election one hundred per cent," Dr. Williamston continued.

Pep talks were made by J. Bernard Smith, Muskogee; J. W. Sanford, Langston; Rev. Bryant, Muskogee; A. B. McDonald, Oklahoma City; C. R. Buford, Holdenville; W. H. Tolliver, Ardmore; Rev. D. C. Miller, Coalgate; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; H. F. V. Wilson, Ardmore; William Phillips, Duncan. Major H. C. McCormick was noted in the audience.

Following the public meeting the executive committee went into executive session, with the following counties represented: Okmulgee, Tulsa, Atoka, LeFlore, Murray, Tillman, Logan, Noble, Coal, Grady, Blaine, Muskogee, Love, Jackson, Cotton, Pushmataha, Carter, McIntosh, McClain, Bryan, Hughes, Choctaw, Johnston, Comanche, Garvin, Oklahoma, Payne, Stephens, McCurtain, Jefferson.

Gastonia N C Gazette
May 24, 1938

SENATOR SMITH'S PUNISHMENT

(Textile Bulletin.)

When Senator E. D. Smith of South Carolina walked out of the National Democratic convention, as a protest against featuring Negro speakers and expressing admiration for them, a black mark was placed against his name by the administration.

When Senator Smith led the fight against the futile and useless anti-lynching bill which was introduced solely for the purpose of pleasing the Negro voters in Chicago, New York and other Northern centers, several more black marks were placed against him.

Senator Smith knew that if a Negro raped a white girl in any mill village of the South, and was caught no anti-lynching law passed by Congress would prevent his being lynched by the mill employees, and he also knew that the same applied to any farm community of the South.

Senator Smith may have voted against other administration measures which he thought were against the best interests of the people of his state but when he refused to join in the plans to please Northern Negroes, he incurred the wrath of those who now dictate policies.

Gov. Olin Johnson of South Carolina has been summoned to Washington and kneeling before Franklin D. Roosevelt, has kissed the hem of his garment, been touched upon the shoulder and told to go forth and slay E. D. Smith.

Senator Smith's sin is that he refused to be subservient to Northern Negro politicians when the administration sought thereby to purchase the votes of the black districts of Northern cities.

Senator Smith may be defeated as a punishment for daring to stand by the South and its traditions but we believe that he would rather go down in defeat than to take a place with those who, under administration orders, now stand in line for an opportunity to kiss the posterior extremity of Northern Negro politicians who control the vote of the black districts of the big cities.

Senator Smith's crime is that he could not forget that he was a white man and a South Carolinian.

Greenville, S C News
May 1, 1938

Amend Rule 32 Or Party Is Ruined, Smith Warns

Editor The News:

Since some insinuations have been made as to who and why the move to amend Rule 32 was started, I would like to explain this point. We all recall that at the time the resolution was passed by District No. 1 of the Junior Order proposing to make Rule 32 read as it did from 1902 to 1912, namely, making the pledge only apply to nominees of the primary, which would not abolish it but amend it, the filibuster in the United States Senate against the old Republican and New Democratic Anti-Lynching bill was in full swing and all of the South was up in arms about it. Our junior senator, Byrnes, said on the floor of the Senate during the filibuster among other things the following:

"The greatest change in the political history of America has taken place. In the Senate there are 96 votes, and 76 senators are registered as democrats. Proponents of this bill claim 70 votes. I know of two or three Republicans who are disposed to vote against it. I must believe if the poll announced by the advocates of the bill is correct, that 55 out of the 76 Democrats of this body are counted in support of the bill. The lone voice coming from the North thus far is defense of the South and in opposition to this bill is that of the Republican Senator for Idaho (Mr. Borah.)

"It undoubtedly is true that the unity of the white people in the South in supporting the Democratic party has been due to the belief that when problems affecting the negro and the very soul of the South arose, they could depend upon the democrats of the North to rally to their support.

"Mr. President, southern democrats may as well realize now the change that has taken place. If statements of democratic senators on political conditions in their states can be accepted as true, today 90 per cent of the negroes of the North instead of voting for republican candidates, are voting for democratic candidates. The negro has not only come into the Democratic pary, but the negro has come into control of the Democratic party. . . .

"If Walter White, who from day to day sits in the gallery should consent to have this bill laid aside, its advocates would desert it as quickly as football players unscramble when the whistle of the referee is heard. . . .

"What legislation will he next demand of the Congress of the United States? I do not know. Will he demand that Congress enact legislation to punish officials of a state who fail to protect negroes in the right to stop at hotels where white persons are entertained, following the law the negroes recently had enacted in Pennsylvania?

"Today, the South may just as well know that because of its policy it cannot appeal to the republicans of the north, and that it has been deserted by the democrats of the North. Daily we hear of the influence of the negro voter in the North."

All of these quotations are taken from page 459 of the Congressional Record for January 11, 1938.

Under such circumstances and following the spirit and truth of the remarks of our junior senator, District No. 1 of the Junior Order passed the resolution suggesting the amending of Rule 32 so as to make the pledge apply only to nominees of our primary, which includes all of our county and state officers and Congressmen and United States Senators, which would relieve us of pledging ourselves to support those very senators Mr. Byrnes was talking about. Notice what he says about what happened in Pennsylvania "recently" where the democrats are in control!

Remember rule 32 as is, was not adopted until 1914! Wade Hampton and the Red Shirts never heard of it! It has never rendered any service to South Carolina democracy! Unless it is amended as suggested it stands a good chance of seriously dividing our people and driving thousands of them out of our primaries, for thousands are not going to pledge themselves to support those Yankee senators described by Senator Byrnes. As he says, "The greatest change in the political history of America has taken place." And, we just as well get ready to meet it!

It is foolishness to talk about the amending of Rule 32 making it possible for negroes to enter our primaries, etc. Rule 32 has nothing to do with that. Rule seven takes care of that, providing that only negroes who voted for General Hampton in 1876 may vote in our Democratic primaries.

ED B. SMITH.

Birmingham Ala.
Alabama
June 6, 1938

EDITORIAL

"WE PEOPLE of the South," observes the Winfield (Ala.) *Journal*, "are not funny, we just *act* funny.' And, says the Clarke County (Ala.) *Democrat:* "The Democratic Party has been maintained as a major political organization throughout the years by the unwavering loyalty of the Solid South; yet today, with this party in power, we find the South battling for its economic existence against arbitrary legislation and a breakdown of thought and action which we consider indispensable in an untrammeled democratic form of government"—a situation, it points out, brought about not by the opposition party but by the head of our own party.

Who remembers that our forefathers shed their blood for state's rights; that, as a minority, we of the South demanded strict adherence to and interpretation of the Constitution; that Morgan, Pettus and Underwood untiringly fought centralization of power in Washington, bureaucracy and pork barrel legislation? Who recalls Franklin Roosevelt's 'righteous indignation' over the Hoover Farm Board's policy of crop control—his 1930 speech on state's rights and the 'political overlords' and 'super-minds' of the Hoover regime? Who, we might ask, remembers what the Democratic Party did stand for?

Why still the Solid South? Why 'solid' for the sire of so many of our economic shackles? What rewards this unwavering loyalty? Who but our own leaders thrust at us with such daggers as the Boileau amendment to cut the young throat of our promising dairy industry? Who but our own leaders sponsor the venomous wage-hour bill by which they say to us that 'although we of the North have shackled your industry with discriminatory freight rates and though we pay Southern WPA reliefers far less than we pay ours, still your struggling industries must pay the same wages as ours in spite of your God-given climatic advantages.' Yes, it is *our* party that fetters us.

It was not the damn Republicans, but *our* party, that knifed at us with the odium-packed anti-lynching bill; that cut deep into the pride of Southerners by sending bureaucrats (NLRB, etc.) of foreign lineage to oust our courts and with their own rules sit in judgment over the attacks of confessed bombers, killers and Communists on our industries; that gave, not to the loyal South but to doubtful states the large relief appropriations. Our party, too, cut at us with the reorganization bill in defiance of the party of the South which down through the years had fought all forms of centralization and bureaucracy (and which put into office the Roosevelt who fought so valiantly for these principles—until elected). This leader of ours rips from our party emblem the banner of "White Supremacy" and lures in the Negroes with political pap, anti-lynch and fat jobs—and then cannot find words to express his gratitude for the handpicking our Alabama politicians did for him in 1936.

Then, as if these stabs were not enough, *our* party, without a dissenting murmur from the Blacks and the Graveses and the others who swore to fight the move till death, plunged the dagger in deep to abolish the two-thirds rule which we as children were told would always stand between the South and Northern domination. To this lethal blow we only whispered: "Et tu Brute?"

The Solid South plods on over the rocky road *our* party lays for us. No, we of the South are not funny; we just *act* funny.

Columbia, S. C. State
June 13, 1938

A 100 PER CENTER.

One of Columbia's most interesting and energetic citizens is, according to his own statement, a 100 per center. "Yes sir!" he declared in a discussion overheard by The State, "I am 100 per cent. for Roosevelt."

His friend, surprised at the outburst, asked the 100 per center when he changed his ideas about liquor.

"I have not changed them!" asserted the 100 per center. "I believe in prohibition, and in the enforcement of it. On that point I do not agree with Roosevelt at all. He said the saloon would not be allowed to come back, but it is back, and I'm against him there."

This same 100 per center is also a defender of the Confederate faith, an ardent believer in the sanctity of the South's long lost cause. His friend asked if the 100 per center thought the president should have encouraged the Negro voters of the North, and won them, as he has done."

"No," said the 100 per center.

Next, the friend asked on what basis relief money should have been and should be apportioned among the states?

"On the basis of need."

"Do you think it has been apportioned on that basis?"

"No," again replied the 100 per center. "It has not, and the president was wrong when he did not so apportion it."

Columbia, S. C. State
June 20, 1938

CONVENTION PRAYERS.

Senator Smith questions the motives of the arrangers of program for the latest National Democratic convention held in Philadelphia. He says they invited a Negro clergyman to pray, not because they were seeking first a divine blessing, but because they were after an election blessing. National conventions, Democratic and Republican alike, plan such things carefully and shrewdly. The Protestants are given their turns, the Catholics theirs, and racial lines are recognized by invitations to Jews and to Negroes.

Clergymen no doubt recognize the political motives behind the invitations which come to them. But no doubt they also know that politicians need to be prayed for, and so they go ahead and pray. Maybe they are right, too. But we do wish some way might be devised to take the appearance of politics from the observance of worship. Perhaps names of clergymen in the convention city should be placed in a hat, and drawn out by a blindfolded blind man, who is known to be independent in politics. There is no reason to suppose the Almighty listens more attentively to a prominent clergyman than to one of humble charge; and no reason we can state to believe He listens more attentively to a man representing one denomination than to a man representing another.

Greenville, S. C. News
June 26, 1938

Democratic Party Gone: 'Golden Calf' Is Label Now

Editor The News:

While it is not unusual to find myself in agreement in whole or in part with The News editorial comments, favorable or unfavorable, on sincerely congratulate you on your editorial in the recent issue commenting on Frank Kent's very intelligent analysis of the present Lafollette movement in its relation to the Democratic party organization and entitled, "The Danger To The Party."

In my humble judgment Mr. Kent's analysis is entirely correct as a mental picture of the present situation, and your editorial summing up of its probable future effect as a destroyer of party unity is also correct as being the legitimate result if not radically changed at once. But as I see it, the time for change of policy is past. The so-called Democratic victory of 1932 was made possible by cooperation of all the wild and radical elements in the nation among the white population very greatly reinforced by Democratic absorption of the Northern Negro vote. In 1936 this multi-colored party formation was continued by the same ineligible citizenship, united and strengthened by generous participation in the vote getting distribution of Washington largess, etc. The Democratic label is good enough for the ramblers through the treasury and will be retained by the ramblers as long as the rambling is profitable, and no longer.

Anyway, the old time Democratic party is gone, displaced by the "gold-tendencies of national policy, still Ien calf." It will never return. So my advice is that we southerners confine our political activities within the realm of the white race and refuse support to all parties that would beckon to the negro, whatever the label might be.

W. P. Beard.

Abbeville.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

The Democratic Primary: Shall the Negro Look Backward or Forward?

(An Editorial Regarding Leon C. Phillips)

As this hectic primary marathon draws to a close the Black Dispatch wants to caution thousands of Negroes, who have recently entered the Democratic party, and who will participate in the Democratic primary July 12th, to approach their suffrage privileges this year realizing that the new political friendships, recently effected, call for sober judgment and clearer thinking than ever before.

Great social changes have come to all America in the past decade, which demand shifts and transpositions in your former outlook and vision. The revolutionary upsurges afecting your life has not alone touched Negroes but everyone of the 130,000 citizens of the United States.

Thirty years ago the Democrats of this state came into control of government. A constitution was written which, in its administration, barred Negroes from many fundamental and basic rights in citizenship. One of these was the right of suffrage. The marvel of the age is that with the same restrictive law on the statute books, written in 1915 to disfranchise Negroes, black people today vote in almost every section of Oklahoma. In Oklahoma county during those evil days a quarter of a century ago, this writer was denied balot right because he could not read the writer was denied ballot rights because he could not read the constitution of Oklahoma to the satisfaction of a white man who himself was obviously illiterate. Where is the black man in Oklahoma County who is today denied the right to vote? Unquestionably times have changed and the Democratic party has been liberalized in its attiude toward Negroes.

7-2-38

You are now in the Democratic party, but have you changed? Unquestionably there are many Democrats still clinging to the old order and old traditions who have not changed, but Negroes who have stepped over into the Democratic column should show by their ballots July 12 that their political gestures are something more than a mere ritualism. If black voters have changed it means that we have come into the Democratic party with new techniques and a new outlook toward many of those who formerly restricted our rights as citizens.

Under the old order as Negro Republicans we developed a vicious political complex toward many of our white neighbors. We carried always in our minds a blanket indictment against every Democrat. In the present primary, an effort is being made to return you to the old way of thinking. This primary will, in actuality, prove a test in determining how definite is your trend towards liberal thinking.

In order that you may know that the thought we impose here is not incident to race and that some one higher in authority than this writer observes the same strictures present in our political system, we quote here a statement made by President Roosevelt last Friday night during the course of his "fireside chat":

"In the coming primaries in all parties, there will be many clashes between schools of thought generally classified as liberal and conservative. Roughly speaking, the liberal school of thought recognizes that the new conditions throughout the world call for new remedies."

In other words, in the Democratic party today there are many men who still cling to the old order of thinking while thousands of them have changed completely, and included in their new vision is compassed the thought of fairer and more definite recognition of the Negro vote.

There is hardly a white Democrat today who is not scarred by the old techniques and rules which barred Negroes from suffrage rights and equal opportunities. Your job in the oncoming primary is to differentiate between the liberal Democrat of the new order and the reactionary, stand-pat group who would retain the status quo. Your job is not to remember what a certain Democrat was, but what he is. Your political strategy should be to evaluate the candidate, based upon his attitude now, and not what represented a decade ago.

Only by this method can Negroes build friendships within the Democratic party. Only by this method can we add to our growing number of real and sincere friends who form the dominant political party in the South.

In saying this, the Black Dispatch believes all Negroes should fight to battle down every citizenship restriction. We do not resign a single constitution battle front. What we discuss her is political techniques and methods which will get us somewhere in the Democratic party. We oppose with all of our might the attempt to disfranchise Negroes anywhere in the United States, and most especially in Oklahoma where we live.

We have said all of this to arrive at an issue extant in this campaign. Opponents of Leon C. Phillips have heralded it all over Oklahoma that he was the leader in the fight several years ago to disfranchise the Negroes of Okfuskee County. He is being paraded as an enemy to black people. No thought is given to probable change of heart and to a record in recent legislatures which prove he has fought for everything Negro voters have asked him to stand.

No thought is given to the fact that Negroes do now vote in Okfuskee County, or the obvious truth that Leon C. Phillips, an apostle of the new order among Democrats, contributed to the voluntary enfranchisement of a once beleaguered, blockade black vote. No black man in Oklahoma outside of Okfuskee County is more prepared to discuss this subject than this writer, because as the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Oklahoma, we joined in mass meetings all over Okfuskee County and helped to raise money when the battle raged to enfranchise the black vote of that county.

We are going to recite here as briefly as possible the history of the registration fight in Okfuskee County letting the chips fall where they may. We would not for one minute hide any fact, but we still retain the previously expressed view, as a Negro Democrat, casting your vote in the Democratic primary, you must evaluate white Democrats for WHAT THEY ARE and not on a basis of WHAT THEY WERE.

Leon C. Phillips was an attorney for the Democratic registrars, charged in 1934 with denying Negroes the right to vote in Okfuskee County. He represented them through all of the litigation which ended in the Federal court of Judge Kennamer. When the legislature in 1926 appropriated $2500.00 in attorney fees to pay these attorneys the Black Dispatch protested. None of these facts do we deny, or would we shield from our readers. All of these facts were reviewed by this writer with Leon C. Phillips quite recently before we announced our support of him in the gubernatorial race.

Black Dispatch

When Judge Kennamer issued a preemptory writ requiring the registrars in Okfuskee County to register the more than 800 Negro petitioners, the attorneys for the registrars did not accept defeat. They turned to Oklahoma representatives in Congress and had Okfuskee County taken out of the Northern Federal District and placed in the Eastern area, presided over by Judge Robert L. Williams, who was the father of the registration act, disfranchising Negroes. We refer to this move on the part of the attorneys because therein lies a story about which every black voter in Oklahoma would do well to know. We shall tell that later. Certain it is that when once Okfuskee County was in the Federal district of Judge Robert L. Williams, Okfuskee County registrars had nothing to fear from either Judge Franklin E. Kennamer or from opposing Republican counsel who sought to disfranchise the black voters. Keep this in mind.

Let us turn first to the charge that Leon C. Phillips was an attorney for the Democratic registrars who disfranchised Negro voters in Okfuskee County. Remember now Leon C. Phillips was not the complaintant or the defendant in these cases, he was an attorney of record for citizens of Okfuskee County, who employed him.

Are you going to argue that Leon C. Phillips had not right to represent these clients, and are you going to insist that the lawyer who defends a man in court is guilty of the same crime with which his client is charged? We do not think your mental processes flow in such direction.

If you are that prejudiced in surveying public questions what do you think should be the attitude of white people towards white attorneys who represent Negroes as against white people. In a southern state there would be no reasonable grounds upon which white people who have ever defended Negroes in segregation, disfranchising and Jim Crow cases could present themselves for public office. If all white people took the attitude which perhaps a few Negroes might take in this instance none of the white attorneys who handled the registration cases in Okfuskee county for Negroes need ever run for office.

There is no way for the Negro to peg himself in the Democratic party through a discussion of the past. We must drop our Republican complex. A program of construction can be formulated only onto a basis of what the party and its members stand for today. Those who would point backward have no other intention than to make Keep of black people "political pillars of salt".

But the truth is that after winning their fight to prevent Negroes from voting, by moving Okfuskee county from Northern to the Eastern Federal district, the white democrats did a thing in Okfuskee County unprecedented in the history of the south. Those white Democrats won a political fight and then extended the olive branch to Negroes. They had during the years of fight been impressed with the growing tendency on the part of Negroes to join the to Democratic party, so one night after Okfuskee County had been lawfully transferred to Judge Williams' jurisdiction in a school house packed with black voters, where Leon C. Phillips and Nick Barry, present state Senator from Okfuskee County stood, these white Democrats offered the hand of fellowship to the Negroes of Okfuskee County. "Boys, it's all over," they said "We want you to go down the line with us."

Have you ever before in your political experience heard of a simular expressed attitude on the part of white Democrats? They did not have to make peace with the black voters the moment Okfuskee County was transferred to the Eastern Federal sub-division. but they did call a truce and today Negroes in Boley and

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There is no way for the Negro to peg himself in the Democratic party through a discussion of the past. We must drop our Republican complex. A program of construction can be formulated only on a basis of what the party and its members stand for today. Those who would point backward have no other intention than to make of black people "political pillars of salt'.'

But the truth is that after winning their fight to prevent Negroes from voting, by moving Okfuskee county from Northern to the Eastern Federal district, the white democrats did a thing in Okfuskee County unprecedented in the history of the south. Those white Democrats won a political fight and then extended the olive branch to Negroes. They had during the years of fight been impressed with the growing tendency on the part of Negroes to join the Democratic party, so one night after Okfuskee County had been transferred to Judge Williams' jurisdiction in a school house packed with black voters, where Leon C. Phillips and Nick Barry, present state Senator from Okfuskee County stood, these white Democrats offered the hand of fellowship to the Negroes of Okfuskee County. "Boys, it's all over," they said "We want you to go down the line with us."

Have you ever before in your political experience heard of a simular expressed attitude on the part of white Democrats? They did not have to make peace with the black voters the moment Okfuskee County was transferred to the Eastern Federal subdivision. but they did call a truce and today Negroes in Boley and

all over Okfuskee County are fraternizing and voting with white Democrats.

Up in Wagoner County, in the same Eastern Federal District with Okfuskee County, where the whites and the blacks have not made peace, Negroes do not vote. The Black Dispatch and the N. A. A. C. P. is still fighting to free black citizens, but down in Okfuskee where black folk and white folk got together every Negro who desires to register has that American privilege. Ask any substantial citizen of Okfuskee County whether what we say is true. We never did and we never will join with any white man in a program to restrict the rights of Negroes. On the other hand we joined the Democratic party to work with and for the political aspirations of all white Democrats, who by their deeds heve proven they have the larger vision; who show signs of liberalism and fairness; who ve right-a-bout faced in their attitude toward Negroes.

On July 12th when you enter the polling place you should divest yourself of the old prejudices just as has Leon C. Phillips and thousands of other democrats; you should remember that most every democrat carries some of the scars, aftermath of the old techniques and old attitudes previously sustained by the democratic party toward Negroes. You racial liberalism will depend upon your ability to approve Democrats based upon what they are rather than upon what they were. After all that is the reason why Negroes are accepted in the democratic party. White democrats are willing to accept Negroes for what they are rather than for what they were.

The answer to the ugly charges that Leon C. Phillips denied Negroes the right to vote is focal in the fact that every Negro in Okfuskee County who today desires to vote has that privilege The answer to the charge rests in the fact that white Domecrats in Okfuskee have all of the power; all of the security and the same law today had in 1924 with which to disfranchise black men, but they voluntarily refuse to exercise such power. When you vote July 12th, will you be looking backward or forward?

Birmingham, Ala. News

JJune 24, 1938

CRITICAL CONDITION FACES SOUTH

Now that Congress has adjourned and Southern representatives are at home, there should be a concerted movement of some nature to ascertain all the implications of the new war upon the South and to develop some effective means of meeting it.

Never before was such progress achieved by those who would reduce the South to a colony, destined to pay increasing tribute to the North, and the situation is greatly complicated by the fact that there is an element in the Democratic party that has assumed leadership in this task of subjugation.

In discussing what has been done and what is in prospect, The Northern Virginia Daily declares: "The South cannot afford to have its industry and agriculture destroyed or seriously damaged. It cannot afford to have a revival of race agitation. It cannot afford to have its democracy trampled under foot at Washington." Yet, this Virginia newspaper continues, if the South cannot afford these things "it must act and act quickly."

Northern industrialists want the South forced out of the industrial field. Northern agriculturists want the South restricted to cotton and kept from competing in dairy products, livestock or wheat. John Lewis wants Southern industrial workers thrown upon the farms and out of industry because he can't control them. Northern Negroes want Southern Negroes admitted to Democratic primaries. And since these forces exercise political control in many Northern zones, they are listened to by Democratic leaders in such zones.

Will the South submit, or will it organize and fight to make the Democratic party the instrument of service to the South and the nation that it should be?—Gadsden Times.

To Colored Democrats Of Oklahoma

We, the undersigned, Colored Democrats of Okfuskee County, wish to correct certain malicious and false statements which have been circulated in attempt to defeat Leon C. "Red" Phillips in his race for Democratic nomination for Governor. Black Dispatch

The author of these circulars did not have the nerve to sign his letter, but they attempted to say that Leon C. Phillips was opposed to the colored people of this state, and had taken the lead in trying to disfranchise them in Okfuskee County.

7-9-38

We know that this is false. We know that a great part of Mr. Philips' law practice in Okfuskee County has been the representation of Colored People, in protecting their rights in Court. We know that these Negro clients have been given diligent service and in no instance has there ever been dissatisfaction registered on the part of any Negro client living in Okfuskee County or elsewhere. Further, there is at the present time living in Okemah, a population of some 750 colored people who have their homes.

Oklahoma City Black Dispatch

Mr. Phillips has advised us gladly, and probably no other man in Oklahoma has ever given so much of his time and free advice to the colored race.

The Negroes of Okfuskee County are 100 per cent behind Leon C. Phillips for Governor, and have always supported him in his political efforts. We know that Mr. Phillips will carry Okfuskee County Negroes by a landslide majority.

A man is best known by and among the people with whom he daily associates. If we, the Negroes of Okfuskee County, where Leon C. Phillips lives, feel free to lend Mr. Phillips our unqualified endorsement, it proves conclusively that sometimes a prophet does have honor in his own country and that all Okahloma Negroes should place implicit confidence in him.

Finally, we feel that the relationship betwen the race in Okfuskee County today is the healthiest in the State of Oklahoma. We contribute this rather fine attitude very largely to the efforts and attitudes on the part of Mr. Phillips.

When he is elected Governor it will be a signal victory of which all Negroes of Oklahoma should and will be justly proud.

Respectfully submitted,

The Negroes of Okfuskee Co.

(Signed):

H. O. Marriott.
H. P. Pendleton.
Dr. C. B. Thomas.
Jess Allen.
Elnora Thomas.
L. M. Henson.
R. A. Doster, Water Dept.
Katherine McGuirt.
James D. Black.
Prof. T. A. Douglass.
F. H. Douglass.
Albert McCray.
L. M. Morgan.
Wallace Summers.
Booker T. Braggs,
Charlie Toles.
H. C. Glaze.
Wm. S. Price.
L. M. Marshall.
W. L. Johnson.
L. G. Ashley, City Councilman.
E. J. Paxton.
R. C. McCain.
Prof. C. Brunner.
A. M. Thornton.
Rev. Christ Rhone.
Tee Smith.
Rev. J. W. Tomlin.
Rev. J. W. Cassey.
Letchen A. Hill, Mayor of Boley.
J. L. Scott, M. D., City Councilman.
M. H. Martin.
J. A. Jefferson.
Dr. W. B. Richie.
W. A. Paxton, M. D., City Councilman.
T. R. Dolphin.
B. Oliver.
Mary E. Black.
J. H. McRiley, Justice of Peace
E. R. Cavill.
R. S. Greene.
Leon Cowan.
W. C. Owens, City Clerk.
E. Alexander, City Treasurer.
W. F. Halsome.
Robt. Partridge.
A. A. Grayson.
Will Sparks.
Lena Sparks.
W. A. Kennedy.
J. T. Tucker.
Samuel Carter.
H. M. Sanders, M. D.
R. S. Dukes.
J. C. Menser.
C. A. Ellis.
Lillie Mae Harris.
M. W. Lee, Clerk School Board.
H. E. Lee.
L. M. Turner.

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Beaufort, S. C., Gazette
June 9, 1938

Negroes Control Democratic Party

The following is quoted from a speech of Senator James F. Byrnes, delivered in the senate, on the legislative day of January 5, 1938, during the filibuster against the "anti-lynching bill", and reported in the Congressional Record of Tuesday, January 11, 1938:

"Mr. President, Southern Democrats may as well realize now the change that has taken place. If statements of Democratic Senators on political conditions in their states can be accepted as true, today 90 per cent of the negroes of the north, instead of voting for Republican candidates, are voting for Democratic candidates. The engro has not only come into the Democratic party, but the negro has come into control of the Democratic party. One negro, whose name heretofore has been mentioned in the debate—Walter White, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People—has ordered this bill to pass. If a majority can pass it, the bill will pass".

For the information of voters of South Carolina and that the press may have the exact words used by Senator Byrnes—all of the words are true—The News and Courier prints them and will print them again.—News and Courier.

Selma, Ala., Times Journal
June 14, 1938

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS MUST FACE FACTS

Speculating upon the visit of Republican National Committee Chairman John Hamilton to Birmingham, the Alabama Journal expresses the opinion that there is no real basis for hope that the Gop can win any part of this state from Democratic allegiance. The Journal proceeds on the assumption that all Democrats are determined to settle serious grievances within their ranks without breaking party lines and asserts that Republican administrative records preclude any chance that the party might gain strength in the South.

Says the Journal:

What is behind this Hamilton visit? So far as we recall, it is the first time this state has ever been honored with so extensive a visit by so prominent a figure in the Republican party. Mr. Hamilton is not specially devoted to Alabama or to the South. His home is Kansas and he was the man who helped lead his party to such inglorious defeat under the Landon banner in 1936. He draws $25,000 a year salary to look out for the political interest and welfare of the Republicans and while he has enemies and bitter critics within the ranks of his own party he is nevertheless the accepted leader and spokesman in its political aspirations. That he should have selected Birmingham at this time for a two day visit is an intriguing idea and arouses speculation as to whether Republicans are laying deep plans for the Congressional elections this fall and for the presidential election of 1940.

Is there any real basis for Republican hope that the party can win Alabama or any part of it away from Democratic allegiance? We do not think so. In spite of Southern dissatisfaction with some of the trends of the party nationally, there is still no indication that this state, or in fact any of the Southern states, are wavering in loyalty to the party.

But these are subjects which Democrats still feel can be handled within the party; they feel that the Democratic party to which the South has so long given its allegiance is still its guiding pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night. Certainly more than fifty years of experience under Republican rule convinced the South that its welfare is not promoted by having that party in control in Washington. If Mr. Hamilton expects to convince the people of Birmingham otherwise, he is due for an awakening. He will find us Democrats having some pretty lively disagreements among ourselves, but that neither faction of the party wants to take up with a stranger such as the Republican party has shown itself to be ever since Carpetbag days.

The Times-Journal yields to no newspaper on its record of service to the Democratic party, but it sees little point in ignoring two important factors in the present political situation that the Journal apparently overlooks. The Montgomery publication fails to take into consideration the widely-accepted fact that thousands of party stalwarts in the South flatly deny that the present administration is truly Democratic and contend that voting against it in the persons of its hundred-percent adherents would not be voting against the party of the Solid South. Furthermore, it is rapidly becoming general knowledge that the New Deal has sold the South down the river for the negro vote in the North and that another regime of political carpetbagging apparently lies ahead for us under Rooseveltism.

Should the Journal send representatives out into various sections of the state and question Alabama citizens who are too busy contributing to the productivity of the nation to hold out hands toward Washington, it would learn what Chairman Hamilton already knows—that thousands of solid Democrats in this state are ready to jump in any direction from the New Deal.

For instance, nomination by Republicans of a widely-known and substantial citizen to oppose one hundred percent Lister Hill in the Fall senate election would result in a vote trend which would provide a rude jolt for numerous complacent personages, even if the Montgomerian should win handily. Given a fair count, such a candidate might even find Lister luscious.

Actual victory, however, would not be necessary to make such a venture profitable to the Republican party, for even a good showing would establish the fact that there is a definite shift away from the New Deal party on the part of a great many solid, substantial voters. Mr. Hamilton knows this, else he would not have bothered about traveling so far from areas where it is popularly conceded that the Republicans have a chance to win.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 25, 1938

Another New Deal Victory

"Another New Deal victory" was the comment of a Charlestonian when "Joe" Louis knocked out Schmeling, the well known Aryan. Senator Byrnes said on the senate floor that the negroes control the Democratic party. The Democratic party controls the republic. The negroes in Harlem, Chicago, in the suffering Northern and Eastern cities, celebrated boisterously. They are Democrats, and 40 per cent of them are on relief. They are 100 per centers.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 25, 1938

Jersey City-South Carolina

The question in Jersey City is not whether Mayor Hague suppresses free speech but whether, if he does, the United States should intervene and suppress Mayor Hague and other Jerseymen.

The question is whether, if the state of New Jersey fails to protect free speech within its bounds, the United States should coerce New Jersey, send force into that state and compel it with guns and bombs to obey the United States.

Should the United States invade New Jersey if it and its people do not conform to Washington's way of thinking?

Inferring from the newspaper dispatches—at a long distance—The News and Courier is of opinion that Mayor Hague is guilty of the suppression of free speech and that New Jersey is guilty of neglect to protect it. Yet the United States government should stay out of New Jersey and not interfere with it in this matter.

Less than two weeks ago in Sumter, South Carolina, even free hearing of speech was suppressed. A party of negroes, about four score, quietly assembled to hear a New Deal orator, a 100 per center, a friend of President Roosevelt, deliver a speech, and they were invited out of the hall, the orator, who is also the governor of the state, saying that he "runs off" negroes.

That seems to us as high-handed as anything that Mayor Hague has done.

Had those negro citizens, after having been "run off" by some bystanders held a meeting and two or three of their orators had tried to deliver 100 per cent Roosevelt speeches, would they have been left to themselves? Would they not have been molested?

The negroes in South Carolina, generally, hold the president in affection, loving him not less devotedly than Governor Johnston and other 100 per centers, like State Senator Brown, do. He feeds many of them, gives them "relief", which no Republican president ever did.

Were the negroes in South Carolina, Democrats though (wrongly) considered "disfranchised", to try to hold Roosevelt meetings in the counties, attend them in thousands, testifying to their loyalty to the New Deal and gratitude to Mr. Roosevelt, would the white 100 per cent Roosevelt Democrats permit it, not interfering?

Were the negroes to invite distinguished negro Democrats, Vann and Rainey, to address them, would the white 100 per centers leave them alone or "run them off"?

In the News and Courier's opinion, free speech is freer in Mayor Hague's town than

it is in most parts of South Carolina, albeit no one says that the negro Democrats ("disfranchised") are "reds" or "Bolsheviks" or "Socialists" or hostile to our form of government.

Now The News and Courier would resent the United States coercing South Carolina if its governor neglected to protect free speech or allowed persons like "Bob" Vann and Rainey to be "run off". We had interference by the United States to protect free speech in South Carolina—it is within our memory. We want no more of it, however we believe in free speech and not in "running off" peaceable negroes.

Therefore, The News and Courier says that if New Jersey and Mayor Hague behave as most 100 per centers would in South Carolina, given what they consider sufficient provocation, it is just too bad and that the government of the United States and its minions should keep out of New Jersey.

For we want them to keep out of South Carolina. We are for protecting Governor Johnston from outside interference.

Albany-Decatur, Ala. Daily
June 23, 1938

We Wait Aggain

Some months ago before the wage and hour measure became a reality, one of Alabama's representatives, Mr. Patrick, let it be known that he was in position for a more or less swap out in voting for a wage and hour bill. The South, he thought, would receive the tasty plum of abolition of freight rate differentials if only the South would back the North and the East in the adoption of a wage and hour measure.

Well, we fell for it like the fictional ton of brick. The wage and hour bill has become a reality and what of Mr. Patrick's hope for ridding the South of the freight rate burden which has made it impossible for southern manufacturers to compete? Have we been taken on another political snipe hunt? Has Mr. Patrick (and others) been left with the sack?

Speaking boldly upon the subject is an editorial in the Gadsden Times, we reproduce a paragraph, stating, "Northern industrialists want the South forced out of the industrial field. Northern aggriculturists want the South restricted to cotton and kept from competing in dairy products, livestock or wheat. John Lewis wants Southern industrial workers thrown upon the farms and out of industry because he can't control them. Northern negroes want Southern negroes admitted to Democratic primaries. And since these forces exercise political control in many Northern zones they are listened to by Democratic leaders in such zones. Will the South submit, or will it fight to make the Democratic party the instrument of service to the South and the nation that it should be?"

Judging from the snipe hunt, we can answer the Times in few words. The South has submitted. The representatives in the Congress from the South have allowed the South to submit in the name of more promises of more snipe hunts. Many boards will be created. Many men will sit in judgment upon this industry and that and with the possibility that the majority of these men will have little actual knowledge of the South, of its people, of its hopes and necessities.

The South is to be beset by a new flood of bureaus, probably young lawyers who will follow the letter of the wage and hour law with little application of practical or economic sense. The wage and hour law is at last a reality, we soon enter upon a period of trial in which the judgment of the theorist is placed against the mature judgment of the industrialist and the business man. Southern labor is to be subjected to the same dose, there will be thousands of individual cases of Southern workmen who will suffer economic blows from the passage and the administration of this very wage and hour bill.

Hopeless situation? Not at all. Just hopeless so long as the Representatives and the Senators from the South accept a hope of legislative crusts, when they could easily slice the legislative pie, or see to it that nobody else slices the pie. We had much rather have seen the Congress remain in session for the next year engaged in filibuster than to have seen any wage and hour law passed, unless such a law was satisfactory to the South—which it is not.

Batesburg, S. C., Twin-City News
June 22, 1938

NOT TREASON . . . BUT PUREST PATRIOTISM!

"If I had been in the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in 1936, I would have walked out with some others," said Judge J. Henry Johnson Monday morning during his charge to the grand jury at the opening of the court of General Sessions for Colleton county. He referred to the fact that a negro had been asked to lead in prayer. He said that so far as he could learn the Republican convention was never opened with prayer by a negro. Two things Judge Johnson said he believed in and about which he is a crank—state's rights and white supremacy. He feared the National Democratic party is trying to destroy these in the south. He said the wage and hour bill in a few years would lead the south into bondage. The anti-lynching bill is not an anti-lynching bill but an anti-southern bill, designed to catch the vote of the negro up north. He contended that there is ample room in the country for both races each operating in his proper sphere. He charged that the southern Democrats had saved the party after the war, but that now there is danger that the Democratic party of the north will destroy it. He said that in these plain remarks he was trying to throw out some red flags to warn the people. The people of the south have been bought with a price, unfortunately, too small, he charged. This is the first time the national government has done anything for the south but even now the differential in favor of the north is out of all reason. After making these statements, Judge Johnson said that he realized it might prove costly to him to be making them, and that he had no apologies to make for having spoken thus, and 'if it be treason, make the most of it.'"

There are few thinking South Carolinians who will not agree whole-heatedly with the sentiments expressed by Judge Johnson. Even those South Carolinians who are benefitting from the New Deal squandering agree with Judge Johnson, but they are afraid to admit it.

Judge Johnson is right when he states that northern Democrats are likely to bring about a split in the party if they continue to favor northern negroes and disregard the rights of the southern white man in the party. The Republican party is a piker when it comes to coddling the northern negro compared to the coddling he is getting now from the Democratic party.

If Judge Johnson is guilty of treason in expressing the opinion he did at Walterboro, he can rest assured that there will be many other South Carolinians facing the firing squad with him.

Camden, S. C. Chronicle
JJune 24, 1938

THE PARTY AND THE NEGRO

In his talk at Walterboro, Judge J. Henry Johnson undoubtedl reflected the views of many thousands of South Carolinians in voicing his apprehension that the national Democratic party is trying to destroy states rights and white supremacy in the south.

Judge Johnson's reference to the conspicuous parts given northern negroes in the Philadelphia national convention and his evident dislike of that performance are clearly based upon his feeling that it represented an ostentatious play to the northern colored citizenship purely for "political" purposes.

And the average southerner, it is safe to say, feels about it like Judge Johnson. Much has developed since that time to confirm the view that northern politicians who have stood high in party counsels and in the favor of the party leadership went in for a very deliberate program of wholesome catering to and courting of the negro vote, with distribution of jobs, relief funds and conspicuous party "recognition" of leaders. It has all been done to win elections and keep these politicians in power. Observing how the party, at the behest of these politicians, has so solicitously coddled the negro in the north by any means possible in order to get him to vote "right," numerous southerners, like Judge Johnson, cannot help but feel that these same influences would very willingly sacrifice anything the south might hold dear in the way of white supremacy if and when it should suit their political purposes to do so.—The Greenville News.

Political – 1938

Party Affiliation

Democratic.

'About Four' Counties In Boley Session of League Of Young Negro Demos

Johns' Attempt to Steal Show Fails; Says Recess Lends Legality to Star Chamber Conference

Location of March Meeting Is Not Disclosed

Failing dismally to have any semblance of a state meeting of the League of Young Negro Democrats, called for Boley Saturday, C. R. Johns, Seminole, state president, said Wednesday:

"Because of inclement weather, the convention felt that it would be best to recess until another date set by the body which was March 26, 1938. The body empowered the president to name the next meeting place."

Johns alleged in his letter "about four counties represented" in the meeting. The president did not state why he would not be specific and say four or three. The fact that he said "about four" causes many to assume that it might have been "about none".

The meeting last Saturday was held without the minutes of the convention. Secretary A. W. Tompkins refusing to attend for the reason he alleges, it was agreed in the convention last year to hold the session in Oklahoma City. Tompkins said when interviewed on the subject, that while he was prepared to attend the convention in Oklahoma City, he was unwilling to attend an illegal meeting not authorized in the city of Boley.

Eugene Richardson, Oklahoma City insurance man, and a member of the executive committee, took more credit, however, than Tompkins. Richardson said that as soon as he was apprised of the sudden switching of the meeting to Boley, he immediately wrote letters to his friends in most of the counties asking them not to send delegates.

"I think the disgraceful browbeating and intimidation of delegates who attended the Negro Democratic Central Committee, by the Boley city marshals is too recent for anyone who likes freedom to return to that city for a conference of any sort," said Richardson.

Letchen A. Hill, mayor of Boley, and a member of the Howard-McCormick faction of the Negro Democrats, was in Oklahoma City Friday night and alleged, in a conversation with P. H. L. Rhone, he would attempt to call the meeting Saturday. Hill is the chairman of the executive committee. Rhone is a former secretary of the state league.

Strong opposition to allowing Johns to arbitrarily change the meeting place has developed since the notice was sent out. In his letter sent to the press Johns said the "next meeting will be regular and in order since the convention did not adjourn but recessed until a later date."

Richardson Wednesday took the position that the meeting could not have opened, much less adjourn, because, said Richardson, "the officers of the convention were not present.

"The 20 members of the executive committee were absent, and the meeting was called in a town not authorized by the convention in its last annual session."

It is assumed that the efforts of Johns to call the secret meeting at Boley results from a conspiracy of Johns and Hill to steal the organization set-up of the young Democrats for campaign purposes. Johns and Hill were recently named on the board of regents at Taft and it was their votes which helped to oust Dr. G. I. Lythcott from the position of medical superintendent at the Hospital for Negro Insane.

DEMOCRATS TO TOPEKA FOR A CELEBRATION

Wyandotte County Negroes Join Jeffersonian League Group

Approximately 200 delegates from Wyandotte county went to Topeka for the annual Washington's birthday Democratic pow-wow held Tuesday, February 22.

Mrs. Ida Ward, vice chairman of Negro women Democrats, is working on plans for all women to attend the Jeffersonian league meeting. This group was scheduled to meet from 2 to 4 o'clock Tuesday afternoon at the Topeka headquarters of the league.

The Wyandotte county group expects to affiliate with the Jeffersonian League, a statewide Democratic organization. Mrs. Mayme Bowling, of Emporia, was introduced at the meeting by Mrs. M. Gayden.

To Sponsor Banquet

The principal speaker was Mrs. Ella Whitfield of Kansas City, Kas. A reading was given by Mrs. B. Agee. Mrs. Rebecca Vinscon, chairman of the executive department read reports from the various county groups.

The climax of the Negro celebration was the Democratic club banquet which was held from 5 to 7 o'clock Tuesday evening at the Calvary Baptist church, Topeka.

Thornton Brown, chairman of the reception committee, was assisted by Mr. Long, of Wichita; Mrs. Ida Ward, vice chairman of the Negro women's Democratic group, and Mrs. Bessie Robinson, secretary.

Luverne, Ala., Journal
February 2, 1938

Sooner or later, the South is going to organize a "Southern Democratic Party," independent of the North and East. Then the Southern States can hold the balance of power, and by sticking together, get what they want in the way of legislation. The party leaders of the present have sold out, lock, stock and barrel, to the negro voters of New York, Indiana and Illinois. You may not believe this now, but you will know it soon.—Greene County Democrat, Eutaw, Ala.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
January 15, 1938

DEMAGOGUES.

In a tone which The Associated Press described as "angry," Senator Josiah T. Bailey, of North Carolina, told the Senate Wednesday that the South is determined to maintain "a white man's Government." Asserting that "the day the Democratic Party starts catering to the Negroes there will be no question of what will happen down South," Senator Bailey added: "We'll not yield. We'll not let anybody take the Democratic Party away from us. It is an institution down there. And no matter what happens, we will still be there in the same Old Democratic Party." Surely, Senator Bailey and other Southern Senators are aware that both races in the South disavow all thought of social equality. As for the Negro, in particular, he is confronted by other problems which he wants to see solved—economic opportunity and political justice.

In their discussion of the political implications of antilynching legislation, Senator Bailey and his Southern colleagues are none too careful with facts, and there are certain facts which are interesting. The Negro population in the North to which Senator Bailey charges the Democratic Party is catering is predominantly urban. In nine Northern cities, the percentages of the Negro population in 1930 were Chicago, 7; Cleveland, 8; Detroit, 8; Indianapolis, 12; Newark, 9; Philadelphia, 5; Manhattten borough, New York City, 12. Since the Democratic machine in most Northern States is primarily an affair of the large cities, the Negro vote, while not a factor in carrying Northern States for the Democratic Party, can easily be a major factor in carrying the cities in National, State, and local elections.

With those percentages in mind, what happened in 1936 is interesting. In 1932, the Negro vote was largely Republican. But in 1936, and in the mid-term elections in 1934, the Negro vote swung over to the Democrats. In recent years, the First Congressional District of Chicago has been the only one to send a Negro to the lower house of Congress. In 1928, 1930, and 1932, the Negro Representative was a Republican. In 1934, and in 1936, he was a Democrat. When has Senator Bailey, or any other Southern Senator objected to the election of Negro Democrats in the North? When has a Southern Senator raised his voice in opposition to the unmistakable trend of the Negro vote towards the Democratic Party in the large, electorally important States of the North and East?

In a burst of demagogy, not duplicated since the balmiest days of Heflin and of Blease, Senator Bailey told his fellow Senators: "You can do what you please about the Negroes in Pennsylvania and the other States but when you come down to North Carolina and try to impose your will on us—in that hour, so help me

God, you'll learn a lesson you'll never forget." If the people can regard charitably the oratorical excesses of Senator Bailey and some of his Southern colleagues, the opinion will prevail that the orators are insincere. The only reasonable conclusion that can be reached by following Senator Bailey's fustian argument is that the South is tragically unenlightened in its attitude toward the Negro. That conclusion does not square with the facts, as any reader of Senator Borah's address in the current debate will understand. In his calmer moments, Senator Bailey must know that to hurl a book to the floor, as he did on Friday, injures his argument even more than it does the object of his wrath.

If public opinion in the South were not more humane and more enlightened than is reflected in addresses like that of Senator Bailey's and the earlier speech by Senator Russell, of Georgia, the Negro could not possibly have made the tremendous advance he has made in this section. In that progress, the Southern people's sympathy, aid, and encouragement have been vital factors.

The Negro's advances in education in citizenship, in the support of churches, in the ownership of property, in science and in the arts, refute the demagogy of the politicians.

TIME FOR SOUTH TO ACT

From the Sylvester Local.

A move has started to put Paul V. McNutt, Indiana New Dealer, forward as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president two years hence. Somehow we are unable to get up a great deal of enthusiasm for Mr. McNutt. As a matter of fact we are not so hot for any of these Northern Democrats. During the past five years, since Mr. Roosevelt took office, the North has not developed a Democrat that we would consider presidential timber. 3-11-38

Leadership of Northern Democracy is made up mainly of Communists and renegade Republicans. The infamous lynching bill, with which they tried to punish the South, proved beyond question that they are not Democrats worthy the name. This country will be in a sorry plight if and when the time comes the Democratic party can offer to the country nothing better than Lewis, Wallace, McNutt, Earle, Guffey, Wagner, et al.

Here's hoping that the South will get behind a Southern man in the next national convention. All the strong, true Democrats of the nation are in the South. During the two terms of Roosevelt neither has the North or the West developed a strong, true Democrat of presidential proportions.

In contrast with the North, the South has a score of able men, true and tried Democrats, capable of serving the nation as chief executive. There's George of Georgia, Garner of Texas, Harrison of Mississippi, Bailey of North Carolina, Byrd of Virginia and others. The South should center on one of them.

Too long has the South stood back and meekly permitted the North to name the presidential candidate. The time has come when the South should reassert its power. The time is here when it becomes the plain duty of the South, in the interest of the nation as a whole, to rescue the Democratic party from the hands of the Wagners, the McNutts, the Lewises, the Richbergs, the Corcorans, the Rosemans and whatnots, whose political thoughts and ideals are wholly out of harmony with everything the South stands for.

Colored Georgians Give Roosevelt Big Welcome To Gainesville Event

By MILTON BLAKE

GAINESVILLE, Ga.—(S N S)—Hundreds of colored Georgians Wednesday morning welcomed the President of the United States to this little city. They stood at the railroad station and watched with eager eyes Mr. Roosevelt's train as it rolled into Gainesville; they followed his automobile through the streets to the new civic center erected in his honor; they stood around the speakers' stand and listened to him as he spoke of wages in Georgia as being "far too low," and then they trailed his car back to the train and joined nearly 40,000 other well-wishers in bidding his farewell.

En route to Warm Springs, Ga., where he will rest ten days or more, the President warmed the hearts of this vast crowd which gathered to hear him and dedicate Gainesville's new civic center as Roosevelt Square.

Two years ago when President Roosevelt rode through this city he witnessed a Gainesville that had been visited by a tornado—a tornado that claimed hundreds of colored and white lives and destroyed blocks of property.

Gainesville was celebrating Wednesday. It was paying tribute to Mr. Roosevelt and telling the world in a big way that Gainesville "is on the map again."

From Atlanta came approximately 300 colored persons to take part in the celebration. According to Major General Elbert Dawson, in charge of the Atlanta delegation, the invading group represented Grady hospital nurses of the Red Cross division, School Safety Patrols from Booker T. Washington high and Walker Street, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Guiding Star (East), Military department of Georgia World War Veterans, and Junior Safety Patrols.

Assisting Major General Dawson were Colonel Ed Shorter and Major Charles Whitman.

The Atlantans toured the city after the President's address had been delivered, making special notice of improvements the city had made in the last two years.

The Atlanta delegation was joined by fraternal orders and educational and civic organizations of Gainesville at the station. The entire colored section marched to Roosevelt Square.

CELEBRATION LOOMS GALA OCCASION

Thousands Expected To Give Roosevelt Big Welcome

3-23-38

BROADCAST TALK

Close to 300 colored Atlantans last night had completed plans for a proposed trip to Gainesville this morning to welcome President Roosevelt who is scheduled to deliver a fifteen-minute address at the dedication of the new civic center erected in his honor.

The President, who is enroute to Warm Springs where he will rest ten days, is slated to arrive in Gainesville around 11 o'clock this morning. He is expected to speak at noon.

The delegation of colored Atlantans, under direction of Major General Elbert Dawson, Colonel Ed Shorter and Major Charles Whitman, is planning to take part in the parade that will form at the railroad station and march through the city to the square.

Major General Dawson said those selected to make the trip early this morning will represent the Safety Patrols of Walker and Ware Street schools, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Guiding Star (East), Military Department of Georgia World War Veterans, Red Cross Nurses of Grady hospital, and the Junior Safety Patrol Division.

Many of these groups sent workers to Gainesville two years ago when the city was in ruins, result of a tornado that swept the town, claiming many lives and destroying blocks of property.

President Roosevelt visited Gainesville shortly after the tornado hit the city. Following a personal investigation, he said, "I'll do my part in helping you rebuild."

Federal funds have helped city officials and property owners make a new city out of the once gruesome Gainesville. Today, Gainesville pays respect to the President by dedicating the civic center erected in his honor.

More than 50,000 Georgians, colored and white, are expected to throng Gainesville to hear Mr Roosevelt's address.

The President's talk will be broadcast by radio stations WAGA and WSB.

Birmingham, Ala. News
June 28, 1938

DEMO CHIEFTAIN DENIES REPORTS

Little Effort Being Made To Organize Negroes

Little effort has been made to organize Negroes into Democratic clubs over Alabama, declared Clyde Walker, Birmingham tire dealer and president of the Alabama League of Young Democrats, in response to reports that national Democratic headquarters was seeking to organize Negro Democratic clubs in Alabama, Mississippi and other Southern states.

Judge Herbert Holmes, of Senatobia, Miss., reelected chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Executive Committee, was quoted by The Associated Press as saying his group had turned down recommendations of the national headquarters for organization of Negro Democratic clubs, but that he understood such clubs were being organized in Alabama.

"I was told that the clubs were being organized in Alabama," Judge Holmes was quoted as saying, "but I don't think that the state committee would endorse the plan for this state."

Walker pointed out that Birmingham had an organization of Negro Democrats numbering several hundred, which was organized several years ago and which still is active. He said this group had been formed before any move by national headquarters to organize Negroes into clubs. Its members include leading Negroes of this city who are interested in local, state and national government and who vote regularly in Democratic primaries, it was said.

Several months ago, after a visit of Congressman Arthur H. Mitchell, Chicago Negro, to Montgomery, the Illinois representative was quoted in Washington as saying Pitt Tyson Maner, executive secretary to Gov. Graves and president of the National Young Democrats, had requested him to recommend someone in Alabama to help organize the young Negroes into Democratic clubs.

Greensboro, N. C., News
June 26, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATIC CLUB GETS MEMBERS

More than 100 new members were enrolled in the Young Democratic club of Guilford county negroes in a recent membership drive, it was announced last night by J. Archibald Joyner, executive secretary of the club.

Summer and fall activities to be carried out by the club will be planned at a meeting to be held at 8:30 o'clock Tuesday evening at 901½ East Market street.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation

Democratic

Columbus, Ga., News Record
March 24, 1938

The Capture Of 2,000,000 Negro Votes By The Democratic Party

THE leading article in The Saturday Evening Post this week concerns Joseph S. Guffey, of Pennsylvania. It is about Mr. Guffey more as a boss—new style—than as a United States senator. The authors are Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner.

Mr. Guffey, member of a prominent Pennsylvania family, and who has been on rather thick terms with the so-called financial-industrial oligarchy of Pittsburgh, had been prominent in politics and reasonably successful but did not get into the Big League until he undertook the ambitious scheme of diverting the negro vote of Pennsylvania from the Republican to the Democratic party, a thing that seemed far-fetched and foolhardy, indeed. But it was put over, and the successful demonstration inspired other Democratic leaders in the north to alienate colored voters in other states in that section from the Republicans.

The idea was really that of Guffey's sister, Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, herself very much in politics. He did not warm up to it at first. "You can't take the colored vote away from the Republicans, Emma," he said. "You've got to have money to get the colored vote, and we haven't a cent to spare in this campaign." But she insisted and he decided to try it out. In the meantime Eva DeBoe Jones, colored manicurist whom Mrs. Miller patronized, gave a good tip. One day she told her customer: "Mrs. Miller, Mr. Vann'd like to see your brother." Robert L. Vann was owner-editor of The Pittsburgh Courier, a leading negro newspaper. Guffey saw Vann and made a deal. Vann became a division manager in what is described as "the first really effective negro division a Democratic campaign committee ever had." Vann began his first speech to his people with these words: "My friends, go turn Lincoln's picture to the wall. That debt has been paid in full." It was declared that the Republican party had done nothing but cash in on the Civil war.

Vann did his part for the Democrats in the election of 1932 and was rewarded. He was given a job as assistant to the attorney general at $4,800 a year. The Saturday Evening Post writers now take up the story:

> **With that start Joe (Senator Guffey) set to work in earnest. There were 277.000 negro voters in Pennsylvania, most of them Republicans by tradition. Vann's campaign blandishments had converted some. Joe wanted them all. As he saw it he had three resources. The springs of patronage, the lariats of love and the bait of public money weer all at his command.**
>
> **He started by giving ample "recognition" to his negro constituents. The federal jobs he passed out were like the one he gave Vann, no such miserable janitorships and clerkships as the niggling Republicans had been wont to give their negro friends. And he passed out dozens of them, sprinkling deputyships in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, minor court places and the like through all the negro communities in the state.**

The next development: "Then, for love, he loudly endorsed a bill making it a criminal offense for a Pennsylvania hotel keeper or restaurant or theatre owner to refuse accommodations to a negro. This was subsequently enacted, after the Guffey organization had passed the word among hotel men that it was the merest showcase legislation. And as for public money, millions of relief dollars found their way into Pennsylvania negro hands, and Joe saw to it that the recipients were grateful to the appropriate people."

"Jim Farley," it is stated, "knew what Joe was up to, but the two men had agreed to regard Pennsylvania as the proving ground of Joe's magnificent vision. The negroes voted Democratic and their votes made the Joe Guffey of today . . . With the negro vote he became a great man."

The Saturday Evening Post writers further enlighten us:

> **Jim Farley hastened to imitate Joe's remarkable feat, noting that there were ten other large northern states where the negro vote counted heavily. Instructed by Joe, he started with patronage until a total of 150 federal jobs paying better than $3,000 a year had been filled by the negroes who could do the most good. In addition, a still more influential group of forty-five negro bishops, preachers, educators, editors and the like were placed directly on the private pay roll of the Democratic national committee.**

The narrative continues: "The funds of the Works Progress Administration with its innumerable negro reliefers proved, of course, the most valuable asset. But a careful propaganda, to emphasize the theme of love, was also prepared. Secretary of the Interior Ickes was sent out to make anti-segregation speeches. Other orators were routed through the northern darktowns to tell the people where the WPA money came from. More than a million photographs of Mrs. Roosevelt being shown over Howard University by a negro reception committee were mailed out, to take the places of the pictures of Lincoln now turned to the wall. By the spring of 1936, when the campaign started, the reverends, professors on the national committee subvention list were increased to ninety."

And thus it was, in the various northern states, 2,000,000 negro votes in the various northern states were kidnaped by the Democrats.

Birmingham, Ala. News
March 30, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS' SESSION

Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club will meet at 7:30 tonight at Elks Rest, Eighth Avenue and Twelfth Street, North, to hear platforms of candidates for the Democratic primaries May 3, according to announcement by D. L. White, president of the organization.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 19, 1938

Guffey & Vann's "Democrats"

Before 1865 all the negroes, or virtually all of them, lived in the South, and Southern white men took care of them. Now the negroes are free, 3,500,000 of them live in the North, and the Southern white people are taxed to give them "relief". In Pennsylvania the political firm of Guffey & Vann has 277,000 negro voters, until four years ago Republicans. They have been "converted." Negroes are still bought and sold.

Greensboro, N. C., News
May 5, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATIC CLUB PLANS ACTIVITY

The negro Young Democratic club of Guilford county has outlined an extensive program of activity during the next few weeks, it was announced last night. The club is sponsoring a banquet to be held Thursday night, May 12, at the Y. M. C. A. center on East Market street, at which time the county Democratic candidates or their representatives are expected to be present.

A mass meeting of the young negro Democrats of the county is scheduled for Sunday, May 15, at 3 o'clock at the Palace theater.

Charleston, S. C. [illegible] Courier
June 12, 1938

Negro Democrats

(From The Greensboro, N. C., News)

D. R. Cain, a Greenville lawyer delegate, urging before the South Carolina Democratic state convention amendment of the now famous rule 32, thus spake:

"As I approached this hall today I saw a jackass being led around by a negro boy, and that is symbolic of our party today; our national party is being led around by the negroism of the north."

"That," observes the Charleston News and Courier, "was the smartest thing said in the convention. It was a bull's eye shot."

No one vouches for the originality of the contribution of Mr. Cain; but it is likely to be an enduring symbolism of the history of South Carolina now in the making.

South Carolina one would expect to be the first and most impressed by the northern Democrat's incorporation of the negro into the party. The communists are laying claim to the negro, by right of their plans and purposes for the most miserable and most necessitous, everywhere. Where the negro is going, politically, is as much in question as to where any others of the hungry and insecure are going.

The significant fact is that of the present political home of the negro. In the north he has moved into the Democracy, and taken the picture of Abraham Lincoln from the wall. He is going to stay where he is if the white party leadership can manage to keep him.

Choice may eventually be presented to the national organization between these newly-acquired votes and other votes which have hitherto constituted an unchanging nucleus. And choice may first be demanded by South Carolina, which has been from the birth of the party most Democratic of Democrats.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 16, 1938

For Honesty Undiluted

Any gentleman in South Carolina has a right to be a "100-per cent Roosevelt" man, The News and Courier would be the last to dispute his privilege, but no honest gentleman in South Carolina is a "100-per cent Roosevelt man" if he reserve the right to oppose Mr. Roosevelt were he signing the so-called "anti-lynching bill," enforcing the Fifteenth amendment giving the suffrage to negroes (Secretary Ickes declares that he favors the enforcement), pulling in harness with the political team of Guffey & Vann in Pennsylvania, supporting a national labor organization that would admit whites and blacks together in Southern cotton mills. An honest gentleman who is 100-per cent for Roosevelt in South Carolina has no opinion of his own in conflict with any opinion of Mr. Roosevelt, and if he have mental reservations he is calling himself by the wrong name, campaigning on a platform of deception or trying to fool himself. Any honest gentleman in South Carolina has the right to be 100-per cent for Roosevelt as long as he shall be honest. No man is 100-per cent for Roosevelt if he be only 99 44-100 pure.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 19, 1938

The National Negro Party

The Democratic clubs in South Carolina are about to meet. They will be attended by 40,000 or 50,000 white persons of a total of 475,000 white adults in the state. The club will elect delegates to county convention which will elect delegates to a state convention. That convention will fix the rule of the primary, oil and furbish the machine for the campaign. Suppose that 250,000 persons this year should "neglect" to vote in the primaries. No one would say that they are a negro party. The national Democratic party is now the national negro party. No even Governor Johnston is likely to deny that negroes in great cities are now one of the controlling factors in the national Democratic party.

York, S. C., Yorkville Enquirer
April 15, 1938

Rule No. 32.

Ed. B. Smith, a former mayor of Union, and now a resident of Greenville, in an address to the stalwarts of the Democratic part of this state, points out that South Carolina's Democratic party is the only one in the United States that requires its voters in a primary to take an oath to support the nominees of the party, state and national, and wants that feature of the oath eliminated. This provision is designated in the rules of the party as "Rule 32."

Certainly this rule should be eliminated, but then having it eliminated is something else again and we doubt if the state convention will be willing to do that, regardless of the fact that because of that rule many Democrats support national candidates that they had nothing to do with nominating, and sometimes are entirely obnoxious to South Carolina voters.

This newspaper asked for the changing of Rule 32 in the campaign of 1928, when Alfred E. Smith was the nominee for president, and as a result of that advocacy we were all but ruled out of the party; but today our 1928 position is looked upon as having been fairly respectable. At least we do not hear any one accusing us of being wrong then. Fact is, our 1928 position is looked upon as having been almost right.

Events the last few years have made things not so pleasant for South Carolina Democrats. Only recently we saw a Democratic administration, with the aid of Northern Democrats, trying to shove a Republican anti-lynching bill down our throats; we saw in the last Democratic convention making love to negroes in the North, to lure the votes of the negroes away from the Republican party; we saw a negro Democrat elected to congress from Chicago, and we have seen the northern Democrats take away or wipe out the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate a candidate for president, and thus taking away from Southern Democrats the control of the party machinery, and opening the way to where it is possible for the Democratic party to at least nominate a negro for the vice presidency, if that should be deemed desirable by our Northern Democratic brothers, in order to put over some other scheme they might have in mind and make you support it because of rule 32.

Winnsboro, S. C. News & Herald
May 5, 1938

NEWS & VIEWS ABOUT OUR STATE & NATION

(By Spectator)

Rule 32 of the Democratic Party of South Carolina—what shall we do about it? Shall we amend it or do nothing?

What is RULE 32? It is the rule of the party which obligates a voter in our State Primary to support the nominees in the State and National elections. The reason for the rule was to bring about Democratic unity from the county to the Presidency.

Recently a strong movement has started to change the rule so that a voter may vote the Democratic ticket for State and County officials without being bound to vote for national candidates. Many reasons are given for this new attitude. We as Democrats are called upon to examine afresh the reasons why we are Democrats.

In national politics we once thought the difference between a Democrat and a Republican was this: the Democrats advocated low tariffs and white supremacy; the Republicans stood for high tariffs—protective tariffs—and negro participation in politics. Here in the South that was about the difference between the parties. The Republicans succeeded in putting high tariffs on us and have tried to put the negro on us, too.

In our National Democratic Convention the South has had a sort of veto power through the rule which required a man to have a two-thirds majority in order to become the nominee (candidate) of the party for the presidency.

Now the years have brought many changes; no man can tell us today the difference between a Republican and a Democrat. Is it the tariff? Is it the attitude of the party toward the negro? As to the tariff: We Democrats have had absolute control of the presidency and the Congress for nearly six years. In four years of that time the President was so powerful that the Congress was just a rubber stamp for his will. Have we a low tariff today? We have not. Any signs of a low tariff? Not a sign! Therefore there is no longer any difference between Democrats and Republicans on the tariff issue. We sleep together in one bed.

What about the two parties on the negro? We Southern white men have learned from infancy that the negroes are Republicans and that Northern Republicans have tried to put the negro on an equality with us. Well, the Northern Democrats worked a scheme which brought the negroes into the Democratic Party in 1936. So eager were the Northern Democrats to get negro support that they invited a negro preacher to pray and a negro lawyer to speak at the Convention. Our Senator Cotton Ed Smith walked out of the Convention in disgust.

The negroes voted Democratic. They are today so strongly Democratic that our Senator Jimmie Byrnes said in the Senate recently that the negroes today control the Democratic Party.

What is the outcome? The Democratic Congress—the Democrats, mark you—have tried to pay their debt to the negroes by passing the Anti-lynching bill — a bill which would allow the National Government to punish a sheriff for a lynching in his county, try him and sentence him in a Federal Court. The same bill would allow a suit in a Federal Court against a county in which a lynching takes place.

I am not advocating or defending lynching; but I am condemning the effort of a group of Northern Democrats to take charge of even local law enforcement as a sop to northern negroes who maintain a lobby in Washington.

What, then, is the difference today between the National Democrats and Republicans on the negro question? Only this: The National Democrats are trying to put on us of the South more repulsive measures than the Republicans have advocated.

In view of the changes in national politics we can keep our South Carolina Democracy as we want it, as the great bulwark of White supremacy; but we have only a feeble voice in the National Democracy and our brother Democrats—real or so called—have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage.

We South Carolina Democrats are not greatly regarded in the councils of the party. We are accepted as deep-dyed-in-the-wool and beyond change. We are given a few crumbs to nibble on while the others have a square meal. The Administration — our own Democratic Administration — is advocating, is insisting on a wage and hour bill. At bottom this measure would take away from the South the special advantages we enjoy through our climate. It is inspired in the North to protect their industries against us. But the great Democratic Administration recognizes big differences between the North and the South in WPA wages. It pays fifty-nine cents an hour in the North and twenty eight cents an hour in the South. This is our money, the taxpayer's money and all as citizens should share alike. Yet the men who talk of wages and hours by law don't practice what they preach.

And what do we get down here by being so completely Democratic that we are counted in Mr. Farley's bag even before we vote? Have we received a share in proportion to New York, Pennsylvania and others?

We need to reserve our strength so no party can trifle with us. As the National Democratic Party stands today we of South Carolina are less than a bunch of red-headed step-children.

Our National Democratic organization has betrayed us, snapped its fingers at the traditions of our fathers, developed through sacrifices and suffering which today enshrine them in our hearts as men of heroic mold.

We are not Republicans, but we should serve notice that we must have recognition according to our numbers and that no man or group can play fast and loose with us—and get away with it.

Political - 1938

Party Affiliation.

Democratic.

Resolutions Of The Macon County Democratic Executive Committee

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE MACON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, as follows:

1st. That under the authority and subject to the terms and provisions on an Act of the Legislature of Alabama, entitled, "An Act to provide for and regulate and control Primary Elections for the nominations by Political Parties of Candidats for Public Office within the State of Alabama," duly enacted by the Legislature of Alabama and taking effect on February 25th, 1931, the date of its approval by the Governor of Alabama, as amended by an Act of the Legislature of Alabama, approved November 9th, 1932, a general Democratic Primary election is hereby ordered to be held throughout the County of Macon, on Tuesday, May 3rd, 1938, and if necessary, as provided by said Act, a second primary is hereby ordered to be held throughout the County of Macon, on Tuesday, June 14th, 1938.

2nd. That said Primary elections shall be held and conducted in all respects in accordance with the primary election laws of Alabama as hereinafter referred to.

3rd. That in said Primary elections, there shall be nominated Democratic Candidates for all State, District, Circuit, County and Precinct offices to be filled in the General Election to be held in November, 1938.

4. That the following persons shall be entitled to vote in said primary elections and none others, namely: Qualified white electors in this County who believe in the principles of the Democratic Party and who agree and bind themselves by participating in said Primary to abide by the results of said Primary elections and to support the nominees of the Democratic Party therein.

5. That candidates for nomination or for election for all of said offices shall, on or before March 1st, 1938, file with the Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee for all offices except County Offices with Declaration of Candidacy substantially as follows:

MACON COUNTY:
STATE OF ALABAMA,

"I hereby declare myself to be a candidate for the Democratic nomination (or election) in the Primary elections to be held on the 3rd day of May, 1938, and on the 14th of June, 1938, for the office of _____ I hereby certify that I did not vote, in the last general election, a Republican ticket or any independent ticket or the ticket of any other party or group, other than the Democratic Party, or for any other than the nominees of the Democratic Party or any ticket other than the Democratic ticket, openly or publicly in said election oppose the election of the nominees of the Democratic Party or any of them. I further agree to abide by the results of the Primary election in which I am a candidate and to support the Democratic nominees in said election. I further certify that I am a qualified white elector of the State of Alabama and possess the qualifications fixed by law for the office for which I am a candidate.

"I also hereby certify and declare that I appoint myself (and hereby accept the appointment) as the sole and only person or committee to receive, expend, audit and disburse all monies contributed, donated, subscribed, or in any way furnished or raised for the purpose of aiding or promoting my nomination or election as such candidate for said office in accordance with Sections 588 and 589 of the Code of Alabama, 1923. (Corrupt Practices Act.)

Signed _____

State of Alabama.
Macon County.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this the _____ day of _____ 1938.

_____
Notary Public or N. P.
Exo. J. P.

6. That the following entrance fee or assessment against each candidate for nomination or election, in such Primary elections, be, and the same is hereby fixed, or levied, by this Committee:

1. Against each candidate for Unexpired term of Judge of Probate for Macon County _____ $30.00
2. Against each candidate for Unexpired term of Judge of Inferior Court of Macon County _____ 20.00
3. Against each Candidate for Tax Assessor _____ 25.00
4. Against each Candidate for Tax Collector _____ 25.00
5. Against each Candidate for Sheriff _____ 25.00
6. Against each Candidate for Member of Board of Revenue from District One, Macon County _____ 10.00
7. Against each Candidate for Member of Board of Revenue from District Three, Macon County _____ 10.00
8. Against each Candidate for Member of Board of Education of Macon County _____ 1.00
9. Against each Candidate for Committeeman from each of the ten Precincts 1.00

6. That no Candadate for nomination for a County Office who fails to pay the assessments required to be paid by him before March 1st, 1938, or who fails to file his affidavits in the form herein prescribed, on or before the 1st day of March, 1938, to and with the Chairman of the Macon County Democratic Executive Committee shall have his or her name printed on the ticket nor shall votes for such candidates so failing to qualify be counted.

7. The following persons, and none others, shall be eligible to be candidates for nomination or election in said Primary elections, namely: Qualified white electors who possess the qualifications fixed by law for the respective offices for which they are candidates for nomination or election; provided, however, that no person shall become a candidate for any office, or have his or her name printed upon the Democratic ticket or ballot in said Primary elections if such person voted a Republican ticket, in the general election held in November, 1936, or any independent ticket or the ticket of any other party or group other than the nominees of the Democratic Party of the Democratic ticket in the general election held November, 1936, openly and publicly opposed the election of the nominees of the Democratic Party, or any of them, in the general election held in November, 1936.

Each such proposed candidate shall also be required to pay to the Chairman of the Macon County Democratic Executive Committee, the entrance fee, or assessment, fixed, or levied, by this Committee on or before March 1st, 1938.

8. That a copy of this resolution be sent to The Tuskegee News for publication, for the guidance and compliance of all persons interested in the said Primary Elections.

Adopted in executive sessions, this the 15th day of January, 1938

J. D. RANDALL,
Chairman of Macon County Democratic Executive Committee.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the resolution adopted by the County Democratic Executive Committee, of Macon County, Alabama, at its meeting held on January 15, 1938.

J. D. RANDALL,
Chairman.

5 Negro Democratic Clubs In 19th A. D. In New Organization

Tuskegee N. Negro N.

Age 2-5-38

New York, N. Y.

The old Attucks Democratic Clubhouse at 198 Lenox avenue was a place of rejoicing Thursday evening when more than 200 witnessed installation of officers of the amalgamated Negro Democratic group who fought each other so bitterly during the last primary election for leadership of the district.

Shortly after the last primary, the Attucks, Fred Dickens, Steele, Thornton and Lynch organizations held a joint meeting, decided to bury the hatchet and amalgamate. At a subsequent meeting officers of the amalgamated clubs were elected but were not installed until Thursday night when Emmet May, member of the American Labor Party acted as installing officer.

Officers installed were: Louis C Gibbs, president; Rodney Dade, treasurer; Fred E. Demendez, financial secretary, and Elijah Crump, recording secretary. There are eleven vice-presidents: Dr. C. A. Petioni, L. S Gonzalez, Leon Murray, Everett Dickens, B. Pryme, J. A. Holland, Dr. Charles Porter, Mrs. Henrietta DeMendez, Hamilton DeGazon, Chas. Lipscomb and Wilbur Nixon. Mr. Dickens, Dr. Thornton and Mr. Telesford, all of whom were candidates for the leadership last year, are members of the executive committee.

The new organization proposes to take a militant and active part in political and civic problems of Harlem.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
March 11, 1938

TIME FOR SOUTH TO ACT

From the Sylvester Local.

A move has started to put Paul V. McNutt, Indiana New Dealer, forward as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president two years hence. Somehow we are unable to get up a great deal of enthusiasm for Mr. McNutt. As a matter of fact we are not so hot for any of these Northern Democrats. During the past five years, since Mr. Roosevelt took office, the North has not developed a Democrat that we would consider presidential timber.

Leadership of Northern Democracy is made up mainly of Communists and renegade Republicans. The infamous lynching bill, with which they tried to punish the South, proved beyond question that they are not Democrats worthy the name. This country will be in a sorry plight if and when the time comes the Democratic party can offer to the country nothing better than Lewis, Wallace, McNutt, Earle, Guffey, Wagner, et al.

Here's hoping that the South will get behind a Southern man in the next national convention. All the strong, true Democrats of the nation are in the South. During the two terms of Roosevelt neither has the North or the West developed a strong, true Democrat of presidential proportions.

In contrast with the North, the South has a score of able men, true and tried Democrats, capable of serving the nation as chief executive. There's George of Georgia, Garner of Texas, Harrison of Mississippi, Bailey of North Carolina, Byrd of Virginia and others. The South should center on one of them.

Too long has the South stood back and meekly permitted the North to name the presidential candidate. The time has come when the South should reassert its power. The time is here when it becomes the plain duty of the South, in the interest of the nation as a whole, to rescue the Democratic party from the hands of the Wagners, the McNutts, the Lewises, the Richbergs, the Corcorans, the Rosemans and whatnots, whose political thoughts and ideals are wholly out of harmony with everything the South stands for.

League of Young Negro Democrats Hold Stormy Session in Oklahoma City

Downpour of Rain Fails to Dampen Delegates' Spirit As Twenty Counties Send Representatives

Pliny Twin, Muskogee, Elected To Presidency

Despite an all-day downpour of rain Saturday, delegates, representing twenty counties, arrived in Oklahoma City, in attendance at the state convention of the League of Young Negro Democrats.

From the ring of the gong until the close, C. R. Johns, Seminole, and president of the convention, remained in control of the heated and hectic session, although when the convention opened he apparently did not have the votes sufficient to elect his slate, and at one time the convention became so riotous, and the debate so violently acrimonious, disorder reigned for fully half an hour.

The fury of the anti-Johns faction reached white heat shortly following the reconvening of the session which adjourned for 30 minutes at 3 o'clock. It was then that the Johns faction seized complete control of the convention. A count of noses showed that the antis had the largest delegation, so President Johns called time out.

When the convention reassembled Johns immediately suggested that the credential committee assemble again in the rear of the hall and pass on certain counties who had arrived. C. E. Buford, Holdenville, immediately challenged this order of Johns, asking this pointed question:

"Will the credential committee on new county delegation or will they attempt to permit counties already passed upon to increase their delegate representation?"

Johns said he did not know what the committee would do.

A little later, when the committee reported, attack was made on the ground that delegates were being seated from counties having no charter. Eugene Richardson, Oklahoma City, raised the objection, reading that part of the league's constitution which says representation in the convention must be constituted out of league chapter having their charter ten days before the convention.

Heated debate followed with Johns ruling that the convention had never before refused to seat delegates from any county.

"Yes, but that's in the constitution," chorused a dozen voices. Johns ignored this ruling and declared the delegates properly seated.

Walter Coffey, Chickasha, immediately jumped to his feet and shouted: "You steamrolled the convention at Boley but you'll not tart any crooked stuff here."

Letchen A. Hill, Boley, then rushed to the front and shouted: "Mr. President, you have this hall rented and if that fellow doesn't sit down, call the police and throw him out."

Eugene Richardson, Oklahoma City, then leaped to the floor declaring there would be no further deliberations. Defiantly, Richardson held the floor and bedlam broke loose. C. R. Tolliver and W. H. Phillips rushed to the secretary and Phillips shouted, "Mr. President, you will regard that constitution or we are going to stop this meeting right here." Phillips seized the effects of the secretary, including the delegates' fees, saying, "We'll just take our delegate fees out from Stephens county if you are going to illegally pad the rolls in this way."

Cooler heads finally brought quiet to the turbulent atmosphere and Johns still obdurate proceeded, regardless of the constitutional bar to recognize county delegates having no charter. Tulsa and Okmulgee counties were two of the objectionable counties. Tulsa, by Johns' ruling, received 20 votes for the Johns slate. Between seven or eight counties were issued charters at the close of the convention showing that the contention of Richardson, Coffey and others were correct.

"I am very sorry that things are as they seem," said Johns as his steamroller began to roll. "I am trying to be fair and unbiased," he continued.

Johns then began to read his address, which was confined entirely to defending his act in calling the convention illegally at Boley during the month of March. He charged that misleading statements were published in the Black Dispatch regarding his acts, but refused to allow his address to be published when a reporter for the Black Dispatch requested that he be given the address for publication.

Johns also attacked the secretary, A. M. Tompkins, whom he charged with having tampered with the minutes. Tompkins had said earlier in the controversy regarding the place of meeting that the convention voted to come to Oklahoma City, and that the Boley meeting was illegal.

Johns said he called the meeting at Boley because "the parent body met there and I thought it would be a good idea." The president further said he notified the secretary by letter regarding the Boley meeting and that he in turn said he would notify the league chapters over the state.

Walter Coffey, Chickasha, immediately following Johns' address, leaped to his feet and said, "You talk about what you read in the Black Dispatch, but I want to repeat what you read in the paper, purported to be my statement. I called Editor Dunjee up and told him then and say now, you fooled me about the place of meeting. You told me in Boley you would hold the meeting in Oklahoma City and at that time was planning to hold it in Boley. I asked you that question on the platform in the Masonic Temple," Coffey said.

The committee on resolutions, when it reported, endorsed the national and state administrations, but Johns raised an objection later, alleging there was no quorum present, when Rev. DeWitt T. Alcorn, Oklahoma City, offered a resolution from the floor commending Senators Thomas and Lee for supporting the anti-lynching bill.

The resolutions also said no candidate would be endorsed before the primary and demanded national and state jobs for Negroes. The resolutions also endorsed a state supervisor for Negro schools. The committee was composed of L. G. Ashley, Mrs. A. W. Godwin, L. C. Williams, O. C. Williams, J. E. Taylor, Jr.

The following counties were reported by the credential committee: Carter, Stephens, Pottawatomie, Hughes, Johnson, McIntosh Lincoln, Caddo, Oklahoma, McClain, Okfuskee, Muskogee, Seminole, Grady, Logan, Okmulgee Pontotoc, Blaine, Tulsa. The credentials committee was composed of the following members: V. E. McCain, C. Bruner, J. T. Abram A. M. Tompkins.

The following officers were elected for the year: president, Pliny Twine, Muskogee; vice president, Mrs. A. W. Godwin, Chandler; secretary, Edward Brown, Wewoka; national committeeman, Walter Coffey, Chickasha. The executive committee named J. T. Abram treasurer following the adjournment of the session.

Durham, N. C. Sun
May 25, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS HOLD RALLY HERE SATURDAY

A Negro Democratic convention and rally will be held next Saturday afternoon in the courthouse. The rally will begin at 2 o'clock and will be preceded by an executive session at which plans for getting the Negro vote to the polls on election day will be formulated.

Invitations have been extended candidates for congress, superior court and the general assembly to attend the rally and to address the audience. A portion of the rally will be broadcast.

Political leaders among the Negroes of the city hope to see the Negro's interest aroused in the election through the rally. James E. Taylor, dean of men of the North Carolina College for Negroes, will be the keynote speaker Saturday.

DEMOCRATS MEET IN DURHAM.

Democrats in and around Durham, N.C., gathered in the Durham Courthouse last Saturday to map out political plans for coming elections. The picture top shows R.L. McDougald, cashier of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank and chairman of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs talking over plans with James T. Taylor, dean of North Carolina College who made the principal address. The bottom picture shows L.R. Austin, left, editor of the Carolina Times, Durham, and candidate for the county school board, and H. Hugh Thompson, Durham attorney, who is candidate for the office of county commissioner.

Journal and Guide
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Gastonia, N. C. Gazette
February 21, 1938

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt Has Negro Lobbyist, Walter White, To Sunday P. M. Tea At White House

So That He Could Discuss Anti-Lynching Bill With President — Southern Democrats Are "Cussing."

—BY WALTER BROWN—

WASHINGTON.—Southern members of Congress arched an eyebrow as they read in the current issue of Time magazine that Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt recently entertained Walter White, Negro lobbyist of the Association for Advancement of Colored People, at a White House tea.

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Since the time President Theodore Roosevelt had the late Booker T. Washington, famous Negro leader, at the White House for lunch, the entertainment of negroes in the mansion has caused much comment, especially in the South.

In the 1928 campaign, Southern Democrats, seeking to keep the South from bolting Al Smith, circulated the story that Herbert Hoover had danced with a Negro woman. When he became President and the then Illinois Republican congressman, Oscar De Priest and his wife, were invited to the regular congressional reception, it caused quite a stir, and anti-Smith Democrats in the South took quite a ribbing.

When the Democrats of Chicago elected a Negro congressman and he and his wife went to the White House, little attention was given to the incident. Mrs. Roosevelt's entertainment of girls, mostly Negroes, from a wayward home at the White House about two years ago caused much comment.

The fact that White has been making Southern members of Congress see red over the anti-lynching bill focuses attention on the recent incident of a Negro being entertained at the White House, and the fact that the tea was on a Sunday afternoon gives a more personal touch to the whole affair.

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Greensboro, N. C., News
April 17, 1938

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Charleston, S. C., Evening Post
May 3, 1938

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What is true in South Carolina is probably true in some measure in other States of the South. No matter how progressive or radical may be the views of a given political sector in the South, on the one hand, or how conservative they may be on the other, they are almost certain to seek practical expression through the Democratic party instead of any other or new medium. The fundamental and original reasons for this may have been the South's position on the tariff and the South's negro problem, but nowadays a highly practical reason for it is that whatever political organization there is in this section bears the Democratic name and elections are seldom won without political organization and organizers. As for the officeholders in this part of the country, from whose ranks come most of the political organizers and leaders, only once in a coon's age does one come along like the late Huey P. Long sufficiently daring and independent and confident of his following to assert independence of party, whatever their personal views of the party's policies.

The facts of the situation are such that the political influence of the South for the present, at least, must be exerted through the Democratic party and no other. The theoretical alternative is for the South to form a political party of its own which might and probably would give it the balance of power in national affairs, but such a party cannot be formed outside of the Democratic because those who are active in the direction of political affairs in the South are Democrats and will continue to be. The outstanding political issue in this country today seems to be that between the large cities and the remainder of the country, with the whole South, of course, in the latter class. By a combination with Western Democrats, the South could gain control of the policies of the national Democratic party, but the Westerners up to this time have been among the chief advocates of those governmental policies that help to keep the big city political organizations in a dominant position in the party. Regardless of the lip service it may seem to give from time to time to radical policies that bear the Democratic label, the South's Democracy is essentially conservatice and eventually may draw to itself enough outside support to impress conservatism on the national party. There is no present prospect that in the South there will be any important political movement outside of the party.

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South Still Is Center of Democratic Strength But It Is Step-Child of Third New Deal, a Dog Wagged By a Communistic Pink Tail

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But the emotional issue of slavery finally tore them apart and the far greater emotional memory of blood and the camps widened the breach beyond healing. So in elections, that great bread-basket area voted for high tariffs and the whole industrial and reactionary program of the GOP. Sometimes it wavered but all that was necessary for the Old Guard orators to do was to hoist the bloody shirt to the top of the pole and begin talking about the war, the constitution, mother, home and flag, and the sturdy burghers voted against every political and economic interest of that region until it ruined them.

After 1921, the stepchild treatment they received from Harding, Coolidge and Hoover was just too raw. Al Smith could have taken them but he booted the ball in talking about their problem before he could be wised up; and Bill Borah, who sincerely believed that he had made promise from Mr. Hoover in their behalf, made Al look like a corn doctor prescribing for heart disease. Mr. Roosevelt, advised by those great agricultural experts, Henry Morgenthau and Rex Tugwell, knew even less about the Mid-West problem than Mr. Smith.

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original prescription was a great forestation program on those high, dry plains where God Almighty neglected to provide a water table high enough to support a tree in any circumstances. It had been tried over and over again with arbor days and suchlike primitive movements, but without result. At that time, the present secretary, Mr. Wallace, hadn't yet been able to make up his mind whether he still belonged to the old bloody shirt brigade, or whether he was a real liberal of the Rex Tugwell prescription.

Finally George Peek and other farm crusaders got to Mr. Roosevelt in time and gave him the Middle-West. Andy Jackson was at last brought back to life. His union of the South and the West had again been made possible.

The trouble today—and it is a real one—is that Mr. Roosevelt's carpet-bag advisers are now treating the Democratic South with the same indifference that the GOP for so long treated the Republican Middle-West. Although the South remains the center of Democratic strength—without which nothing—it is the stepchild of the Third New Deal. It has been kicked in the face by the abolition of the two-thirds rule in Democratic conventions. It has been slapped in the puss by the anti-lynching bill. It has been threatened by the wages-and-hours bill without differentials. It has been called feudalistic by the president and accused of not wearing shoes by the secretary of labor.

Yet here is the center of Democratic strength. Here, as formerly the Republican Mid-West, is the political sine qua non. Can the Third New Deal's communistic pink tail wag this Southern Democratic dog forever? I think not.

The solution of our political and economic problem lies in an assertion of the old Southern Democracy of its rights. That seems clearly on the way.

(Copyright, 1938)

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 2, 1938

Looking at the Facts

"What, then, is the difference today between the national Democrats and Republicans on the negro question?" asks "Spectator." "Only this: the national Democrats are trying to put on us of the South more repulsive measures than the Republicans have advocated." The fact is that after the inauguration of William H. Taft in 1909 no Republican president appointed negroes to be postmasters or collectors of the ports in the South. The fact is that Republican presidents, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, appointed respectable white men as a rule to the federal offices in the South. Mr. Hoover's appointments in South Carolina were, with one or two exceptions, uncommonly good. Republican presidents appointed the late Judge Smith and Judge Glenn United States circuit judges. Mr. Hoover appointed Henry Davis, of Florence, district attorney, and that office has not had an occupant superior to him in character and ability in the memory of living men. He too is a Democrat.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 2, 1938

The Issue Before the Conventions

A citizen of an interior county writes that "politicians are trying to tag us anti-New Dealers because we demand the repeal of Rule 32".

Those politicians are themselves not "New Dealers".

There are no New Dealers in South Carolina; not one that will come clean a New Dealer out of the wash.

Senator Byrnes is no New Dealer. He says, truly, that the national Democratic party is under the control of negroes. The "national" Democratic party is the New Deal party. Besides, Senator Byrnes is tooth and nail against the Wage and Hour bill—one of the main objectives of the New Deal. Byrnes votes for some of the Roosevelt measures and against some of them. A New Dealer is 100 per cent for everything Roosevelt is for. He is an Alben Barkley.

Governor Johnston is no New Dealer. He opposes the anti-lynching bill, which President Roosevelt certainly does not oppose. Indeed, Governor Johnston went so far as to say that if the bill became law it would cause him as governor to be less energetic for suppression of lynching, and he knows that President Roosevelt would condemn that position—as The News and Courier has condemned it. Governor Johnston knows that President Roosevelt could have killed the anti-lynching bill by saying the simple word that he would veto it if it passed. The fact is the Republicans came to the help of the Southern Democrats in the matter and saved the South from the Northern "Democrats".

In South Carolina politicians shout for Roosevelt and call themselves New Dealers because that way come the federal offices, the salaries, the allotments, the subsidies (Heaven knows they have appetites), but when it comes to the principles of the New Deal all the white Southerners are Bourbons alike. There is not one who would not rip the negro policies of the president, the Farleys, the Guffeys up the back. Mr. Roosevelt "Olins" and "Jimmies" them, so does "Jim the General", but they know they can't trust their Southern friends as "democrats". White Southerners cannot afford to be democrats, and Northern Democrats are democrats. The Guffeys and Vanns (Vann is the negro Democratic leader) are 100 per cent New Dealers, and Guffey is the man President Roosevelt has lately said he "needs in the senate".

This Rule 32 will be abolished, if not by conventions, by white people outside of conventions who won't stand for it.

The conventions can save the primary as an instrument for choosing white state and county officers, to serve the purpose that so long it has served.

Or the conventions can drive tens of thousands of white people out of the primary and split the white racial "Democratic" party in South Carolina.

POLITICAL BUILD-UP WILL SEEK RACE PARTICIPATION IN LA. DEMOCRATIC PARTY

New Orleans Leaders Quoted As Favorable To Colored Participation With Southern Primary Controllers; Big Variation

SEE NEW DEMOCRATIC FEELING

NEW ORLEANS — (By Leon Lewis for ANP)—Expressions from Democratic party leaders of New Orleans show a decided variation from accepted Southern Democratic idealism. From these expressions the assumption was gotten that open arm invitation will be extended to the Southern Negro in forthcoming elections and political activity.

Favorable inclination toward the build-up of Negro participations into the Democratic "circumvallation" was hinted together with suggestions as to how a program would be formulated.

It is the consensus of opinion that Negroes in the South are generally bitter toward the Democratic party, not merely because of the party tactics in keeping them out of their primaries but because of a Southern traditionary custom which is used by the party in keeping them out of political initiative.

Those who would dare express an open-minded opinion gave out the impression that Southern Negroes can be of as much benefit to the party as the Northern Negro has been. They seem to feel that in the past Southern Negroes have expected the party to, and have tried to force them to, do favors for them when their support was given to the GOP's. This would have been, as they said, "furnishing the dynamite with which their own fortress would be blasted."

When asked to what lengths the party would go to secure Negro support in view of the present vote registration bar, the answer came as a surprise to those who would dare judge Southern Democrats.

"We have kept Negroes in their present political plight down here in protection of our own position," leaders say. "We believe the bitterness between the party and the Negroes has declined considerably in the past few years. It is to our advantage as much as his to put the sword in the sheath.

"We control all governmental gotten it must be done so through the Democratic party.

"He has been convinced that fighting or force will not get those political rights to which he is entitled. For that reason alone, we are perfectly willing to sponsor a program for the building up of Southern Negro political participation, if they are ready to support that program."

Political Build-Up

(Continued from page 1)

consciousness has been developed within the masses of the Negro population. He has seen what the party can and will do for him from a national aspect. He knows that

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Birmingham, Ala. Post
January 1, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO MEET

A special meeting of the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club will be held at the Elks Rest, Eighth-av and 12th-st, tomorrow at 3:30 p. m. Representatives from the Montgomery County Negro Democratic units will be on the program.

Ward Two Negro Democrats Make Wrong Decision

Spivey-Box Supporters Now Outside Looking in

Democratic party organization last week left most of the Negroes in Ward 2 precincts on the outside looking in. At a late hour in the game, or about a week before the caucuses, the boys in the Negro precincts made a bad guess and lined up with the Ed Box forces, backed by the Spivey combination. All of the precinct caucuses were stormed and selections made in conformity with the Box-Spivey lineup. Precinct 15, under the generalship of Mrs. Lucile Hurd, was the only Negro barricade of the Blakney-Milam set-up that held its ground.

Down at the convention last Saturday the black boys who thought they were in the know cast their ballots for the Spivey-Box slate, only to wake up at the close of the session finding themselves on the outside of the gate.

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In precinct two, led by Frank Wilson and A. J. Kirkpatrick, the Spivey forces had a walk-away over Ed Jackson. Kirkpatrick was selected precinct chairman by a splendid majority, but Kirkpatrick immediately placed himself outside the bar for the next two years by voting his delegation in the county with the defeated Box forces.

It is well known that back of the battle in the Democratic convention Saturday was a fight between State Senator Fidler and forces opposing him in the county. Blakney is a Fidler appointee on the election board and it is expected that he will remember those who supported him and those who did not.

The election Saturday also brought into the foreground the fight between the councilmen in Ward 2 and the majority faction in city government in coalation with the school board group. Jack Moore and Percy Jones seemed to have had their day with a vengeance, for although their Negro constituency quit them for the phantom Spivey gravy train, the second ward went overwhelmingly for Martin Milam. It was a most disastrous defeat for the School Board-Spivey group which is bound to be reflected in the next county election.

Greensboro, N. C., News
January 20, 1938

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The negro ball, which will be January 27, will be held at Windsor community center, Nocho park. W. F. Johnson is serving as chairman of the negro ball; J. H. Dillard, as treasurer, and G. W. Doak, as secretary.

Tickets for the negro dance are being distributed at the Elks hall, on Lindsay street, and through various negro business places, including Jeffrey's barbershop, on East Market street; Reynolds' barbershop on Dudley street and the Chocolate bar on Ashe street. Funds raised from the ball will be given to the national foundation to combat infantile paralysis and assist its victims.

Locating Our Friends in the Democratic Party

A prominent official in the State Democratic organization made a statement this week that should have deep significance to every Negro Democrat in Oklahoma. The discussion followed the bitter wrangle that occurred in the Pythian Temple last Friday night, during the attempt to select a county chairman for the Negro Democratic Central Committee. Two different factions now claim to have charge of the Oklahoma County setup and the sum total of this sort of arrangement is that instead of the Negro Democrats of Oklahoma County being organized they are today disorganized.

This same condition existed for several years in the state during the lifetime of the late Dr. I. W. Young. There was one group claiming to be the simon pure organization, led by Young, and still another headed by the late O. B. Jefferson. Order was finally gotten out of confusion by the chairman of the Democratic Central Committee naming his choice to head the group.

"I think the Negroes identified with the Democratic party in this state are setting a dangerous precedent for themselves by voluntarily Jim Crowing themselves in an organization," declared this Democratic official. "Here we are in a state where the Negro is accepted in the Democratic party from the caucus up. Down in Texas the Democrats have put the Negro out of the Democratic primary and I predict that if this state were to ever adopt such a practice the Negroes would have themselves done their cause irreparable damage if and when such a case reaches the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court has already held that segregation is legal when agreed to by both parties, as in the District of Columbia case, and this Negro Democratic Central Committee is laying the basis for similar conclusions when it can be shown that Negroes themselves in Oklahoma have on their own motion separated themselves into a Democratic Club," the official continued.

It will be recalled that Governor Marland, immediately following his election as chief executive, called attention to the absurdity of this foolish movement of the Negro vote, and expressed the hope that the black voter in this state would see the wisdom of becoming an integral and very definite part of the Democratic organization.

All of this is wise counsel and yet at a very early date Negroes from all over Oklahoma will be gravitating towards Boley on the same day and date when the Democratic State Convention meets in Oklahoma City. Instead of attempting to secure places in county Democratic delegations coming to the regular state convention, those who classify themselves as leaders will hold a segregated meeting where efforts will be made to prove that some one Negro has a greater following than another.

A close analysis of former years and the functioning of the Negro Democratic Central Committee discloses the fact that the Jim Crow organization has never served any purpose other than to provide a vehicle in which some individual rode into a state job. Dr. I. W. Young organized this setup and later O. B. Jefferson became heir. Both men sought jobs in the gift of the state.

Thousands of Negroes who need labor should be employed regularly on the highways of Oklahoma and they should secure employment on the Grand River Dam project. How far can a Negro on a monthly salary at Taft, Langston or Boley make adequate demands for such employment.

This writer tried to strike a bargain with Governor Marland regarding Negro employment on the highways. We even got Marland's written promise by letter and by telegram, but the Negroes are not working on the highways. That promise was broken just as was the promise to completely separate the three Negro-operated state institutions at Taft, and his further pledge to support anti-lynching legislation. We have not been fooled. We have watched every development since we exacted such assurances. They have not been fulfilled.

They were not fulfilled notwithstanding Governor Marland knows that the majority of the Negro vote in this state landslid for him assuming these promises would be followed to the letter. His failure to deliver has caused this writer considerable thought. It proves conclusively that instead of being divided the Negro vote in Oklahoma needs

Both of these men had a right to work for the state. There is no dishonor in such proceeding, but we do not feel individuals holding jobs in the gift of the state are the proper persons to ask for a full loaf for the mass of Negroes. At the present time two of the contenders for this position are openly and avowed candidates for state jobs. What can such men do for the mass of Negroes when once tied to a state job? Both of these men will be too busy keeping in touch with their pay check to go very far out in deep water for you and for me. Both are fine fellows but human nature functions the same in all of us. Self-preservation is the first law.

The Negroes of this state should be interested in lifting the standard of the common mass. Take for instance the Granid River Dam project, and the Highway department

Political - 1938

Party Affiliation

Democratic.

Birmingham, Ala. Post
January 1, 1938

NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO MEET

A special meeting of the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club will be held at the Elks Rest, Eighth-av and 12th-st, tomorrow at 3:30 p. m. Representatives from the Montgomery County Negro Democratic units will be on the program.

Ward Two Negro Democrats Make Wrong Decision

Spivey-Box Supporters Now Outside Looking in

Democratic party organization last week left most of the Negroes in Ward 2 precincts on the outside looking in. At a late hour in the game, a week before the caucuses, the boys in the Negro precincts made a bad guess and lined up with the Ed Box forces, backed by the Spivey combination. All of the precinct caucuses were held and selections made in conformity with the Box-Spivey lineup. Their candidate, under the generalship of Mrs. Lucile Hurd, was the only Negro barricade of the Blakney-Milam set-up that held its ground.

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All of this is wise counsel, yet at a very early date Negroes from all over Oklahoma will be gravitating towards Boley on the same day and for the same purpose. Instead of attention meets in Oklahoma City the Democratic State Convention meets in county Democratic delegations tempting to secure places in convention, those who classify coming to the regular state convention, those who meeting as leaders will hold a segregated meeting to prove that some one Negro has a greater following than another.

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national foundation to combat infantile paralysis and assist its victims.

Locating Our Friends in the Democratic Party

to be consolidated. The Negro vote needs not only to be united but it must find some other blocs with which it can unite to force desirable issues.

No one will argue that the Black Dispatch and this writer erred in exacting the repudiated Marland pledges. In addition no one needs waste much time falling out with the governor. The important thing to investigate is methods by which the Negro vote can so position itself as to compel respect. Can the Negro vote as a separate bloc effect results and consummate issues independent and alone? Will it be necessary to form alliances of some character?

It should be noted that the farmer-labor vote in Oklahoma is the only sizeable bloc in the Democratic party taking any interest in Negro problems. We sat in a convention last week when more than 1400 whites drawn from the farmer-labor group denounced by resolutions the deplorable conditions at Taft. This same organization is taking a stand for the enactment of anti-lynching laws. For the past five years the only organization in Oklahoma manned by white men taking any interest in federal relief for Negroes has been the VIA. Does this information mean anything to you?

It seems to the Black Dispatch that the Negroes in every county in Oklahoma should begin to identify themselves with the farmer-labor groups and through these blocs develop their activities in the Democratic primary. This group needs help and would welcome the support of the Negro. They in turn would give us the commanding position we lacked when the Marland promises were made.

For the Negro vote to bottom itself in this way in every county in Oklahoma would mean that in matters of education, personal safety, employment and other fundamental needs too numerous to mention we might find our way out. This article is not intended to suggest that Negroes join any particular organization save and except that we take the position that fundamentally it is with the farmer-labor group the Negro vote should identify itself.

If we are interested only in the idea of securing three or four jobs for Negroes who seek to head state institutions we will of course nurse the idea born when the Negro Democratic Central Committee first saw the light of day, but if we are interested in the common weal; if we are interested in lifting the standard of the masses, we will speedily discard this Jim Crow setup.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
January 24, 1938

THREAT TO THE SOUTH

That the South has supported some of the major policies of the New Deal in the face of serious doubt as to their wisdom, efficiency or accord with the fundamental principles of the Democratic Party is a proposition amply sustained by the record. Events at the national capital are emphasizing the wide divergence of view that has arisen in Congress and between Congress and the occupant of the White House.

These differences have reached a stage where they may be easily intensified to the point of actual danger to the Democratic Party and the nature and purpose of the anti-lynching bill is being increasingly viewed as a potential factor in that direction.

It is not a measure designed for service of the Negro race, but born of the spirit of opportunism of Northern Democrats who are seeking to ingratiate themselves with the 1,250,000 Negro voters in the five populous states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana.

The record, incontestable and well known, demonstrates that public opinion in the South and the laws of the Southern States have cooperated to condemn and punish lynching until the crime has been almost eliminated. There were less than a dozen lynchings last year in sixteen Southern States, with a population of nearly 40,000,000.

The Democratic majority in the Senate is overwhelming. Everybody knows that a word from the White House to the administration leaders would immediately and permanently shelve this viciously sectional, politically selfish, and unconstitutional measure and that it cannot be passed unless pressure behind the scenes in its behalf is exerted.

The Atlanta Constitution discusses the situation with candor, courage, and truth.

The Democratic Party, it recalls, was nurtured in the South. . . . Today, nominally within the ranks of the party, are various groups which are diligently endeavoring to dictate the policies of the party and use it to gain their own peculiar ends, many of them utterly at variance with fundamental Democratic policies.

Various legislative proposals, alien to the fundamental principles of the true Democracy, have been advanced under its aegis. Some of these have gone down to defeat, while others have become the law of the land despite the opposition of southern stalwarts who see, all too plainly, the drift away from democratic principles.

If the ideals of American freedom and independence, as visioned in the tenets of true Democrats, are to be rescued from the spoliation of these strangers within the party of today, it must be the South that saves them.

The antilynching bill now before the Senate is not a genuine attempt to save the lives of the few, scattered victims of the mob. In all the nation there were, in 1937, only fourteen lynchings. The evil is rapidly dying out of itself, as the nation emerges from the grip of intolerance and mob spirit.

The bill is intended to pander to certain blocks of votes in the North and East, by raping the police powers of the Southern States and imposing hateful federal restrictions upon local authority. It violates every canon of State's rights and fails utterly to provide machinery which would achieve its purported goal.

Nothing could more certainly estrange the Democrats of the South from the Democrats of other sections than enactment of this bill, embodying as it does all the stigma of rabid sectionalism.

As Senator Harrison tells the Senate, passage of the antilynching bill is very apt to be the final straw that will split the Democratic Party as it is today, and compel this section to once again keep alight the fire of freedom in the temple of the real Democracy.

Roanoke, Va., World News
January 20, 1938

Party Realignment

Claiming that the National Democratic Party has abandoned the Deep South in its effort to secure the Negro vote of certain pivotal cities of the North, a number of leading Republicans are now making the astounding proposal that the Republican Party cut itself loose from the Negro vote in the South, and seek to become the conservative party of that section. In the light of history, few more startling proposals have been made in American politics, for the Republican Party was founded in hatred of the South, and it was the Republican Party's handling of Reconstruction that has made the South solidly Democratic for more than half a century.

Governor Aiken of Vermont, the most conservative of Republican States, is spokesman for the group seeking to bring about establishment of a "national party" through a purge of the present Republican organization in many Southern States. This reform was advocated by President Hoover during his term of office, but made little progress, and collapsed when Mr. Hoover, against all advice, signed the Hawley-Smoot tariff, inimical to the interests of the South. For the Republican Party was born as a sectional party, and has been nurtured on tariff favors to the industrial sections at the expense of other sections of the country. The Northeastern and Central States have formed its chief basis of support. While it has often carried the West, and sometimes the border, it penetrated the South only in the 1928 campaign, when it allied itself with the Ku Klux Klan to preach religious intolerance.

Since then there has been an increase in industrial activity in the South, a shift of population from farm to city, good roads have broken down the traditional isolation of the voter, and what is perhaps of more political significance, the Republican Party has lost the solid support of the Negro in the North, and so is less interested in forming its organization around the vote of the Negro in the South.

Factors which Republican leaders believe have changed the political picture since 1932 and opened the way for Republican penetration of the Solid South are repeal of the two-thirds rule in the National Democratic Convention, by which the South has lost its veto power against an unacceptable nominee; loss by the Republican Party of the Negro vote in the North, which makes possible a purge of Negro national committeemen and other leaders in the Deep South, and Southern disapproval of Federal control of wages and hours, the Federal anti-lynching bill, and generally, the deep-seated opposition of the South to centralized bureaucratic control of the affairs of every day life from Washington.

Tradition, name and the historical record of the Republican Party are all against the idea Governor Aiken has sponsored. To accomplish what he desires, the Republican Party would have to disavow its leaders from Lincoln to Hoover—its tariff policies of half a century. The oily scum of the Harding Administration is of too recent memory. In abandoning the Republican Party to accept membership in the newly-formed American Party, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia has pointed the way by which radicals may bring about a farmer-labor coalition on the basis of modified and applied socialism. Leadership is still lacking for a coalition of the land-owning South and industrial North for defense of local and individual rights. Neither Governor Aiken nor the party for which he speaks seem likely to supply that leadership.

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GENERAL

URGES WHITES IN SOUTH TO GIVE THE NEGRO A CHANCE IN POLITICS

Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Noted Cleric, Strikes New Chord in Symphony of Interracial Relationship—Tells Listeners 'Give Him a Chance Economically—Treat Him Like a Human Being.'

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 10—(Special)—Addressing a meeting here Tuesday evening of sponsors of a movement for betterment of interracial relations in the city and county, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church, stressing the need of creating greater opportunities for the economic and educational advancement of Negroes, made the following recommendations as to how this may be best accomplished:

Give the Negro a chance economically. Give him an increasing share in politics. Treat him like a human being. Share the Christian religion with him.

Dr. Edmonds' talk which dealt with the cultural contributions and present-day needs of the Negro in the South, was introduced by U. S. Commissioner Louise C. Charlton, Chairman of the meeting, who explained that race relations is to be one of the topics discussed at the Southern Conference of Human Welfare to be held here Nov. 20 to 23. She especially urged attendance at the address of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, who will speak at the Municipal Auditorium on Nov. 22.

Negro Democrats Vs. Negro Republicans

Incidentally, Birmingham has the only recognized Negro organization of the Democratic Party in the state.

A group of Negroes got a charter a year or so ago and they are as proud of it as any document that has ever been written. The charter hangs handsomely framed in an office of the Negro Masonic Temple and should you enter that building the chances are that you will be led to gaze upon it.

Like their white brethren, the officially recognized Negro Democrats take a great deal of delight in lambasting Republicans at every chance, especially the ones of their own race.

Warns Democracy Must Prove Worth Saving To Masses

HYDE PARK, N. Y.—(SNS)—Preservation of the social and economic gains in liberalism in next Tuesday's elections was called for by President Roosevelt Friday night in a speech from his Hyde Park home.

The chief executive warned that unless democracy "moves forward as a living force" Fascism and Communism will grow in strength. He cited to Americans the "terrorism and intolerance" in other lands.

ASKS LEHMAN ELECTION

It was the first fireside chat of the President in several months. Mr. Roosevelt traced the record of his administration and pledged non-interference with private enterprise provided abuses are eliminated. He also appealed for the election of Governor Lehman, of New York saying that governing the state of New York requires the skill that comes from long experience in public affairs." He did not mention Lehman's opponent, Thomas Dewey—by name, but was evidently referring to his youth.

The President's address was in the main devoted to a philosophic and comparative discussion of government.

"MUST PROVE SELF"

Only "by proving itself worth saving," said M.r Roosevelt, will democracy save itself with the average man and woman "in these tense and dangerous situations in the world."

"Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really interested in saving things as they were," the President stated. "Democracy should concern itself also with things as they ought to be. I am not talking mere idealism, I am pressing realistic necessity."

Continuing, he said: "I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line Republicans and Communists, alike—for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

"As of today, fascism and communism—and old-line Tory Republicans—are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But, I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, fascism, communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory republicanism, will grow in strength."

The necessity of coolness of judgment was stressed by Mr. Roosevelt, who commended Governor Murphy, of Michigan, who is also standing re-election.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Free Press
December 7, 1938

The Great Game of Politics

By FRANK R. KENT

AN IGNOBLE ENTERPRISE.

IN 1936, WHEN Administration politicians were so jubilant over their achievement in transferring almost 100 per cent the great Negro vote in the debatable states of the North from the Republican to the Democratic party, the statement was made in this place that there was considerable risk in that game, and they might live to regret it.

KENT

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CODDLING the Negroes of the North with relief funds, federal jobs and social equality speeches, while at the same time appealing to the white supremacy Democrats of the South in the name of party loyalty was so clear a case of double-dealing that no sensible person could believe in its permanency. They got away with it in '36, but not in '38. To a great extent the Negroes swung back to their Republican moorings last November—not solidly, it is true, but in such numbers as to justify the Republican hope of regaining almost completely what, until the New Deal stole it away had for 75 years been the party's most dependable political asset. In Ohio, for example, the Republicans lost about 98 per cent of the Negroes in 1936. They did not, by any means, get them all back in November, but they did get back more than 50 per cent.

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WHAT happened in Ohio happened in other states which swung back to the Republicans—New Jersey, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Michigan. Just as the really practical politicians realize how potent a factor this vast Negro vote—estimated at nearly 2,500,000 in some 11 pivotal states—was in 1936, they appreciate that it was exceedingly potent in the Republican victories of 1938. It is all very well to talk about "tides" and "issues," but you can't be a realist in politics and ignore this swing of the Negroes, with which neither tide nor issues had anything to do. In the Democratic party some of the politicians who had most to do with the great Negro coup of 1936 are realistically facing the facts now as they bear upon 1940. They present an interesting problem.

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AS THE more acute among them see it, having lost some 50 per cent of their Negro allies last November, unless some way is found to check it, the other 50 per cent may easily be lost in 1940. If that happens, the chances of Republican success are greatly enhanced. In this situation the Administration politicians find themselves in a dilemma. They can do one of two things. Either they can stop courting the Negro and let him go back to the Republicans or they can go out and compete with the Republicans as to which shall have him. If they do the first they will yield a considerable advantage to the

opposition in states that must be carried to elec a President, but they will still the revolt in, and regain the confidence of, the Democratic South where the Administration's Negro coddling has been deeply resented.

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ON THE other hand, while competition promises more in votes, successful competition isn' easy. If, it is said, Mr. Roosevelt were again his party's candidate, it might be possible to hold a majority of the Negroes because he is still very popular with them. But not many, despite Senator Joe Guffey's pontifical statement, really thinks Mr. Roosevelt will be the nominee and there is great doubt whether the Negroes would vote for any other Democrat. Of course, the nomination of Mr. Garner, or Mr. Jesse Jones, or Secretary Hull, or any other Democrat from a deep Southern state, where neither political nor social equality for the Negro exists, would end any hope of holding them—they would rush 100 per cent back to the Republicans. In any event, competition with the Republicans, now that they have something in the way of jobs in a dozen or more states to give, will be tougher than it was in 1936 when they had nothing.

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ALTHOUGH it is a not entirely savory state of affairs, it is politically important and there is no sense not facing the facts. It cost the Administration a great deal of money, many fat jobs, an enormous amount of work and considerable self-respect to corral the Negroes for Mr. Roosevelt. Now they find they won't stay in the corral. They lost half of them in the last election and they stand a fair chance of losing most of the remaining half in the next. To recapture them would involve a degree of open truckling which would cause a real reaction in the South and hurt in other sections as well. And it might not succeed anyhow because now that they are on their feet again the Republicans are going after the Negroes with great vigor and determination. Ruefully, Administration strategists who were so proud of their Negro campaign, survey the situation and are dejected. It serves them right. It was an ignoble political enterprise conceived for a wholly selfish purpose, involving a humiliating degree of duplicity.

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General

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation

Political Morality vs. Ethics

By KELLY MILLER

President Roosevelt has characterized the conduct of the Republicans in voting for a democratic candidate in the primaries as being violative of political morality.

If the President had referred to the strategy of reactonary Republicans in defeating Senator Pope of Idaho by invading the Democratic primaries as being politically unethical instead of immoral his characterization of their conduct would have been more easily understandable.

A definition of terms is necessary to a clear understanding. Ethics has to do with the principles and rules of conduct, while morality is concerned with conduct itself as being right or wrong according to human or divine sanction. Morality usually involves the emotions and is bound to the divine will by sky-hooks, while ethics is of the earthy and rests upon a purely mundane foundation.

While the two terms are sometimes used as synonyms they are by no means identical. In this exalted sense, morality has no place in political parlance. The politician never asks of his contemplated line of conduct whether it is right or wrong, but whether it is expedient and politic. The prize fighter or the football player is required to play the game according to the rules regardless of the moral quality of the rules themselves. "Fairplay" is its only virtue.

SUCCESS IS VIRTUE OF POLITICIAN

Success is the supreme virtue of the politician. With him, the end justifies the means unless the means are in flagrant violation of the plain mandates of common morality.

It is perfectly ethical, if not moral, for Republicans in Idaho to vote in a Democratic primary, for the law permits them to do so; but in Maryland, such interference in intra-party affairs would certainly be unethical as a violation of law.

The property and education qualifications for suffrage in Mississippi are both unethical and immoral. For they were not designed for the bona-fide purpose of purifying the suffrage, but of defeating the fifteenth amendment. When the Republican party, in the Senatorial election of Nebraska, substituted a homonymic candidate instead of George W. Norris, their obvious purpose was to decieve the voters. They clearly violated the principles of morality, by indulging in downright dishonesty.

Some thoughtless political antagonists have flung back into the President's teeth the taunt of political immorality, of which he accused his adversaries, because of his interference in Democratic primary elections in several states. But a little reflection would convince his most thoughtless accuser that such interference, on his part, cannot be branded as being either politically immoral or unethical. At most he could only be accused of political impropriety, which depends upon individual taste and judgment.

The President rather boasts about the traditional properties and precedents which he has broken. Ours is a government by parties. By extra-constitutional tradition the President is the head of the political party which he represents. The President appoints the chairman of the national committee of his party, whose chief function is to invade the several states to promote the choice of candidates of his own party, and to smooth out intra-party tangles. None of the President's critics attempt to gainsay the wisdom of this policy. In addition to his privilege as party chieftan he has the same right to influence the choice of his preferred candidate as any other citizen.

In the one-party states of the south, where the primary choice is tantamount to election, the only way in which the President can influence elections is by intervening at the primary stage. If the President could be called a carpet bagger because he utilizes the prestige of his office to influence the choice of local candidates, then every President of the United States should be so branded, from George Washington to the present incumbent in the White House.

When President Wilson expressed his preference for Harris over Hardwick as Senator from the "Empire State" of the South, we heard nothing of the revival of the carpet bag regime, or of Sherman's second march through Georgia.

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man's second march through Georgia.

POLITICAL MORALITY

By DR. KELLY MILLER

President Roosevelt has characterized the conduct of the Republicans in voting for a democratic candidate in the primaries as being violative of political morality. If the President had referred to the strategy of reactionary Republicans in defeating Senator Pope of Idaho by invading the Democratic primaries as being politically unethical instead of immoral, his characterization of their conduct would have been more easily understandable.

A definition of terms is necessary to a clear understanding. Ethics has to do with the principles and rules of conduct, while morality is concerned with conduct itself as being right or wrong according to human or divine sanction. Morality usually involves the emotions and is bound to the divine will by sky-hooks, while ethics is of the earthy and rests upon a purely mundane foundation. While the two terms are sometimes used as synonyms they are by no means identical. In this exalted sense, morality has no place in political parlance. The politician never asks of his contemplated line of conduct whether it is right or wrong, but whether it is expedient and polite. The prize fighter or the football player is required to play the game according to the rules regardless of the moral quality of the rules themselves. "Fairplay" is its only virtue.

Success is the supreme virtue of the politician. With him, the end justifies the means unless the means are in flagrant violation of the plain mandates of common morality. It is perfectly ethical, if not moral, for Republicans in Idaho to vote in a Democratic primary, for the law permits them to do so; but in Maryland such interverence in intra-party affairs would certainly be unethical as a violation of law. The property and education qualifications for suffrage in Mississippi are both unethical and immoral. For they were not designed for the bona-fide purpose of purifying the suffrage, but of defeating the fifteenth amendment. When the Republican party, in the Senatorial election of Nebraska, substituted a homonymic candidate instead of George W. Norris, their obvious purpose was to deceive the voters. They clearly violated the principles of morality, by indulging in downright dishonestly.

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Columbia, S. C. Record
October 19, 1938

Demos and GOP Seeking Negro Votes For Nov.

Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, Michigan, Other States Fighting

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19.—(AP)—The parboiled words being swapped over the negro vote in Pennsylvania testify to the bids that both major parties are making for the support of negroes in the November election.

Not only in Pennsylvania, but in Illinois, New York, Michigan and several other northern states both Democrats and Republicans are telling the negroes what they have done for the race.

In Illinois, the Democrats have the only negro member of congress — Rep. Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago. He took the seat from a Republican negro, Oscar DePriest, four years ago. William L. Dawson, another Republican negro, is running against Mitchell this fall.

The Republicans are making a strong drive in several northern states to recapture the negro vote which has escaped from them in the last six years. They had several negroes trying for the Republican nomination for congressional seats in the primaries. Besides Dawson, two of them were nominated in Detroit and Philadelphia.

Other sections, the maneuvering for votes may be less apparent, but nonetheless real. Negroes are invited to take prominent parts in political meetings.

One of the speakers who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey for the governorship of New York at the Republican state convention was a negro. Many negroes attended both the Republican and Democratic conventions in New York as delegates.

In perhaps no other state, however, will the negro vote play such an important part in November as in Pennsylvania. Estimates place the total negro vote in that state at 177,000. Even with a large share of these votes, the Democrats polled 147,000 fewer votes than did the Republicans in the primaries last spring.

Robert L. Vann, negro Democratic leader in Pittsburgh, is advocating the election of Judge Arthur James, Republican candidate for governor. Senator Guffey promptly accused Vann, who has been his supporter, of deserting the Democratic party.

NEW DEAL LOSES AN ALLY

Just for many years Negro voters were the most dependable unit of the Republican party, these voters had become a decisive force in the victorious battles of the New Deal during the past six years. There is no denying the fact, however, that colored voters left the New Deal camp by the thousands on election day of this year and rallied to the standard of the Republican party. Whatever other implications leaders of both parties get from the November election, it seems certain they will not overlook the behavior of colored voters.

It is not hard for persons who know what caused such a phalanx of colored voters to move into the Democratic party in recent years to understand why they departed this year in almost equally as great a number. New Deal failed to make good in its promises to the Negro and President Roosevelt failed to measure up to the high expectations of his great following of colored voters. Colored voters, now asserting their independence of political parties in larger numbers than ever before, will rally to the support of real liberals in any party and will oppose reactionaries of any party.

In its many pledges of devotion to the "forgotten man" and to the underprivileged of the nation, the "off the record" promises of New Deal leaders was that Negroes would receive equal treatment to that accorded any other group. However, in practice, when the New Deal began to spend money and give jobs, there were ever so many "differentials" that were introduced with the plain intent of depriving Negroes of the benefits they deserved and expected.

Both in the operation of the NRA and in Social Security these differentials were discriminatory toward Negroes, and in addition, the disposition of the National Administration to put the handling of government agencies in the hands of prejudiced persons, greatly deprived Negroes of a just share of the jobs and relief that they had a right to expect from a political party that prided itself on its zeal for humanitarian service.

President Roosevelt, much to the surprise and chagrin of millions of colored voters, failed to exert his great power to have a federal law against lynching passed. It was believed, with the strong majorities that had been mustered in support of the bill, and the fact that it exceeded in realism every other piece of "humanitarian legislation" of its administration, the President would make a dramatic appeal for the passage of the bill at some time during the recent session of Congress when that bill held the attention of the nation and the world.

The President failed to act and in addition, such strong New Dealers as Senator Bilbo of Mississippi and Senator McKellar of Tennessee, worked overtime to defeat the anti-lynching bill. They accomplished their task not by argument nor by votes. They accomplished it by a filibuster which prevented the bill from coming to a vote.

Colored voters of the nation believed that Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt was as courageous as his great kinsman Theodroe Roosevelt. But at a critical time he was weighed in the balance and found wanting. He appeared to yield to the reactionaries of his party who are in command of considerably fewer votes in the electorial college than are in those states where Negro votes hold the balance of power.

Colored voters of the nation DID rally to the support of Senator Robert F. Wagner in New York and his majority was greater than that of any man on the Democratic ticket. They DID rally to the support of the Hon. John Gavagan, who piloted the anti-lynching bill through the House and he easily won reelection in Harlem although an able and fully qualified colored leader was the Republican candidate.

Of course the loss by the New Deal of such a stalwart as Editor Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier was a great blow to the New Deal in Pennsylvania and hurt the party in other states as well But the belief that the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt both "fell from grace" in their treatment of the Negro masses undoubtedly was responsible for the great loss of colored voters in vital states.

It remains to be seen what will be the strategy of the New Deal in its dilemma over having lost its great Negro following and also what will be the strategy of the Republicans as they ponder the need of holding the support and good will they received from colored voters in all parts of the nation.

Editorials

A TERRIBLE VICTORY

On November 8 the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania went down to ignominious defeat at the hands of an inspirited Republicanism. The New Deal has been decisively repudiated. The state elected a Republican Governor in Arthur H. James, and a United States Senator in James Davis. The Negroes in Philadelphia were headed by Herbert E. Millen, a distinguisht attorney.

But in the midst of rejoicing there is ground and reason for regret that the Negroes did not support Magistrate Edward W. Henry for the U. S. Congress. It was the first time a Negro had been so considered. The opportunity was lost because the race members in the key wards were more interested in their stomachs than in ideals and loyalty. Relief, PWA, and boodle could not be overcome. Henry's defeat is the eternal shame of the Negro. It was a terrible victory. Four or five thousand Negroes with brains in their heads would have saved the day which will not come again within fifty years.

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General

Negroes Take Part In Politics

Plaindealer 1-28-38 Kansas City, Kan.

Negroes are becoming conscious of several things while economic chaos reigns and political uncertainty becomes more uncertain. After all they seem to know—many of them—when their turn comes. They can complain half the time and sleep the rest when things are so one sided in any respect. But when things are all mixed up, Negroes watch other folks, and they set out to make their actions count. They have for many years been tied to a tradition politically, and have felt almost ashamed to break away from it. Many of them have really felt that it was almost a crime to think of voting anything except a Republican ticket—a lot of them would not even scratch a ticket for a good personal friend across the political line. But Negroes watch white folks. They imitate white folks. They have lately seen white folks changing their party affiliation and association without any compunction of their political conscience, but with great benefits to themselves and theirs. They have seen good Republican white folks follow the bread tray. Negroes have rejoiced to hear orators tell of their patriotism and party fealty, and their appreciation for Abe Lincoln grows with the years. But the spirit of Lincoln makes them to want to be free and take part in the affairs of the government. They are not wasting much time now reading labels on the party banners. They want to be considered as part of the citizenry, both in voting and being voted for. They not only want to know what the program is, they want to help make it. This way of others getting off to themselves and making out a program and then handing it to the Negroes will not work now as it used to do—it will work, too, but in another direction. It will drive them into other camps. They are not tied any longer. They have found out that it doesn't pay to be tied to a post while others go in to eat.

In Kansas this year something is happening politically. Both major parties are catering ~~to Negro voters~~—at least the Democratic party is doing so. The Republican party has too many round about ways in dealing with this group. There is too much the tendency to feed the Negro with a long handle spoon—and often there is nothing there but the handle. The Republican party in Kansas can come back this year, but it will hardly be done without some reorganization and consolidation of the members of the party of both races. The leaders of the party can be misled by the curb stone politicians who have nothing to offer but their wide open palm that itches for a quarter. Negroes expect to take some part in politics this year in Kansas.

Is The Republican or Democratic Party Of Today The Negro's Best Friend?

The apparent defeat of the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-lynching bill under a Democratic administration is certain to revive the question as to which side of the political fence the Negro had better alight himself. I know that my good friend, Perry Howard, the arch Negro Republican, is already chiding the Negro Democrats who deserted the standard of the GOP with the taunt "I told you so."

Six years ago, I wrote the manifesto of the National Negro Non-Partisan League. In this political document I laid down fundamental principles that as the issue of reconstruction era faded into the background, the difference in attitude of the two parties towards the Negro tends to disappear, that the Southern States with a large Negro population have an inherited and traditional unfriendly attitude concerning the political and civil status of the Negro, out of harmony with the intent and purpose of the fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments; that mere party labels do not foundamentally affect this attitude, on the other hand, the Northern and Western States which wrote these Amendments into the Constitution have espoused the idea which they embodied; that the Southerners were called Democrats, and the Northerner, Republicans, mark nominal rather than, fundamental distinctions. I there stated that the Democrats of the North were every whit as favorable to the political rights of the Negro as the Republicans of that section. On the contrary, lily white Republicans of the South they are all lily whites down there—adopt the same racial attitude as the local Democrats.

At the time this was written, there wer comparatively few Democrats in the North. Since then the Northern states have become almost unanimously Democratic. But the Northern attitude towards the Negro has affected by this shift of party dominance. Wagner and Van Nuys Democrats, are as sincere and genuine in promoting anti-lynching legislation as Dyer, the Republican.

In fact a small bloc of Southern States dictates the National policy on the race question, it matters not which pary is in power at Washington. This bloc is just as effective under a Republican as under a Democratic administration. The determined opposition of the Southern States defeated the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill under Coolidge, by the same tactics which they are now resorting to, to defeat the Wagner-Van Nuys Bill, under Roosevelt's administration. If anything they were more easily effective when the Republicans had an overwhelming majority in both branches of Congress, than they are when the Democrats are in control of both houses. The Republican majority in the Senate abandoned the Dyer anti-lynching bill on mere threat of filibustering, whereas the present measure was merely laid aside temporarily after six weeks of filibustering. Coolidge was as apathetic to the fate of the Dyer bill as Roosevelt is alleged to be concerning the pending measure.

So far as states rights are concerned both parties have yielded to the South and local sovereignty as to the political and civil rights of the Negro. The fifteenth Amendment, like Hancock's tariff, has become a local issue. Those states observe it which are disposed to do so while others ignore or circumvent it according to their own will and pleasure. Separate schools, jim-crow cars and disfranchisement tactics are resorted to according to local will and determination. The border states along with the North and West choose to observe the fifteenth amendment; the deep Southern States do not. The decision of the Supreme Court sustaining white primaries, has laid the bases of disfranchising the Negro whenever the local white majority makes up its mind to do so. Under this ruling New York, Iowa or Mass. may exclude the Negro from the franchise by operating their political machinery through white primaries, as well as Texas or Georgia. The laws forbidding inter-marriage between the races are in operation by twenty-nine out of forty-eight states, without let or hindrance of Federal authority.

The South by virtue, or rather by vice of its inherited and traditional race prejudice excludes the Negro form public office. President Taft, gave national sanction to this Southern policy by laying down the dictum that he wouls not appoint any colored person to office against local protest and opposition. This was but an invitation to make the policy national.

By decision of the Supreme Court, residential segregation on racial grounds can be accomplished by local covenants which nationalizes the practice, North and South, East and West, under Republican and Democratic administrations alike. Segregation therefore is as prevalent and as legal in Mass., and Pennsylvania as it is in South Carolina and Mississippi.

For a number of years, I have been protestng in and out of season, against discrimination on account of race or color in the operation of the Civil Service law. But such discrimination takes place with bold and unshamed audacity whether a Democrat or Republican occupies the Presidency.

The selection of colored men to public office, appointive or elective, local or national have been more frequent and numerous under five years of President Roosevelt's Democratic administration than under the twelve years of his three Republican predecessors combined. The national laws and regulations have been more liberal to the Negro under the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, than under any Republican administration, since Theodore Roosevelt.

In light of all these indisputable facts and tendencies, it is merely the dictate of good sense and good judgment fr the Negro to choose his political alignment according to men measures and movements, and not by traditional party labels.

Kelly Miller.

SAMSON GETS HIS HAIR BACK

SAMSON was the world's strongest man. He slew the king's soldiers by the hundreds. He was unconquerable. Finally, he disclosed the source of his strength to Delilah, a clever woman. While Samson was asleep she cut his hair and his strength became as a normal man's.

In this weakened condition Samson was unable to defend himself. The soldiers came and dug his eyes out and made him a slave.

Samson's hair grew long. He became strong again. One day he had a boy lead him to the pillars which sustained the temple. With one hand on one pillar and one on another Samson gave one big push and the temple came tumbling down, killing Samson's tormentors.

The strength of the Negro power is the ballot. The Kelly-McCloskey machine used it to erect a great and powerful political temple in Philadelphia. After the temple was secure, they thought that they could discard the colored vote. They believe that their machine is unbeatable. After colored voters had served the purpose of the machine, Kelly and McCloskey forgot their promises.

Colored people were to receive ten per cent of the jobs. These glittering promises turned out to be daggers in the eyes of colored people. There are 27,000 state jobs. Colored citizens should have, were the promises fulfilled, 2,700 of them.

The State Employment office is shot through with prejudice and discrimination. When employers call, they are asked whether they want colored or white help. Colored domestics are given the cheaper jobs and the better ones turned over to other workers.

It is no answer to say that the Democrats have done a little better than the Republicans. That is admitted. But during the Republican regime there was a one-party government in Pennsylvania. The Democratic Party rose to power on the backs of colored people.

The leadership of the Democratic Party has broken faith. The day of reckoning has come. The colored citizens still have their ballots which they intend to use intelligently. If Mr. Kelly and Mr. McCloskey think they can get along without keeping their promises, they are seriously mistaken.

Colored voters built the Democratic machine in Philadelphia. And what they built they can destroy. Colored citizens are determined to receive a square deal in Pennsylvania. And neither party can hope to remain in power unless it keeps the faith.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
February 19, 1938

The South and the White House

Never before have the devotees of Jefferson and Jackson been so vicious and unanimous in their opposition to a Democratic president, says Ray Rucker in The Commentator. The revolt, in Mr. Tucker's opinion, is the result of the president's anti-Southern complex manifest in his remarks, his policies and his appointments.

"In his opening message to congress, and in subsequent speeches, he has characterized their economic thinking and system as a relic of the Middle Ages in which serfs paid the tribute of sweat and slavery to absentee owners. He is supposed to favor enactment of the anti-lynching bill that would let loose a horde of hip-shooting G-men in any county where law enforcement appears to have broken down.

"To the supreme court he has named two men whose philosophies do not represent the industrialized section below the Mason and Dixon line. He advocates measures which will definitely offset the advantages of soil and climate, which the South possesses over the North. But the South controls congress and in any showdown it threatens to wreck Roosevelt, his policies and his heirs."

Mr. Tucker should have added that the Roosevelt course is against the interests of the South because it is devised and promoted in behalf of the industrial centers of the East and the Middle West. Mr. Roosevelt's agents have given the South enough to cause it to believe that the federal government has been generous to this section whereas the truth is that the South has been shared short and the great cities have been shared long.

Under this policy, tax rates being the same over all the United States, the Southern states have been compelled to pay more than their just share to the funds for federal extravagance. No student of economic or political conditions can fail to be convinced that the Roosevelt administration has played unfairly by the South. The tacit adoption of the Hoover-Hawley-Smoot high tariff is only one of the pointed signs. The yardstick for distributing abecedarian funds is another. The White House takes from the South. It hopes to continue to take from the South. How long will the South stand for this political treatment?

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Montgomery, Ala. Journal
February 25, 1938

INDIANA POLITICS

Indiana this year presents a political picture worthy of study by all who are interested in politics. The Democratic party is split—badly split, because of differences between the McNutt-Minton machines and Senator VanNuys who comes up for re-election this fall. VanNuys has been denied the machine's support for renomination and has announced his candidacy as an independent.

McNutt is Indiana's former governor; he is now governor general of the Philippines and has just had a presidential boom launched on his behalf by his fellow Indianans at a reception in Washington attended by three thousand people. Senator Minton is one of the staunchest supporters of the New Deal in the Senate, and has gone down the line with the President without deviation. VanNuys was a leader in fighting the President's court reorganization plan last year and along with Senator Wagner, of New York, was co-author and sponsor of the recent anti-lynching bill defeated so decisively after a 29 day battle in the Senate.

Opposed for renomination by McNutt and Minton and the powerful Democratic organization of Indiana, VanNuys calls for independent support of his recent political acts. The answer of the Republicans of Indiana is to turn to one of the deadest and most hopeless of all reactionaries, the former Republican standpat United States Senator, James E. Watson. It is just about as likely that the people of Indiana will return Watson to the Senate as that the people of Utah would return Reed Smoot.

This Republican attitude is proof that the Democratic organization of Indiana knows what it is doing and that it has nothing to fear in that direction. It is apparently confident that the VanNuys appeal for "independent" help will get no response from the Republicans. The Republicans and Watson prefer to be loyal to their old idols. They would rather go to the grave with candidates of the Watson type than to contribute to embarrassment of Democrats by helping to elect an independent. All of which should be gratifying to Indiana Democrats.

As a matter of fact, the case of VanNuys offers an example from which other aspirants for public office may well profit. Granting that he had justification in voting and speaking as he did against the Roosevelt Supreme Court reform proposal because the suggestion was untimely and unwise, the fact remains that time itself, has, within a year, brought about, naturally and in due course, the reform which the President so urgently advocated. That doesn't leave Mr. VanNuys much of an issue there.

When VanNuys took up so vigorously and offensively the obnoxious anti-lynching bill with its proposal to trample so ruthlessly upon the rights of the states, he lived to see that go down to defeat, and incidentally a defeat which wins approval of those adhering to state rights in local affairs everywhere including his own state of Indiana. VanNuys sees this issue also fade away and offer no substantial ground upon which to stand.

Indiana apparently is to remain solidly in the Democratic column and will elect another Democratic United States senator, but it will not be Frederick VanNuys.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
June 7, 1938

NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE NORTH

IN THE past week's issue of the Saturday Evening Post, Stanley High, former White House "ghost" writer, tells in a most interesting way what is happening among the negroes of the North since Democratic leaders in that quarter taught them how to use their votes to political advantage and the Communists taught them how to use their mass strength to economic advantage.

The story is told of how stores, laundries, picture shows and other establishments have been picketed until they discharged white clerks or drivers and substituted negroes, and it is set forth that the mass movements succeeded in many instances.

Mass political strength is used in the same way, this explaining why hundreds of thousands of normally Republican votes among colored people have been cast in favor of Democratic candidates.

How to keep these utilitarian votes in the Democratic ranks now is a problem that is being given attention by party leaders in the North. It appears to be a purely commercial proposition and a high price is to be expected.

One proposal is to throw the Democratic South overboard in order to hold the colored vote in doubtful states, whose total electoral votes is greater than the total elecoral vote of the solid South.

The effect of what is happening, in its relation to the economic, moral and social lives of the people of the North doesn't enter into the reckoning. But it is something fo Southerners to think about.

Negroes' Voting Is Issue In Three Southern States

Charge That Colored Persons Are Enrolling for Primaries Is Refuted

ATLANTA, July 31 (AP)—Negro participation in Democratic primaries, rare in the deep South, engaged the attention today of party officials in three cotton belt states with heated senatorial campaigns, Arkansas, Tennessee and South Carolina.

Approached on the subject of relaxing restrictions imposed in reconstruction days, Democratic committee executives of South Carolina and Arkansas said flatly party rules exclude Negroes from voting.

Tennessee Negroes organized in four large cities and asked the right to cast ballots in the party Primary Aug. 4.

Arkansas Democrats will vote Aug. 9 and South Carolinians Aug. 30 in primaries which virtually assure the nominees of victory in the subsequent general elections.

Posts of Three at Stake

Political futures of Senators E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith, South Carolina New Deal critic; Hattie W. Caraway of Arkansas, and George L. Berry of Tennessee were at stake in multiple-entry races.

Cole L. Blease, former governor and senator, opened the question of Negro voting in South Carolina with an observation that he was "reliably informed" approximately 8,000 had enrolled over the state. Blease seeks the governorship again.

"Are the colored people who are enrolling on the Democratic club rolls going to be allowed to vote in the Democratic primary?" he asked the state executive committee.

Charge Refuted

Secretary Lane L. Bonner replied quickly that party rules provided no Negro could belong and none could enroll and that if any had their names were on the book illegally.

In former years Negroes who swore they had voted for Wade Hampton for governor in 1876 and had white witnesses to back them, were allowed to vote in South Carolina. A few did. The provision was eliminated at the 1938 state Democratic convention.

In Arkansas, J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, asked the executive committee to revise a party rule providing "all known white Democrats" may vote. He suggested "all known Democrats."

Negro is Candidate

State Chairman June P. Wooten said the committee could make no change. He recommended that the association present its proposal to the state party convention in September.

Robert Buckner of Chattanooga, Negro barber and a candidate for the Democratic nomination to the Tennessee senate, said Negro organizations had been formed in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville.

"We expect to poll heavy Democratic votes in each of the four cities," he said.

Joe Drown, former Republican representative in congress from Chattanooga, said many Negroes "voted the Democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year."

USING THE NEGRO TO FIGHT "THE NEW DEAL"

FOR MANY YEARS under the editorship of George Horace Lorimer the Saturday Evening Post boasted the largest mass circulation of any magazine in the United States. The Post has been known as the mouthpiece of the Republican leaders of Pennsylvania, and so with the rise of the New Deal in the Keystone State this magazine suffered in circulation, advertising and prestige. Naturally it has not liked the changes of the past five or six years and has lost no opportunity to fight back. Its most recent effort was the publication last week of the first of two articles by Dr. Stanley High, one time New Dealer and head of the Good Neighbor League. It should be borne in mind, however, that Dr. High is now one of the New Deal's severest critics.

The article in question is definitely unfriendly to the Negro and especially to Harlem. Dr. High treats the subject of the recent Harlem Riot and picketing and other agitation for more jobs as evidence that the Communists have gotten control of the better thinking group of Negroes in Harlem and are now leading them along a path of radicalism that forebodes further trouble. His article, is aptly titled, "Dark Omens." It contains several ludicrous errors and superficial observations that will make most Negroes smile.

But this is written not so much as a criticism of Dr. High as a protest against the increasing use of the Negro to fight the New Deal. It is not the fault of the Negro that almost half of their numbers have been on relief rolls since the depression. This is more a reflection on the lack of opportunity offered by the big corporations such as the Saturday Evening Post than a fault of a social-minded federal administration.

The Post can best learn about the Negro, his aims and aspirations, from the Negro himself but for reasons unknown the magazine has persistently refused to accept contributions from Negro writers on any subject. At the same time such writers as Octavius Roy Cohen and Irving S. Cobb have come famous through their stories of Negro life, as published in this magazine.

There are many things that Franklin D. Roosevelt has done that deserves criticism more than his so-called liberal attitude toward the Negro on the relief roles. It seems to us that the net results of such an article is to arouse the racial prejudices of whites, especially the publication of Mrs. Roosevelt's photo escorted by two Negro ROTC students on her visit to Howard University some two years ago — the same photo that was so widely distributed in the South during the 1936 presidential campaign.

These subtle attacks on the Negro as a citizen, which are increasing in white magazines and newspapers should cause us all to realize that not all the flood of racial hatred and strife let loose by Hitler and Mussolini is confined to Europe, nor is it directed solely against the Jew.

Let the Saturday Evening Post know of your resentment of its policy of using the Negro as ammunition to fight the New Deal.

PULITZER-PRIZE-WINNING MR. KROCK

Last week we were treated to the spectacle of perhaps the most famous of the Washington correspondents, Arthur Krock of the New York "Times," blaming the Democratic primary dog fight in Georgia and South Carolina on the Negro.

In his column on August 24, this man, who has twice won the Pulitzer Prize for his Washington dispatches, discusses the Roosevelt "purge" in the aforementioned States, claims that this has forced the unspeakable Senators Walter F. George and "Cotton Ed" Smith to resort to "white supremacy" arguments for re-election, and blames the whole "difficulty" between the President and these two old-line politcians on the wholesale migration of Northern Negro voters from the Republican to the Democratic parties and the battle they forced over the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill.

When it is considered that Mr. Krock is a Southerner and went to the New York "Times" from the Chattanooga "Times," it is not surprising that his attitude is as openly pro-Southern Bourbon and anti-Negro as it is anti-New Deal.

Mr. Krock never loses an opportunity to wave the bloody shirt of the Reconstruction, speak feelingly of the South "where cruel economics and historical misadventure have held poverty and illiteracy over the larger popular mass." and harp on an anti-lynching law as "an unconstitutional invasion of State sovereignty."

All honest men will admit that the wealth of the South, such as it was, was destroyed by four years of insurrection which the planter-storekeeper-banker clique started against the earnest pleas of the nation.

All honest men will admit that it was the South that forced upon itself the Reconstruction Era against which it complains when it deliberately sought to re-enslave the emancipated Negroes through the infamous Black Codes.

All honest men will admit that the plight of the South is not due to the Reconstruction Era which has been over for more than fifty years, but due to the rule of ignorance and blind bigotry which deliberately penalized its own people in order to perpetuate a debasing system of peonage which drove out its most enterprising people, white and colored.

All honest men will admit that if there is to be that freedom of thought and action which is synonymous with progress, the 14th Amendment must be implemented and enforced so that the colored citizens will be citizens in every sense of the word and not voteless pariahs, and an anti-lynching bill is the first step in that direction.

But honesty is a rare quality in certain high places, and perhaps we expect too much when we look for it among some men who have the great responsibility of shaping American opinion.

POLITICAL- 1938
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Vann's Bolt Linked to New Leadership of Paul Jones

By DAVIS LEE
Staff Correspondent

PITTSBURGH—Has Robert L. Vann deserted the Democratic party?

Mr. Vann says "No," but colored Pittsburgh says "Yes."

And certain Democratic bosses are explaining that Mr. Vann did not leave the party because it had not given him and his race what they promised.

According to them, they gave Mr. Vann a juicy plum when he was appointed special assistant to Attorney General Cummings. He could have remained on the post at Washington, had he so desired, they say.

New Leader Rises

Another factor to which attention is drawn is that in 1933, Paul Jones, an ambitious youngster, then 29, was appointed compensation referee at a salary of $5,000.

While Jones was quite young, he had been in politics a long time and began to fortify himself with young Democrats who were willing to follow his leadership.

Jones Makes Hay

Mr. Jones's new position gave him State-wide contacts and he used them to good political advantage. An effort was made to dismantle his little political machine, but the plan didn't work. Jones had made too many contacts, and the white bosses were consulting him in most cases.

When the 1938 primary came around the Democratic bosses found that Jones had been named county chairman of the colored Democratic organization.

One of his first acts was to recommend Thomas W. Barton for city assessor, but Mayor Scully appointed Theron (Slim) Hamilton, recommended by Mr. Vann.

CIO Is Challenger

The May primary was now on, and the CIO, which supported the State Democratic organization, challenged the party nominees and rigged up a State slate of its own choice. John B. Kennedy, present lieutenant governor with Earle, ran on the CIO ticket for governor against the administration of which he is a part.

Vann Sticks With Guffey

John L. Lewis is said to have mapped the program and obtained the support of Junior Senator Joe Guffey, who threw his support to Kennedy. Vann, who had been closely allied with Senator Guffey, joined in.

Meanwhile, Jones remained loyal to the regular Democratic nominees, Earle for United States Senator and Jones for governor, and succeeded in carrying the colored vote in Allegheny County by an overwhelming majority for the regular candidates.

However, when the primary was over, Senator Guffey, although defeated, joined hands with David L. Lawrence, State chairman, and promised to support the primary winners in the November election.

However, Mr. Vann did not make peace with Mr. Jones.

Even though he had opposed the regular line-up, Mr. Vann was yet in position to get most anything he wanted from the Democratic powers, it was reported.

According to the bosses, Mr. Vann had no difficulty so great with the State committee that could not have been settled. The governor was reported to have been surprised to learn of Mr. Vann's defection.

Supports GOP

Mr. Vann's action in calling upon his followers to support the Republican nominee for governor was the result of a hasty action which would not have occurred, the Democratic bosses declared, if he had allowed his thoughts to be questioned.

Mr. Vann's action has drawn fire from non-political groups throughout Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. They cite the fact that the New Deal has given jobs to some six or seven hundred colored citizens.

Ministers Critical

A group of ministers met on Monday and issued a statement criticising Mr. Vann's defection.

Hamilton Cracks Down

Theron Hamilton, attorney, who succeeded Vann as special assistant to the Attorney General on an appointment by the President, also assailed Vann in a letter addressed to the Pittsburgh publisher. Hamilton cited the gains of the colored people under the New Deal, and declared:

"I cannot forget the services that have been rendered to the colored people under the Democratic administration in Washington and Harrisburg.

"I know, as well as you must know, that the colored people in Pennsylvania have benefitted from those New Deal laws which Judge James has said that he would burn."

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
October 18, 1938

NEGRO VOTE IS DISPUTED

Pennsylvania Leader Asks Race To Ballot For G. O. P.

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 17.—(AP)—A negro Democratic leader's appeal to Pennsylvania's 177,000 negro voters to support the Republican gubernatorial candidate drew from Senator Joseph F. Guffew today a charge that the plea was "deceitful and dishonest."

The appeal was made by Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh publisher and follower of Mr. Guffey, who asserted the move was designed to remove the present Democratic leadership and restore Mr. Guffey as the state's "No. 1 Democrat." The senator split with the organization during the primary, by supporting C. I. O. indorsed candidates, but the break was later mended. Vann asked the negroes to vote for Judge Arthur H. James for governor, and ignore the Democratic ticket headed by Governor Earle, Democratic senatorial candidate.

Thinks One-Party System Is A Hindrance To South

Editor, The Post:

Recently I listened to a speech of Senator Bankhead's. He seemed to try to place the praise where it did not belong. Mr. Chamberlain was the man who stopped that threat of war; Mr. Roosevelt did a part, of which we were all pleased, but the man who ran his legs off and used his brain was Chamberlain, who wasn't mentioned by the senator.

I saw an effort to deceive the Southern people by having them believe it was someone else that is responsible for the South's ills. Of course the South was unjustly treated by other parts, but why wasn't the South big enough to shake it off and do something for herself? The answer is that the few capitalists we had were too busy planning a way to turn the free white man, along with the recently freed Negro, into slaves for themselves. They had no confidence in themselves; they had always depended on the slaves for their gain. Why did they not pool their money, form companies and start manufacturing our own products? They had no confidence in the other fellow.

The greatest evil and holdback to the South, which the senator failed to mention, is our one-party system, which will not work in a democracy. There must be a balance of power and two strong opposing parties. A perpetual party in power is worse than monopoly in business. That is the only reason taxes must be increased at every legislation; the old officials that the people vote out of office are immediately placed on the payroll in another department or a new one made for them. They have to care for him because he is important in the machine. Yes, the one-party system is one of our great hindrances.

C. D. WEAR.

* * *

Christian Federation Appreciates Publicity

Editor, The Post:

The Birmingham Christian Federation is deeply indebted to you for the most generous space given in your paper before and during the recent Fall Assembly. The co-operation of The Birmingham Post added greatly to the spread of the impact of the meetings on our city and state.

D. R. PRICE,
Secretary.

Negroes Repudiate Vann for Support Of Penn. Tories

Daily Worker
10-20-38

Editor Is Assailed for Open Appeal for Republican Candidates—Widest Support for New Dealers

New York N. Y.

By Michael Kantor

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Oct. 19.—Sharp and bitter denunciation was voiced by many of the most prominent and progressive egro spokesmen in the city against the open appeal for Republican Party support by Robert L. Vann, Negro publisher of the nationally circulated "Pittsburgh Courier," today.

Representing all stations and political opinions, the unanimity of expression among these Negro leaders was that Vann had **"sold out the best interests of the Negro people."**

Van in a public declaration yesterday called on the Negro voters to support Judge Arthur H. James, Republican gubernatorial candidate who has pledged that if elected he "will burn every one of the 350 New Deal statutes enacted in Harrisburg." In his statement Vann attacked the Democratic Party leadership in the state and urged merely the continued support of Senator Joseph F. Guffey, senior Democratic Senator. Guffey today blasted Vann's statement as "deceitful and dishonest" and repudiated Vann in the most bitter terms.

Theron B. Hamilton, Negro attorney, who succeeded Vann as special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States on an appointment by the President, said in a letter to Vann:

"I was well content to follow your leadership represented the best interests of the Negro people and of the people as a whole. But I am no ingrate. I cannot forget the services that have been rendered to the Negro people under the Democratic administration in Washington and Harrisburg.

"I know, as well as you must know, that the Negro people in Pennsylvania have benefited from those New Deal laws which Judge James would burn.

PASTOR SPEAKS

"I cannot betray the party which I believe is thus serving the best interests of the colored race, nor can I believe that anything but a corporal's guard of purchased voters will do so."

Paul Jones, Workmen's Compensation Referee and leading Allegheny County Negro Democratic leader told the Daily Worker that it **"is regretable that Mr. Vann, who occupies a high position by virtue of his newspaper, does not use his potentialities for the uplifting and betterment of his race which is flagrantly persecuted and in need of the service he could render. He rather directs them apparently to serve only his own selfish aims which for the most part have only debased and sacrified the interests of his own people."**

Mr. Jones said that Vann's statement would bring joy to the **"Republicans because they make no secret of the fact that if they are elected they are going to destroy every New Deal gain achieved by the Negro people in this state. And here they get sanction from a Negro leader himself."**

Rev. A. D. Brown, pastor of the large East Liberty Colored Congregation said he spoke for the majority of the Negro ministers in Pittsburgh.

"We ministers have been thoroughly disgusted with Vann as a leader for a number of years." Reviewing instances of Vann's past betrayals and open slanders of the Negro race, Rev. Brown declared that Vann's is "more than we can bear when he has the temerity to suggest that we turn our backs on President Roosevelt, Governor Earle and the New Deal to vote for a party that has misused and mistreated us over a period of half a century—the Republican Party."

"STANDS EXPOSED"

Rev. M. S. Bailey, prominent Negro pastor in Pittsburgh, echoed Rev. Brown's statement and said that Vann had made a bargain "with reaction." But, he added, the Negro people **"will not let Mr. Vann nor any other turncoat sell them down the river to the Republican Party."**

Walter S. Buchanan, well-known Negro business man, said the New Deal **"was a step forward for the Negroes and we intend to stand by it. I doubt if 300 Negro voters will listen to Vann."**

William E. Hill, industrial secretary of the Urban League issued a sharp blast at the Negro publisher and insisted that **"Vann, who has been going in the direction of reaction for a long time, will be caught up with by the Negro people. He stands exposed today before them as a foe of all the things they demand."**

Miss Pauline Gillette, chairman of the Allegheny County Colored Women's Comittee, informed this reporter that **"Negro voters have waited for such a Tory move by Mr. Vann for some time. It does not surprise us. The Negro people are moving with the New Deal for further progress and social advancement. The Negro women stand 100 per cent behind this challenge to reaction symbolized by the Republican party and their standard bearer, Judge James. Mr. Vann's open betrayal of the Negro people can only spur forward the entire race to fight harder for their economic, social, political liberties. Mr. Vann cannot stop us."**

Mrs. Chrystal Bird Fauset, first Negro woman to be nominated to Pennsylvania Legislature and former head of All Women Projects under WPA in the state, told the Daily Worker that **"the Negro people are with the broad Democratic white people in the fight to continue the New Deal. Mr. Vann, whose influence, by the way, has been built up mainly by the reactionary white press, has very little prestige among the Negroes here. That prestige is even lower today. They see the danger in a James and Republican victory and they are determined that it shall not happen here. Their votes on Nov. 8 will attest to the overwhelming repudiation by the Negroes of Mr. Vann."**

Mansfield Cole, Progressive Youth leader among the Negroes and chairman of the Young Colored Democratic Committee, declared:

"There can be no words too strong to condemn Mr. Vann. That condemnation will be borne out at the ballot box when the Negroes in Pennsylvania jot their X down with the New Deal slate. Vann has tried to sell the Negroes out. He has sold out instead only the last vestige of his support because no Negro will tolerate such a blatant appeal against the very things they have fought for and will continue to fight for."

All through the Hill district, famous Negro section in Pittsburgh, sharp resentment could be heard. To the average Negro on the street a query for an opinion on Vann brought this response: "How much did he get for his statement?"

Small business men, WPA workers, housewives, clerks—all expressed the same feeling. One Negro told the reporter:

"Any Negro leader who would call the Scottsboro boys '7 rapists' as he did in a headline once, was bound to be found sooner or later in the Republican party. He never fooled most of the Negro people. Now, he's on the spot—and how."

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GENERAL

Birmingham, Ala. Post
November 15, 1938

Negro Democrats Vs. Negro Republicans

Incidentally, Birmingham has the only recognized Negro organization of the Democratic Party in the state.

A group of Negroes got a charter a year or so ago and they are as proud of it as any document that has even been written. The charter hangs handsomely framed in an office of the Negro Masonic Temple and should you enter that building the chances are that you will be led to gaze upon it.

Like their white brethren, the officially recognized Negro Democrats take a great deal of delight in lambasting Republicans at every chance, especially the ones of their own race.

* * *

Tallulah Was Frank: She Didn't Like The Play

Tallulah Bankhead, Alabama's gift to the theater, did something different for an actress when she made a curtain speech after her matinee performance in "I Am Different" at the Temple Theater.

She let the audience know frankly that she wasn't too pleased with the play.

"If Birmingham wants to have me again, I would like to come back in a really fine play," she said.

* * *

Don't Let The Word 'Recreation' Fool You

There are some people who have the idea that folks who work with the city's Park and Recreation Department, because it sponsors projects for leisure hours, just loll around all day, maybe playing dominoes or knocking balls about or just kibitzing.

But truth of the matter is that the Park and Recreation people have to work as hard as anyone else. So, in order that citizens will not come in and ask to play hopscotch or to make a fourth hand at bridge, the following sign has made its appearance in the Park and Recreation office in the City Hall:

"Please Be Brief."

Ft. Myers, Fla., News Press
Novemebr 10, 1938

THE FLORIDA VOTE

It is straining to find significance in the Florida election but if anything can be said it is that Governor Cone has no better luck than President Roosevelt in telling the voters what to do.

Expressing cordial dislike of the national guard amendment, the governor named several points to which he objected and called upon the people to defeat it. Whereupon they voted for it by nearly 10 to 1, in virtually the same ratio as for other amendments to which no executive exception had been taken. In the state only a few hundred more voted against it than against the popular school amendment, which the governor presumably approved, and if that difference is the measure of his political influence it is a case of "how have the mighty fallen."

However, there is no evidence in the returns that the governor's foes took a whack at him by turning out to vote for the amendment or that his friends backed him up by voting against it. All hands apparently registered their own convictions on this as on other amendments and if a test of the state administration's power is to come it will have to be some other day in some other way.

Not surprising, but of interest nevertheless, is the feeble showing of Thomas E. Swanson, republican candidate for United States senator against Claude Pepper. He made no campaign to speak of but the presence of his name on the ballot was expected to give opportunity for an expression of disapproval of Roosevelt policies, of which Senator Pepper is an ardent supporter. Apparently not many people feel their resentment keenly enough to take the trouble of going to the polls to vote for a loser.

As Swanson's was the only republican name on the ballot, his total is a pretty sad commentary on either the strength of his party or the loyalty of its members. Apparently republicans are like most of the rest of us; they vote in the democratic primary and let it go at that.

In this connection some eyebrow lifting may be caused by the returns from an all-negro precinct in Miami. Not because the republican nominee carried it but because he won by only two votes over Senator Pepper, the count being 150 to 148. In the same precinct the democratic candidate for congress actually won over his republican opponent, 159 to 140. With Florida negroes going democratic it's no wonder the "experts" have trouble doping out their politics.

Locally, nothing happened out of the ordinary. The vote was too light, slightly more than 2,000 being half what it should be. But that is not unusual. Of some interest is evidence from the tabulation that about a third of the voters in the library precinct, and nearly half at the city hall, are republicans.

The flurry over opposition to W. A. Gibson, which stirred up the democratic committee, subsided with a 10 to 1 defeat of Joe Carter in their "third primary" of the year. Although Mr. Carter formally disclaimed any part in the mischief it appears that there was an organized movement in his behalf. It came to a total of only 158 votes in the whole county and again demonstrated the futility of bolting the democratic primary. Even in the precinct where Mr. Gibson's opposition centers he was topped by only one vote and as situations like that are never likely to occur on a county-wide basis, this write-in business is clearly a waste of time, if not of enmity.

Columbia, S. C. Record
Novemebr 10, 1938

Let Them Have It.

The Democrats lost Pennsylvania in Tuesday's election. Arthur H. James, red-haired former coal miner, carried the Republican banner to victory over Charles Alvin Jones, Democrat, in the gubernatorial race and James J. (Puddler Jim) Davis, Republican veteran, was the winner in the senate race over Governor George H. Earle, who four years ago was elected as the first Democratic governor in 40 years.

The Guffey-Earle courtship of the negroes and Earle's "little New Deal" were not enough, it appears, to insure a repeat performance for the Democrats who lost their majority in the Pennsylvania legislature and were able to hold their control of the state's congressional delegation only by the narrowest of margins. The negroes it must be assumed returned to the Republican fold and so also many of John L. Lewis' miners. Republican majorities, ranging from 270,000 to 350,000, were greater even than the Republicans themselves had expected.

And the landslide would have been fatal to the presidential expectations of Governor Earle if he had had any left, but the Earle boom had collapsed of its own lack of momentum and under its own handicaps long since.

So it may be assumed that Pennsylvania is back to normal again and that the Republicans have it. They are welcome to it—the election of Earle to the senate would have been nothing to occasion any especial rejoicing, but the election of Davis is even less so; Pennsylvania year in and year out has been a handicap to whatever party controlled it, a source of conflict and embarassment. Let the Republicans have it and the Democrats learn from it that the Democratic money and effort spent to win it and retain it was money and effort thrown away. The Democrats would have been better off if they had never won a Pennsylvania election.

The Negro People Give Their Answer

• Did Mr. Robert L. Vann, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the largest Negro newspapers, do a service to his people by urging them to vote for the reactionary Republican ticket in Pennsylvania, headed by Judge Arthur H. James?

Obviously not! And Mr. Vann is now facing the music from the Negro people of his state who see in the Tory Republican machine their worst enemy. It is no wonder that they do. It is just recently that Judge James revealed the pro-fascist essence of the Republican gang by arrogantly promising to "burn every one of the 350 New Deal statutes enacted in Harrisburg," if elected.

Outstanding Negro leaders who express the real progressive opinions of their people in Pennsylvania are mincing no words in repudiating Mr. Vann's position. Attorney T. B. Hamilton, in protesting to Mr. Vann said:

> **"I know, as well as you must know, that the Negro people in Pennsylvania have benefited from those New Deal laws which Judge James would burn."**

The Rev. A. D. Brown described Mr. Vann's position as:

> **". . . more than we can bear when he has the temerity to suggest that we turn our backs on President Roosevelt, Gov. Earle and the New Deal to vote for a party that has misused and mistreated us over a period of half a century—the Republican Party."**

Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset and Miss Pauline Gillette, prominent Negro women, stated that the Negro people "are with the New Deal for further progress and social advancement."

It is clear that the Negro people regard Mr. Vann's new move as an attempt to "sell them down the river"—especially in view of the fact that up to the last moment he had sailed under New Deal colors.

But most of all the Negro people will regard this as a revolting and unprincipled maneuver on the part of the Republican Tories to disguise their reactionary attacks on Negro rights. It is an insult to the national dignity of the Negro people that the Republican demagogues thus try to divide and weaken their progressive unity.

Fresh in the minds of the Negro people is the role of the Northern Tory Republicans who joined with reactionary Democrats in knifing the anti-lynching bill. And it will remain fresh during the election campaign, on election day—and for some time to come.

In the sharp political realignments which are shaping up during this campaign, the Negro people throughout the country are taking their place with the forces of labor, progress and democracy. We think Pennsylvania shows that.

VANN TRYING TO EMBARRASS ROOSEVELT

WASHINGTON, (C) When the front page story appeared in a Philadelphia paper last week that Robert L. Vann threatens to bolt back to the Republican party, which he left in '33 to join the Democrats, because David Lawrence, Democratic State Chairman of Pennsylvania allegedly does not like Vann, a high Washington Negro official said Mr. Vann's jockeying back and forth is now seemingly designed to embarrass President Roosevelt into naming the Pittsburg editor to a high place to get rid of him as a political critic.

Persons in the know here politically, however, viewed this latest move as Vann unwitttingly pushing himself further out into the cold. In recent months Vann has campaigned for a place for himself on the U. S. Supreme Court Bench.

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GENERAL

Philadelphia Negro Leaders Repudiate Vann for GOP Aid

People Will Support Earle-Jones New Deal Ticket in Coming Elections, Declares Austin Norris, Tax Official

By Ernest Pendrell
(Special to the Daily Worker)

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 21.—Philadelphia Negro leaders today repudiated the support given Judge Arthur James, Republican candidate for Governor by Robert Vann, Negro publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier.

"Vann does not speak for the Negroes of Pennsylvania in supporting James," Austin Norris, member of the Board of Revision of Taxes told the Daily Worker.

"The Negro people will support the Earle-Jones New Deal ticket in the coming elections in Pennsylvania," Norris continued, "because the rank and file of the Negro people know that the Republican Party of Pew, Grundy and Annenberg does not represent them.

A MONETARY JUMP

"They know that they are the first to be fired and discriminated against economically and they welcome such measures as the W.P.A., Old Age Pensions and all social legislation enacted under the New Deal."

Norris was joined in his statement by Marshall Sheppard, former State Legislator and Magistrate Joseph Rainey, both Negro state leaders.

B. D. Amis, organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Philadelphia area told this paper that the action of Vann was typical of such people who jump from one party to the other without any principle other than a monetary one."

"I can safely say," Amis continued, "that Vann does not speak for the organized Negro workers of this state. They will vote against the Republican Party this Fall and will not be taken in by such people as Vann who are attempting to sell them down the river."

Austin Norris pointed to the fact that Vann's Pittsburgh Courier does not have more than 4,000 circulation in the entire Eastern portion of this state.

"That should show you better than anything else," he declared, "that Vann political opinions are not popular with the Negro people."

Norris went on to show that eighty per cent of the Negroes in Pennsylvania live in the four eastern pier counties: Delaware, Chester, Montgomery and Philadelphia, where only 4,000 Couriers are sold.

"And in Pittsburgh where his paper is stronger as a result of his recent support of reactionary James he is unpopular," Norris said.

Reverend Robert W. Bagnall of the St. Thomas Episcopal Church urged his people not to be misled into supporting a reactionary Republican.

"The colored people," he said, "now have an opportunity to work with their white brothers in defeating reaction and they should take full advantage of it."

Meanwhile the move by the Republican Party in the last weeks of the election campaign to bring the Negro issue to the fore is being interpreted here as evidence of their growing panic.

"The Negro voter has always been thought by the Republican Party to be his property, in effect," Sheppard said.

"Today the more than quarter million Philadelphia Negroes are answering through their spokesman, in unmistakable terms, that they will fight for progress."

Statements of this support have been pouring in to Democratic state headquarters all day from ward leaders all over the state.

Dr. William L. Thompkins Chides Robert L. Vann

Says Editor's Action In Support Of Gubernatorial Candidate Ill Becomes Demo Leader

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(A N P)—Because Robert L. Vann, Pittsburgh editor and Democratic leader, reportedly urged support of the Republican gubernatorial candidate in the Pennsylvania election, Dr. William L. Thompkins, recorder of deeds and president of the National Colored Democratic Association, Inc., took time out last week to chide him for his "desertion."

"It ill becomes one who has been a beneficiary of Democratic patronage to now proclaim in the midst of a crucial election his desertion of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, on the ground it has not been fair to colored people," Dr. Thompkins stated.

"The long list of appointments now held by colored people in Pennsylvania as the result of Democratic victories including magistrate in Philadelphia, state tax collector, tax commissioner, compensation commission and city assessor, the passing of a civil rights bill, plus numerous minor appointments, is a direct contradiction of this assertion, and leaves open to question Mr. Vann's sincerity.

"This is particularly true when Vann remained a 'loyal' Republican up to and including 1928, despite the fact that the Republican party in Pennsylvania, in its long years of state and municipal controll failed to recognize the Negro vote through any major appointments. Senator Guffey's statement that Vann was 'deserting the Democratic party because he was not allowed to dictate who of his race shall or shall not receive jobs' is borne out by the experience of colored Republicans with Mr. Vann in their organization.

"Those who know him personally will willingly concede the truth of Senator Guffey's statement. Mr. Vann's action is a direct 'slap' at the leadership of President Roosevelt and the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, to whom he owes his present prominence."

Mr. Vann has declared he is not actually deserting the Democratic ranks, but intends his plea for support of the Republican candidate to be a means of removing the present Democratic leadership and restore Guffey as "the state's No. 1 Democrat." The senator split with the organization during the primary by supporting CIO endorsed candidates, but the breach later was healed.

It is predicted that in probably no other state will the colored vote be so important this election as in Pennsylvania. There are estimated 177,000 registered Negro voters. Even with a large share of these votes, the Democrats polled 147,000 fewer votes than did the Republicans in the primary last spring.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation

Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
August 26, 1938

The Peril to Mill Workers

The national Democratic and Republican parties and Labor's Non-Partisan League believe that negroes should be influential in the political affairs in the Southern states. We have Senator Byrnes's word, publicly uttered, that "negroes control the Democratic party." Will the negroes that control the Democratic party be content with negro exclusion from Democratic primaries in the South? In South Carolina this question has got to be met. It is here. Ellison D. Smith was the first man to see it. That is why he walked out of the Philadelphia convention. Our people are not yet awake. Labor's Non-Partisan League is in South Carolina fighting Smith. It would have negroes not only in white primaries but in white cotton mills. It is strange, passing strange, that some of the workers in Southern cotton mills do not perceive the peril that is at their doors.

Newberry, S. C. Observer
August 26, 1938

The Case is With You White People

News and Courier, 17th.

Oliver, vice president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, had the impudence to approach Senator George and "command" him to vote for the "anti-lynching bill." He got no satisfaction from Senator George, who of course joined in the filibuster against the bill.

This Oliver is the same who demands the defeat of Senator Smith in South Carolina.

"Labor's Non-Partisan League" is the political party, or organization, of the C. I. O. Oliver was to come into South Carolina, to interfere in a Democratic primary, to try to defeat Smith. He thought better of it. He did not come.

Agents and emissaries of this league, however, are trying to defeat Smith.

Labor's Non-Partisan League is a mixed, white-negro, party. It does not pretend to be Democratic.

Under the terms of the anti-lynching bill, a federal judge of Ohio or other Northern state could be sent into Georgia or South Carolina to try county officers were a man in the county to be killed or maimed by two men or more. That by the terms of the bill is a "lynching". Senator George explained that in his Waycross speech.

Senator George asserts that this bill was introduced and pressed by Northern "Democrats" because the Northern negroes, holding the balance of power in elections, wanted it. It is true.

Some old South Carolinians remember when Judge Bond was sent into South Carolina from Maryland to try white Democrats, some of whom were sent to the Albany penitentiary in the 1870s.

Southerners, Smith, Byrnes, George and the others, with their backs to the wall, fought this bill. Walter White, the negro leader, sat in the gallery of the senate six weeks, directing and advising the Northern Democrats who were fighting for it.

All this time Franklin D. Roosevelt, your President and "friend", chief of the national Democratic party, said not a word about it. He could have killed it with a word. He will not veto it if it be passed.

Last week Greenville's mayor telegraphed President Roosevelt requesting him to state his position on the ani-lynching bill in Greenville. He ignored the request.

This anti-lynching bill may yet be passed. Your President and leader will let it become a law if it be passed.

Your white civilization is in peril.

President Roosevelt was not the first man to read Senator George out of the Democratic party. The Communist party in convention denounced George. James Ford, a negro lawyer, Communist candidate for vice president, demanded the defeat of George. He was attacking George long before President Roosevelt attacked him.

Of course these Northern negroes demand Smith's defeat. Smith walked out of the Philadelphia convention when he saw that the national party by putting negroes into prominent places in the convention had surrendered to the negroes. They are working to defeat him. In a Democratic and white man's primary.

Senator Byrnes said in the senate last January: "Negroes control the Democratic party."

The case is with you, you white women and white men here in South Carolina.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
August 25, 1938

He Will Not Deny It

From the Associated Press report of the meeting in Laurens: "Governor Johnston asserted that the people fighting him were lined up with Wall Street interests, big interests and the Republican party." While all of that is probably born of the governor's imagination (there are no 'Wall Streeters' and mighty few Republicans in South Carolina—less than 2,000 in the last election), "the people fighting him" are at least not "lined up with Labor's Non-Partisan League", a political organization composed in the main of Northern whites, negroes, and some Communists, whose active support Governor Johnston does not repudiate. Governor Johnston said in Sumter that "he runs off negroes", but Labor's Non-Partisan League, largely composed of negroes, is at work for him in South Carolina—as it will be against James F. Byrnes when he comes up for reelection. Governor Johnston will not deny that Oliver and Labor's Non-Partisan League is backing his candidacy.

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Republican

ATTY. JOSEPH S. MITCHELL
State Director of Colored Republican vote in recent election.

REPUBLICANS SURGE AHEAD

By Joseph S. Mitchell

The 1938 political campaign is over. The people of Massachusetts have spoken. They have chosen men who will administer our government, at least for the next two years, honestly, wisely, and efficiently.

Our opponents waged a hard, stiff, and unrelenting campaign. Some of them are to be admired for the manner in which they fought; some are to be criticized. However, the victors will bear no ill-will towards the defeated. There will be malice toward none, charity to all. The preamble of the 1938 Massachusetts Republican platform well expresses our sentiment that "Times, methods, policies and issues change; principles never."

Those persons of our group who labored so earnestly and faithfully for the election of Leverett Saltonstall and the Republican ticket must feel highly elated over the satisfactory results of their efforts. They should feel encouraged to pursue the course that they have begun. If they continue courageously, fearlessly, and undauntedly, they will reap greater rewards than they have ever in the history of our nation.

Undoubtedly this is the new era in the economic and political life of America. The Republican Party in revitalizing and reorganizing itself has recognized this fact, and will act accordingly. Our group must face the issues and open the door of opportunity, and if they do these things, they will have a greater reason for rejoicing in 1940 than they have in 1938.

The election returns from this part of the country bear out our statement that the country is returning to Republicanism: a gain of eight in the United States Senate, seventy-seven in the House of Representatives, eleven additional governors; in Massachusetts, the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, seven members of the Governor's Council, State Auditor, Secretary of State, Treasurer and Receiver General, and an increase in the House and Senate.

Indeed we are encouraged. We are inviting others to join us in increasing the strength of the party and in continuing to make it the one progressive and liberal party of the United States. IT CAN BE DONE. IT WILL BE DONE.

Newspapers Write Varied Opinions Of Past Election

Newspapers of the nation Wednesday stated editorially that the manner in which votes were cast Tuesday does not necessarily mean an affirmative vote for the Republicans but more or less a protest vote against New Deal policies.

The people showed that they want a "saner government", said the Washington Star.

The Washington Post said, "It would be a mistake to regard the current results as a repudiation of President Roosevelt's leadership. It is, rather, a note of warning."

Herbert Hoover, Former President, Visits Jamison Chapel In Kansas City

One Thousand in Negro Church Hear Number One Republican in Brief Remarks

Big Handshaking Closes Services

By C. E. CHAPMAN

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP)—Approximately 1,000 Negro Republicans and a score or more prominent white Republicans greeted former President Herbert Hoover here Wednesday morning at 11 o'clock at fashionable Jamison Temple C. M. E. Church, as the sendoff for the big auditorium mass meeting that night was arranged under the auspices of the Negro Republican club of Kansas City and Jackson county. Rev. D. A. Holmes was in charge, and delivered the main address prior to his introduction of the former president.

The noted Baptist minister paid Hoover a high tribute: "The honorable Herbert S. Hoover was right when he was occupant of the White House, and he is right as a private citizen," he said.

Notwithstanding the full program previously arranged for Mr. Hoover by Republican leaders of this section, he turned aside and witnessed the big outpouring of Negro Republicans and spoke briefly.

The former president said, "You have done me a great honor and I wish to express a deep appreciation for the courtesy and generosity of this meeting. At this time of times, because we still have a battle before us in a war torn country—we are in a crisis as great as that faced Mr. Lincoln in his day. We still have a battle for freedom and justice and truth. And that battle will be won, or lost, in a large degree, by the colored people of the United States of America.

"But I will talk to you tonight at some length—probably at greater length than you like. So I now would like to have the pleasure of taking you by the hand."

Then everybody passed to the altar of the church and shook his hand.

The former president was accompanied by several nationally known Republicans, among them Arthur M. Curtis, former governor of Missouri and Secretary of Agriculture during Mr. Hover's occupancy of the White House. The invocation was given by Bishop William Tecumser Vernon, retired prelate of the A. M. E. Church and former registrar of the treasury. A score or more prominent Negro Republicans received introduction at the meeting.

Nashville Tenn. Banner
November 22, 1938

Republicans Name Nashville Negroes

Two Nashville Negro Republican leaders were included in the Republican National Committee's drive to organize for the 1940 presidential campaign last week, when the committee on policies and organization named Roscoe Grant, secretary of the Davidson County Republican Executive Committee, and Bert Cumby, member of the county committee, to the new proposed national Negro set-up to work for the election of a Republican President in 1940.

Says Southerners Are Negroes' True Friends

Editor, The Post:

I would like to have space in your Post Box column to express my approval of our city commissioners for enforcing the Jim Crow law and will say this is not the new deal but it is the old Republican deal of 50 years ago.

All those Republicans wanted with the Negro was his vote and labor when they needed him. We had ample proof that this was so during the World War when they had their labor henchmen here who persuaded the best colored workers to go North and when they got the profit from their services they turned them off and put thousands of them in jail to enforce their loitering laws which were passed to drive the Negro back South; this is no guesswork but personal experience.

By request of the Labor Department I was sent to Cincinnati for labor for one of our industries and when I went to Mayor Hayes he told me there were hundreds of them in jail and if I would pay their way out of there he would turn every one of them out. We had a special on the L. & N. Railroad to Birmingham and the happiest group of Negroes I have ever seen. When we reached Nashville the sun was shining and the whole group was singing "Gwine Back to Dixie." The old-time Southern white men are and always have been the only true friends the Negro has ever had and if we had kept Northern agitators out we would have peace and co-operation with all classes of people.

Let's tell the agitators to go back North and attend to their own business and we will attend to ours, and the Negroes in the South will be satisfied with the help and co-operation they receive from their Southern friends.

S. J. PATTERSON.

* * *

Another Letter Criticizes 'Huntsville Republican'

Editor, The Post:

May I say a few words in regard to the letter in the Post Box recently signed "Republican" from Huntsville. He must be like the man who put limberger cheese on his upper lip and com-

plained of the whole world's odor. Some people are so prejudiced and so full of malice and selfishness that they are either blinded to the good that is being done by the New Deal or they just will not see it.

I have a boy in the Civilian Conservation Corps and he is a Christian and not a gambler. As for the Works Progress Administration, I wonder if Mr. Republican would rather see little children go hungry and half naked than to see this WPA going on so they can be assured of food, clothing, fuel for fires and a shelter over their heads? I am not on the WPA and cannot get on it. Yet, I am not prejudiced against it; I hold no ill feeling toward anybody because of it. I appreciate the good being done by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration too, for there are people being rehabilitated by it that went "broke" during Hoover's administration and could not get on their feet till the New Deal began.

If Republican of Huntsville would clear his mind of the cobwebs of prejudice and refill it with good will to everyone, peace would come to his soul. Then the bad odor would disappear.

J. M. HALLMARK,
Cordova.

OTHER PAPERS SAY—

DIVIDING THE VOTE
(New York Age)

The close gubernatorial campaigns in the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York caused attention to be focused on the Negro vote, which proved a deciding factor in many localities. Never before was the wisdom of dividing our vote better demonstrated than in the campaign just ended this week.

Prior to the advent of the New Deal the Negroes had been overwhelmingly supporters of the Republican party, with the result that the G.O.P. had gotten careless and taken their support for granted. Then the bulk of the vote shifted to the Democratic party on its promise to end the depression. After six years, Negroes as well as whites have come to realize that there is no panacea, no easy road to prosperity, and this new attitude was reflected in a more even distribution of the Negro vote between the two major parties.

We believe in the two party system, and the revitalized Republican party, as evidenced in this election will mean a more vigorous campaign for the presidency in 1940. And we think that both parties will give more consideration to the Negro in these pivotal states in the next year and a half.

Negro Council Seeking Posts In GOP Setup

Will Not Be Content With 'Mere Patronage' From Bosses

The Republican State Negro Council, representative of Negro Republican voters in more than 22 counties, will ask for "more than mere patronage" from the incoming administration of Governor-elect Arthur H. James, according to a statement issued here by its executive council last Saturday.

In sending to State Chairman James F. Torrance official communications regarding their recommendations for positions in the new administration, the county chairmen, who make up the executive council, placed emphasis upon those positions which will "allow Negro Republicans something of a voice in the guiding councils of the party as it is rebuilt."

The executive council endorsed president Albert Reading of the general body for a post in the Workmen's Compensation setup as referee; asked that its first vice president, Maude B. Coleman, be returned to the post which was created for her in the department of welfare; sought a spot for its Montgomery County leader, Fred Williams, in the Mercantile Appraisers list of his home county and went after "jobs which will allow not the tin hat and plume persons to parade Harrisburg, but a lot of small jobs for the bulk of workers in the counties."

Baker Job Mentioned

A unanimous resolution drafted, separately from the rest of the endorsements, sought the creation for Board Chairman Joseph V. Baker, who served as state director for the James forces in both the primary and final elections, of the post of Interracial Consultant to the Administration.

It is believed that Reading has the backing of the powerful John McClure forces in Delaware county.

Despite the fact that the Council did not mention the Athletic Commission post, however, it is accepted now as a fact that city chairman for Negro work during the campaign, Herbert E. Millen, is supporting Robert J. Nelson for a return to his old post. Whether the Nelson hopes will get the support of the Council's Philadelphia unit, which is under the direction of W. C. Wingate, beauty manufacturer, or not must await a meeting of that unit's "war board."

Philadelphia leaders refused to comment pending meetings in the Council's offices at 1519 Lombard street this week. At that time the position of lone Republican legislator E. Washington Rhodes and Magistrate Edward W. Henry will be sought. Consensus of leaders gathered here for the Council meeting, however, was that Baker and Wright would fall in behind Nelson before the week-end if Rhodes and Henry brought any pressure in favor of the former commissioner. This would be looked upon as a harmony move leading up to a possible merger of the United Republican Workers Association and the Council's Philadelphia unit before next year's mayoralty fight.

In the meantime, Torrance continued to hold important meetings with white leaders in Philadelphia. Following these it is expected that he will talk with Negro leaders either here or in Philadelphia. Little friction is expected to develop in these meetings since the Council has had a working agreement with the chairman throughout both the primary and final campaigns. In addition the Council's own forces are in complete harmony on its program and will not suffer from the usual "death from inside."

Millen Boosts Friends

The fight for jobs is on in full blast. There are hundreds of State positions which colored people should seek. There have been rumors that Attorney Herbert E. Millen would land on the Registration Commission. It was learned today that Mr. Millen will not accept any job at this time

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Party Affiliation

Republican

Representatives Active In Major Parties; Towers On Resolution Committee, Miss McKnight Speaks

Party Planks Declare Equal Opportunity for Negroes of Kansas; Both Parties Together on That Issue

REPUBLICANS CHARGE DEMOCRATS OF BEING HYPOCRITES WITH RACE

TOPEKA, Kans.—While Kansas Democrats boasted of their record of the past two years and rejoiced in the reflected glory of the National Administration Kansas Republicans were adopting a platform which, in effect, accuses the present State Administration of robbing the needy, widows and orphans. They promised to remedy the situation through non-partisan administration of social security and an honest practice of using funds for the needy for that purpose only. Kansas Democrats lauded the administration of the present Governor, Walter A. Huxman, while the Republicans presented their standard bearer and gubernatorial nominee, Payne Ratner of Parsons, Kansas.

Negroes from all parts of the state took an active part in the party councils and helped fix the planks which will be the issues during the campaign. Among those attending the Republican Council were Representative Wm. H. Towers of Kansas City who served on the Resolution Committee. Others among the Kansas City delegation were Attorney Myles C. Stevens, M. C. Ellison, Ed Hamilton, Chester Gaskin, Homer Gaskin, J. W. Wilfong, Trent Jones, Archie Jones, O. T. Neely, James Thatcher, N. W. Thatcher, W. H. Davis, Bishop W. T. Vernon, Attorney L. F Bradley, Jr., W. M. Lane, Jr., Thos. Richards, Johnnie Wright, Attorney Elmer Jackson, vice chairman of the Young Republicans, James H. Ewing. Leavenworth, Attorney T. W. Bell, Dr. McKinley Thomas and Attorney Charles M. Stokes, national Vice President of the Young Republicans Federation. Atchison, Prof. P. G. Porter. Pittsburg, Attorney Avis Martin, Vice Chairman of the State Central Committee; Wichita, Attorney B. H. Brown; Topeka, those most prominently seen were Attorney Elisha Scott, Jay Mallory U. A. Graham, Attorney Wm. H. Bradshaw and Bennie Harris. Oskaloosa, Geo. Jones. Also there were many other Negroes who attended the council, but it was not possible to obtain their names.

Negroes who attended the Democratic Council in the Memorial building and took active part in the meeting were William Sims, Kansas City, Kansas, who served on the platform committee. Mrs. O. M. Freeman, Kansas City, who was elected treasurer of the First and Second Congressional District, Miss Geraldine McKnight, employed as a stock clerk in the sales tax department, delivered the keynote speech in behalf of the Jeffersonian League and Negro Democrats over the state of Kansas. She delivered a very masterful address relating a brief history of the Negro and the Democratic party, and pointed out the steps of progress which, she said, the Negro race had made in the Democratic party. She lauded the National Administration and its patronage to the Negro race, and stated that during the present National Administration the Negro race had more national appointments receiving high salaries than all of the Republican administrations had given the Negro since the days of Abraham Lincoln put together. Following her address she received a big ovation and was surrounded by a group of white women who shook her hand and commented on her address. Other Negroes present were Thornton Brown, a deputy state health inspector, president of the Precinct Committeemen's League and a member of the Advisory Board of the Wyandotte County Democratic Central Committee, R. H. Jackson and Rev. Silas Newell all from Kansas City; Attorney Earl Reynolds of Topeka, an employee in the State Highway Department; Attorney William Z. Woods, employee in the Sales Tax Department, was also present. Attorney Dave Wilhite, nominee for representative of the Eighth District Kansas City, Kansas, spent a few hours in Topeka early in the day.

Both party councils have set the machinery to work among the Negro voters of the state, however, the Republicans have not named the Vice State Chairman. It is not known as to whether the Democrats will have a Negro Vice Chairman or not. The names most prominently mentioned in the Republican ranks for the place are P. G. Porter of Atchison, U. A. Graham of Topeka, Dr. McKinley Thomas of Leavenworth, and Dr. A. Porter Davis of Kansas City. Among those who attended the party councils, Porter was the most talked of candidate, however, there were some who advanced the idea that it was perhaps the better to select the chairman from some of the other factions who opposed Payne Ratner in the Primaries as the white leaders were very diplomatic in selecting someone to make up the organization from the camp of the three other candidates for Governor, and also bringing about harmony between Dallas Knapp, Frank Haucke, a former candidate for Governor, and Clyde M. Reed, the present nominee for United States Senator. In the Democratic circles harmony seems to prevail. Governor Huxman's recent step in the Kansas University Medical School situation clearly demonstrates the party's intention of living up to the plank in their platform affecting Negroes. The plank states, "In the eyes of the law and under our constitution all men are equal irrespective of race, color or creed. The present administration has insisted that these guaranties of the constitution be made available to and enjoyed by all citizens."

The plank in the Republican platform compiled by Representative Towers and others states," We appreciate the contribution made to the advancement of Kansas by its Colored citizens and recognize that a large majority have remained loyal to the principles of the Republican party. We denounce the hypocrisy of the Democratic party toward the Colored citizens. We pledge to maintain equal opportunities and rights for them. We will not alter the spirit or order of this pledge and the colored people will receive equitable representation. We will also remove the Vocational schools at Topeka and Quindaro from partisan politics."

The campaigns of both parties are underway now. Governor Huxman officially opened his campaign Thursday night.

A GOP ANALYSIS

William Allen White, the Kansas Republican, says this much is certain: "The smartest politician who ever sat in the White House is being overwhelmed, not by the economic issues which are back of the New Deal, but by two political features. The President early last year alienated the middle class by his fight on the courts. This year again he scared them pale quite unnecessarily by his demand for a centralized reorganization of government. These two issues were not economic; they were entirely political. Now in the South, by his insistent, rather blatant determination to have his will and way, he has raised another political issue which is dear to the South: Political interference in state affairs—in short, states' rights. He enters the South dramatized as a carpet-bagger. How can a man so smart politically—and certainly our President is smarter than a doghouse rat about politics—how can a man so smart play a hand so dumb as he has played since 1936?"

Nov. 23, 1938

Nov. 23, 1938

Nov. 23, 1938

Nov. 23, 1938

On Economics

By

JOHN T. FLYNN

No One Is Prepared To Face Results That Will Come Of F. D. R.'s Southern Program

NEW YORK, Sept. 5.—The long-term economic effects of what the President is doing in the South, as usual remain far more obscure than the immediate ones. The immediate ones are political and relate chiefly to the results at the polls next November. The long-term ones are economic and social and touch the roots of one of the profoundest problems in this country, one it has not yet faced, indeed hardly recognized.

Remote as it may seem this problem has to do with the Negro and his economic and social position. Here is what has happened and what is likely to happen.

For 65 years the Republican Party has numbered among its assets the Negro vote. This asset was not so much the Negro vote of the South but of the North. The Negro vote of the South was merely important to the Republican machine for convention purposes. But the Negro vote of the North helped to decide elections.

The Republican Party continued as the champion of the Negro man in the South, therefore, because of its need of his brothers in the North. It looked upon the South as hopelessly Democratic and therefore felt there was no need of catering to Southern prejudices to win electoral votes there.

Lost To Republicans

But now the Negro vote in the North seems to be pretty generally lost to the Republicans. The Negro voter is no longer interested in emancipation. This he takes as a matter of course. He is now interested in his social and, principally, economic rights. These he wants to establish in the North. This is the salient where he recognizes he can push his gains further. So that while he is prepared to battle for his suppressed brothers in the South he understands the immediate difficulty of that objective and the greater chance of wide gains in the North.

In this fight he knows he can look for no support from the conservative groups—Democrats or Republicans. His hopes lie with the liberals and progressives. And for this reason he has aligned himself with the liberal and progressive elements in the Democratic industrial North. The Negro vote of the great cities in the great key states has been going to the Democrats for a number of years with increasing volume until now it is almost accurate to say that the Negro vote in the North is Democratic.

Obscure Shifts

Why should the Republican Party sacrifice gains in the South to win Negro votes in the North which are already lost to it? Reasoning thus there are Republican leaders who believe their next great battle is to be for the Southern states. And for the same reason there are vast numbers of the white-supremacy devotees of the South—which means the bulk of leaders there—who are wondering if the Democratic Party as the champion of white supremacy is not lost to them.

With these shifting views in the background it is easy to see the effect which the present struggle in the South is having on sentiment there. The President is being widely advertised, in print and by whisper, as the protagonist of the Negro—which is far from his discredit. His forays into the Southern primaries have had the effect of giving a further push to this movement toward a cooling in Southern sentiment toward its traditional Democratic devotion. Here is a rapidly rising and grave movement developing amid all our other problems the long-term results of which, so little noticed, no one is prepared to face.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
September 10, 1938

Negro Speaks To GOP Here

Republicans Not Asleep, Tolbert Tells 15 Who Attend County Meet

"Go out and tell your friends that the Republican party is not dead nor asleep in South Carolina," Joseph A. Tolbert, county Republican chairman, told the 13 delegates who assembled in Cleveland hall this afternoon for the county Republican convention.

Mr. Tolbert, nephew of state Republican boss "Tieless Joe" Tolbert of Ninety-Six and former United States attorney, reiterated his intention to run for governor on the Republican ticket and made a bid for the support of the convention.

"I would have been out campaigning before, but my health would not permit," the huge chairman thundered, his words echoing in the big, all but empty hall, "and don't you people believe any rumors that I'm out of the gubernatorial race."

Negro Bishop Talks

The crowd that assembled for the convention finally totaled 15, including the chairman and a newspaper reporter. Four negroes were present and three of them were elected as delegates or alternates to the state convention.

The Rev. B. S. Curry, bishop of the South Carolina Methodist-Episcopal colored church, was one of the principal speakers.

"The colored people need the Republican party in this state and the Republican party needs the colored people," he said. He paid glowing tribute to "Tieless Joe" Tolbert, as did the other speakers, calling him "the greatest politician South Carolina has ever known."

The bishop appealed for better understanding between whites and blacks, and suggested that the state Republican party actively organize to promote a campaign fund among the negroes. "More colored people have got a dollar than you think," he said.

Need White Leaders

The crying need of South Carolina's negroes today is for white leadership, and the negro has nowhere to turn except the Republican party, he said.

Virtually every person present, with the exception of the newspaper reporter, spoke. Most of them lambasted the Democratic party and the New Deal lustily, and praised the Republican spirit which, they unanimously contended, would defeat Franklin Roosevelt and his party in 1940.

H. A. Costner, county secretary, spoke briefly, likening the Democratic attempts to swing northern negro vote behind the party to tightening a noose around the neck of every negro in America.

Every person present, again with the exception of the reporter who was nominated and declined, was elected a delegate or an alternate to the state Republican convention in Columbia on September 22, and the names of two who were not in attendance were also put up to make up the necessary 16.

The delegates are Joseph A. Tolbert, Arthur Thompson, H. W. Wilson, A. T. Alexander, E. A. Holloway, H. A. Costner, J. O. Luther, and W. F. Gaylord.

The alternates are B. S. Curry, W. R. McJunkin, J. S. Luther, H. M. McJunkin, Ford Bruce, G. P. Clark, W. A. Waldrop, and Frank McAbee.

Jackson, Miss., News
September 2, 1938

NEGROES DESERT GOP

Down here in the Deep South we are not at all proud of his achievement, and feel that all efforts in that direction should be discouraged, but President Roosevelt has probably succeeded—for the time being, anyway—in winning the negro vote in Northern states away from the Republican party. The conservative New York Times admits this to be a fact but just how decisive a factor this has been in the last two Presidential elections, and is likely to be in future elections, is not so certain. On the whole it seems clear that the transfer of the negro vote, while not at all to be dismissed, is not so important as many people think.

Popular notions about the size of the negro vote in the Northern States are probably exaggerated. New York perhaps has 200,000 negro voters, Pennsylvania a trifle more, Illinois and Ohio 150,000 each, and Indiana 50,000. But this would be about 4 per cent of New York's total vote in the last Presidential election and about 5 per cent of the Pennsylvania and Ohio vote.

Another way of putting the case is to say that New York's estimated 200,000 negro voters must be assayed against a Roosevelt plurality of about 850,000 in New York two years ago. So in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the whole body of negro voters would be one-fourth or one-fifth of the Roosevelt pluralities in 1936. The ratio might be as high as one-third in Pennsylvania.

Our ideas on the decisive importance of the negro vote are still shaped by conditions of fifty years ago up to twenty years ago. To be precise, up to the Harding election of 1920. Before that there were close states and close elections. But beginning with Mr. Harding we have had landslides instead of elections, and there are no close states.

It is thus altogether likely that 200,000 negro votes in New York or 50,000 in Indiana today count for less than perhaps 25,000 negro voters in New York in 1884 or 10,000 negro votes in Indiana. Grover Cleveland twice carried Indiana by approximately 6,000 votes. For that matter, as late as 1916 Charles E. Hughes carried Indiana over Woodrow Wilson by 7,000 votes, a margin which might easily have been supplied by negro Republicans. Everybody knows, of course, that Cleveland won the Presidency in 1884 when he carried New York by something over 1,000 votes in a poll of more than a million. But even the second Cleveland plurality in 1892 was less than 50,000. If by some mirace in that year the negro vote had been won over to the Democratic party, it would have been almost enough to account for the Cleveland plurality. Nothing like that is possible today.

It is easy to understand, of course, how the President and the Democratic party have been winning the negroes away from the Republican party and his ancient faith in that organization. Samba, whether he lives in the North or South, favors the side on which his bread is buttered. During the depression period he has fared well at the generous hand of

Uncle Sam and he will keep right on voting for more relief just as long as it seems possible for him to get along with very little labor

Political — 1938

Party Affiliation

Republican.

Former Chief Executive Appear At Fashionable CME Church; Makes Short Address

9-30-38

Dr. D. A. Holmes Presents Herbert S. Hoover to Colored Citizens

A crowd estimated at 2,000 greeted ex-President Herbert Hoover here Wednsday morning, when he appeared at the Jamison Temple Colored Methodist Episcopal church, 18th and Paseo to say hello to Negro citizens. The meeting was arranged by the Jackson County Republican club, of which Albert Johnson is the president.

The former Chief Executive of the United States appeared at the church at eleven o'clock and was escorted in a police escort for the Muehlebach hotel. to the church building by a delegation of the Jackson County club.

Dr. D. A. Holmes presented Mr. Hoover to the audience. Upon rising he received a big ovation that rocked Kansas City's black belt. Following the ovation, the former president smiled and said:

"You have done me a great honor, and I wish to express appreciation for your courtesy and the generosity of this meeting at this time of all times, because we still have a battle before us in a war torn country in a crisis as great as that which faced Mr. Lincoln. We still have a battle for freedom and justice and truth and that battle will be won or lost in a large degree by the Colored people of the United States But I will talk to you at some length tonight, probably at greater length than you like. So I would like now to have the pleasure of taking you by the hand."

Immediately following his greetings, more than 1,500 persons marched in single file and shook hands with the former President. Dr. Holmes made a short talk and presented the members of the Jackson County club and other Republican guests.

Upon leaving the church building, the former president posed long enough to have a picture taken with the Negro citizens and then left with

He spoke Wednesday night at the Municipal auditorium. In a press conference Wednesday in his hotel suite, Hoover dwelt at length, on economic problems that affect agriculture and business.

In commenting on the European situation he said:

"Europe today is engaged in a very difficult drive to replace force and violence with reconciliation and peace," he said. "Naturally I hope for peace but I don't feel discussion of the situation abroad by me at this time is appropriate."

That comprised the war talk in its entirety but in response to questioning, Hoover asserted that in the even war is averted, the economic future of Europe appears bright.

"When I was abroad the last of March," he commented, "the 450 millions of Europeans had only half the number of unemployed that America had. England last month had a business index 15 per cent higher than in 1929. Ours, however is 40 lower than in 1929. Moreover there was no increase of the public debt in England during the depression years."

Hoover discounted the suggestion that America had a recession last year. He considers it a continuation of the depression.

"Since 1932 there has been only a short period of recovery. That was in the months between invalidation of the NRA and the administration's attack on the supreme court.

"In that interval confidence was restored. Little Businessman John Jones, etc., began buying clothes, cars and homes. But when the supreme court drew fire John Jones curbed his expenditures and adopted a policy of watchful waiting which still continues."

Hoover, fingering an unlighted cigar and twisting a box of matches, said that "big business," so frequently

"Big business is no economic leader," he commented. "Instead it is distinctly a follower. The little business man and the average citizen are the ones who establish a business criterion.

"When small businessmen and the vast number of average Americans are in a troubled state of mind they postpone buying and make no unnecessary purchases. That paralyses big business, which has only the job of supplying materials and follows the market."

Hoover arrived here Wednesday morning from Chicago, delivered an address Wednesday night and left for the east.

SWITCHES TO REPUBLICANS

Robert L. Vann Urges Race Voters To Defeat State Democratic Machine

10-22-38

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Robert L. Vann, publisher and editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, former Special Assistant United States Attorney General, and for the past several years considered "Pennsylvania's No. 1 Negro Democrat," split with the Democratic state machine here and urged Negro voters in the state to vote for Judge Arthur H. James, Republican candidate for Governor, and to ignore the Democratic ticket headed by Governor George H. Earle, Democratic Senatorial candidate.

Vann's plea to the 177,000 Negro voters, on Monday drew the retort from Senator Joseph F. Guffey the charge that the plea was "deceitful and dishonest." Guffey, under whose leadership Vann declared the Negroes "received all they've got ten in Pennsylvania," declared that Vann's explanation of deserting the party was "an involved and illogical excuse for deserting the party."

The appeal made by Vann, it was explained by the editor, was designed to remove the present Democratic leadership and restore Senator Guffey as the state's No. 1 Democrat. Senator Guffey split with the state organization during the primary by supporting C.I.O. endorsed candidates but the break was later mended through efforts of Postmaster General James A. Farley.

Vann for years a Republican, suddenly switched allegiance to his party and became a Democrat in the 1932 Presidential campaign, playing a prominent part in causing the wholesale desertion of the Republican Party by Negroes that year. As a reward, he was named Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States, a post which he later resigned because he said the pressure of running his paper required all of his time.

Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley in 1936 named Vann state Negro Democratic chairman in the last campaign although it was first believed that he would be named national chairman of the campaign. Despite the "let down," Vann plugged for the entire Democratic ticket in the Courier which was more or less official spokesman for the party in the campaign.

Denying Senator Guffey's charge of desertion, Vann declared that he was following the leadership of President Roosevelt and was "trying to purge the party."

Senator Guffey's reply to Vann's plea also stated that "It was not through Guffey but through the Democratic party that the colored people received so much—the Democratic party that Vann wants defeated solely because he is not allowed to dictate who of his race shall or shall not receive jobs.

In some quarters it was said the Democratic high command was jubilant over Vann's defection from the ranks because it removed him from further consideration by the Democrats. It was said that his campaign to have himself named to the United States Supreme Court, (a move started by his paper to have a Negro named to that post) had embarrassed the administration no end, receiving as it did nationwide support, and now that the break has come he will find himself out in the cold unless the Republicans should carry the state.

From other sources, it was reported taht Vann's move was no designed so much to help the Republicans regain control of the state as the desire to pay off the Democrats for shunting him aside. Known as a shrewd political analyst, Vann, according to Republican leaders, mere "jumped on the Republican bandwagon" which is almost certain of a victory in the state this year.

Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
October 24, 1938

GIVE NORMALS' MONEY TO U-T, SAY KNOX GOP'S

Legislative Candidates Urge Abolition of Schools; Feel University Can Do Job.

Abolition of state normal schools and appropriation of the funds so used for the University of Tennessee is favored by the Knox Republican candidates for the Legislature.

Position of the nominees was set out in a statement which was made to the Knox County Teachers' League by Hal H. Clements Sr., nominee for senator from Knox, Loudon, Polk and Monroe Counties.

Other nominees for whom the statement was made are Lynn H. Haynes, Luther Wolfenbarger and Monroe Johnson, for direct representative; Charles E. Wrinkle, floterial representative, and J. Arthur Atchley, direct senator.

Feel U-T Can Do It

"We feel the University of Tennessee can and will turn out all the teachers that are necessary for the positions that will be available," the statement said, "if we pass a proper tenure law, with teeth in it, to protect the teachers of the teaching profession who are now employed, and which we advocate 100 per cent.

"In addition to our great university, Tennessee has many other privately endowed universities and denominational colleges of higher education, not supported by the state, which are turning

out hundreds of graduates for the teaching profession. We therefore feel that the state normals are an unnecessary luxury which can well be eliminated in the interest of higher education and to the great benefit of the taxpaying public."

Six Normals Now

Four-year normal schools are now at Johnson City, Cookeville, Murfreesboro, and Memphis, and two-year schools are at Clarksville and Nashville, the latter for Negroes.

It is estimated that if the change as advocated would be made, U-T would receive more than $300,000 additional for its budget.

The six Republican nominees also informed the Teachers' League on their stand on the nine-point program of the Tennessee Education Association.

The nominees "approved with reservation" the point for removal of the present impoundment of state school funds and protection against this in the future.

Favor More for Schools

The nominees favored $500,000 increase in the annual appropriation for elementary schools, and $800,000 for high schools, and increase of $300,000 for transportation, consolidation and supervision, "insofar as the revenue of the state will permit us, but we deem it inadvisable to declare for any specific amount."

Favored a minimum salary for teachers of more than the $60 of the teachers' program.

Favored distribution of state library funds not used in one county to others and special school districts.

Favored appropriation of $100,000 a year for teachers' old age pensions, and retirement pay for teachers.

Favored adequate and fair general tenure laws for teachers.

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
October 24, 1938

Dewey Runs Neck-and-Neck With Lehman In New York Institute's Early Poll Shows

Republican Candidate for Governor Reveals Surprising Strength in New York City—More Laurels May Go to Election Winner

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

NEW YORK, Oct. 23.—Thomas E. Dewey is running neck-and-neck with Gov. Herbert H. Lehman in the race for the governorship of New York and what may be the control of the Empire State in the 1940 Presidential election.

That fact is indicated in a preliminary statewide survey just completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion, as the spotlight of National interest turns on the battle of the 36-year-old Republican prosecutor and the veteran Democratic governor. The Institute will continue its tests up until the eve of the election.

Although the voting is still more than two weeks away, today's institute survey reveals the highly significant fact that at this time District Atty. Dewey has an even chance to occupy the chair that Al Smith, President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman have occupied.

Vote Is 50-50

With two weeks to go, the vote is:
For Thomas E. Dewey 50%.
For Herbert H. Lehman 50%

In interpreting these figures it should be remembered that no election survey can measure such intangibles as the influence of political machines in getting out the vote, the irregularities of weather and the effectiveness of last-minute appeals. These things, in addition to the normal expectancy of error in any sampling survey, mean that the outcome of the Dewey-Lehman election must at this time be considered very much in doubt.

The normal expectancy of error in a state survey of this type may be as much as four per cent.

Within these limits, however, the institute's survey gives a graphic picture of just what is happening in the Empire State and how it may effect National politics.

If the election were today, the Republican candidate would come down to the Bronx with 58 per cent of the upstate vote, the survey shows. This is a fraction better than the last Republican candidate, William F. Bleakley, did against Lehman in 1936. Bleakley came down to New York City with 57 per cent of the upstate vote.

New York City Vital

The nub of the November election will be New York City again. Here is where Lehman's big majorities have been rolled up in the last three state elections.

But whereas Governor Lehman polled 67 per cent of the New York City vote against Bleakley in 1936, and 74 per cent against Robert L. Moses in 1934, the Governor is leading Dewey by 57 per cent in the institute survey today.

If this tendency continues, Dewey will make the best run in New York City of any G. O. P. candidate for state office in recent history.

The vote for upstate and New York City is as follows:

	Dewey	Lehman
Upstate New York	58%	42%
New York City	43	57

Crossing Party Lines

As in all elections, voters are crossing party lines, and in this case Dewey is getting the best of the switch. Registered Democrats throughout the state are 71 per cent for Governor Lehman in the institute survey, 29 per cent for Dewey.

Registered Republicans are 84 per cent for Dewey, 16 per cent for Lehman.

Although the American Labor Party has given its official indorsement to Governor Lehman, the rank and file of the Labor Party are sharply divided in the institute survey.

Fifty-five per cent of those interviewed said they will vote for Lehman; 45 per cent favored Dewey.

This is undoubtedly one of the most interesting facts revealed by the survey, and one which will cause concern to the Democrats and corresponding joy to the Republicans. In the 1936 election, American Labor Party voters gave Governor Lehman more than a quarter of a million votes, and they are in a position to hold a balance of power today.

Pulls Young Voters

Young voters throughout the state are leaning toward Dewey by a small majority, the survey shows:

	Dewey	Lehman
Persons Under 30	51%	49%
Persons 30-49	50	50
Persons 50 and Over	50	50

Dewey gets the larger share of the women's vote, while Lehman gets the larger share of the men's vote:

	Dewey	Lehman
Women Voters	51%	49%
Men Voters	49	51

The survey gives another indication of the way recent elections in the United States have divided along income class lines.

Dewey's greatest strength is concentrated among voters in the upper and middle income groups, while Lehman's strength is chiefly with those below the middle income class and with persons on relief.

The vote by income groups is:

	Dewey	Lehman
Upper Income Group	57%	43%
Middle Income Group	54	46
Lower Income Group	43	57

Persons on relief are included in the lower income group. Taken separately, they are 65 per cent for Governor Lehman, 35 per cent for Dewey.

Lehman Runs Ahead

Lehman runs ahead of Dewey in New York City and runs neck-and-neck with him in the total vote of the larger cities of the state. Dewey, on the other hand, has a sizable lead in the small tons and smaller cities, and an overwhelming lead among farm voters:

	Dewey	Lehman
Farm Voters	73%	27%
Small Towns	58	42
Medium-Sized Cities	61	39
Larger Cities	50	50
New York City	43	57

Negro voters, always a factor in New York City, are divided 53 per cent for Governor Lehman, 47 per cent for Dewey.

While the principal national interest in the New York race centers on the governorship, the November elections will also decide the fate of Senator Robert Wagner, author of the Wagner Labor Act, and will fill the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Democratic Senator Royal S. Copeland.

The institute's preliminary check-up of the senatorial race shows that Senator Wagner is running ahead of his Republican opponent, John Lord O'Brien, at present, and that New Dealer James M. Mead is running even with Republican Edward Corsi for the second senatorial seat.

Race For Big Stakes

Many political writers believe that victory for Dewey would be more than a personal triumph for the man who broke into the news three years ago as a special rackets investigator—appointed by the man he now seeks to defeat for the governorship.

It would exalt the prestige of the younger and more liberal wing of the Republican party, who have been claiming that they can do what traditional "Old Guard" Republicans have failed to do since 1920, that is, elect a governor in New York State and possibly start the G. O. P. on the road to national supremacy again.

Victory would put Dewey himself in a peculiarly advantageous spot for the G. O. P. presidential nomination in 1940.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

Lancaster, S. C. News
June 28, 1938

A NEGRO VOTE

There was a time when the negro vote was republican and the democrats made little attempt to get that vote as it was considered the sole property of the republicans. With the Roosevelt administration relief began to be handed out in large chunks in the northern cities and in some of these cities there has been forty per cent of the colored people on relief.

Regardless of the amount of relief handed out to the negroes they needed some coddling to vote the democratic ticket so the democrats began warming up to the negroes as the republicans have always done.

The result of this coddling is that the negro is given political power far out of proportion to his voting strength in the north. That is often the case with compact groups which are at times the balance of power.

Northern democrats tried to pass an anti-lynching bill that was a joke in every respect and was merely a bill to fool the colored voter. Anything to get votes is now the political principles of the two great parties. Politics used to be on a higher level.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE OLD SOUTH

The Advertiser enjoyed reading Chairman John D. M. Hamilton's gay address to Alabama Republicans in Birmingham in which he laid down the proposition that the Republican party is the real heir to the Jeffersonian tradition and that this country will never again amount to anything until the New Deal is repudiated at the polls. He pleaded with Alabama Democrats to quit the party of their papas and join the party of their papas' enemies.

While we enjoyed reading the speech, nevertheless, we must say:

Advertiser

Try again, Mr. Chairman! You didn't do so well this time. The next time that you speak over the heads of Southern Republicans to Southern Democrats kindly give specific attention to this question: Isn't it a fact that the only enemy that the Southern people ever had was and is the Republican party? Isn't it a fact that the Democratic party was and is the best friend the Southern people ever had?

6-24-38

Isn't it true that the Republican party was born in hatred of the Southern people that it conquered them, humiliated them thereafter held them in contempt and derision, exploited them economically—see tariffs and freight rates—that it never was generous when in power, being merely patronizing in a superclious way, in short that sentimentally, economically, politically, historically, biologically, psychologically meteorologically, cosmologically the Republican party and the South are as far apart as Berlin and Jerusalem?

Montgomery Ala.

The only big teat the South ever pulled on had the picture of a garlanded donkey on it, Mr. Chairman, and By the Eternal as our Mr. Jackson was wont to say, there's where our treasure and heart are.

Skip it, John! Go to Maine and Vermont and speak before they, too, leave the party of Thad Stevens, Mark Hanna, Albert J. Fall!, and other such piebald roustabouts!

As the old Negro said, when asked by a sorry white man to burn a barn for a price, "I ain't studvin' you."

G.O.P.'S GATHER IN CHICAGO TO REVAMP PARTY'S PROGRAM

Gadsden, Ala., Times
August 24, 1938

Sessions of the Republican Program Committee, under Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman, and William Hard, secretary, are being held in Thorne hall, Chicago Campus of Northwestern university.

"There will be much good emanating from the gathering," said Patrick B. Prescott, Jr., chairman of the Chicago Citizens Committee, in extending courtesies at a garden party on Tuesday night to a number of visitors.

"There is much to be done for our peoule in this country, regardless of party," said James Walter Wills Cleveland, Ohio business man, one of the Round Table members.

Francis E. Rivers of New York assistant district attorney under District Attorney Thomas Dewey, delivers the principal address Wednesday night at Horne hall, the subject being "Rackets in Politics." The address begins at eight-thirty and the public is invited, no admission. The location of Thorne hall is Chicago avenue and Lake Shore Drive.

Roberts, Mitchell Here

Frederick M. Roberts, of Los Angeles, and Joseph S. Mitchell, of Boston, members of the program committee, stated their belief in unusual political activity in their respective cities. They state the people now are political minded, and all leaders must "have a real program" in order to interest the voter.

Mrs. S. Joe Brown of Des Moines, who last week was elected president of the Iowa Federation of Women's clubs, is enthused over the opportunities for service; while, Mrs. Sarah Pelham Speaks, of New York, is being told that there are yet comments being made by many on her Chicago address before the commtitee last February.

Bishop David H. Sims, of Philadelphia, feels assured Edward Henry of Philadelphia, nominated by the Republicans for Congress, will be elected.

Senator William E. King, just returned from New York, where he was a member of the Illinois Commission regarding plans for the 1939 fair, is attending sessions, as a member of the commtitee and greeting old friends.

Sessions are continuing through to Saturday.

ACCUSING LIFE-LONG DEMOCRATS OF BEING REPUBLICANS

NOTHING could be more ridiculous or more remote from the truth than the assertions that certain outstanding Southern Democrats who opposed the anti-lynch bill, the court-packing scheme, the politically-inspired reorganization bill and similar measures, are "Republicans." They actually represent about the only real democracy that is left in the country and the accusations against them are made the more absurd by the hook-up between those who make the charge and the great army of negro Republicans in the North.

Those who, in cooperation with a negro editor in Pittsburgh, made the deal to deliver 250,000 negro Republican votes to the Democrats in the Guffey campaign are in poor position to talk of the democracy of Southerners who stand now and have always stood for the high principles of the party and who have refused to compromise with the enemies of democracy in order to obtain temporary advantage.

The unhappy truth is that about the only real democracy that is left in the country today is that which exists in the South. Northern Democrats have been all too ready to surrender principles for votes. They not only made the unsavory deal in Pennsylvania, and similar deals in other Northern states, but traded with the CIO, accepting a huge campaign contribution and, in return, permitting outbreaks of violence that cost the nation many millions of dollars and put an end to the processes of recovery that then were in motion.

Not to tell the truth about these matters at this critical stage in the nation's history and in the history of the Democratic party, would be to betray both the nation and the party. And the truth is that certain Northern leaders, who call themselves Democrats, have traded with the negro politicians of the North and the CIO politicians of the North, figuring that if these elements can be won the votes of the South will not be needed in controlling Democratic party affairs.

In sum, the South has been "sold down the creek" and if the South, steeped in the honorable traditions of real democracy, does not prevent it the party will be destroyed. This is not a pleasant thing to say but it is the truth and the truth must be faced in all its stark outlines if disaster to the party is to be avoided.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
August 25, 1938

...nders in Georgia

"May Heaven defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies." Senator Walter George has reason to recall that saying by Voltaire. When James W. Arnold, Georgia's Republican National Committeeman recently urged all Republicans in Georgia to support Senator George, his real motive was an effort to split the 1940 Democratic National convention, as he admitted. "The fate of this split rests on the shoulders of a few men," he said and he declared the most important of these are Senator George, Carter Glass, Pat Harrison and Senator McCarran, of Nevada.

As was to be expected, the reaction in Georgia to this announcement by Mr. Arnold was decidedly against Senator George. And now to offset that, Senator George has been active to bar Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary, thus proving his Southern "loyalty."

A few more blunders like that of Mr. Arnold may put Lawrence Camp, the New Deal candidate for Senator George's seat, definitely in the running, although as Raymond Clapper says, "Camp has no money, no organization, no newspaper support, no sex appeal, and he even reads his speeches."

As to the question of barring Negroes from the primary, that raises an issue which eventually must be faced. It is well known fact that Negroes have shifted their political allegiance from the Republican to the Democratic party in large numbers. In 1940, their vote will be cast for a New Deal candidate in tremendous numbers. Maybe Senator George has not only proven his Southern "loyalty" but has succeeded in barring a great number of Camp votes from the primary, for many thousands of Georgia Negroes now favor everything which flavors of the New Deal. They are grateful for having been fed when hungry.

Hoover Grips 1000 Hands at Kansas City Church

Afro-American 10-8-38

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP)—Former President Herbert Hoover shook hands with 1000 persons at Jamison Temple CME Church here on Wednesday morning and declared that America's fight for freedom and justice will be won or lost largely by colored people.

Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Hoover was introduced by the Rev. D. A. Holmes, pastor of the church. He paid tribute to Mr. Hoover as President and private citizen. Mr. Hoover volunteered to shake everybody's hand.

The former president was accompanied by nationally-known Republicans, including Arthur M. Curtis, former governor of Missouri and Secretary of Agriculture during Mr. Hoover's occupancy of the White House. The invocation was given by Bishop William Tecumseh Vernon, retired AME prelate and former register of the treasury.

MR. HOOVER IS SHAKING HANDS NOW

Courier 10-9-38

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Oct. 6 — (ANP)—Herbert Hoover, who is reported to have declined to shake hands with the members of a colored delegation which visited him while President, visited Jamison Temple C.M.E. Church last Wednesday with other Republican leaders.

Pittsburgh Courier

After a short talk Hoover insisted on shaking hands with every member of the audience of one thousand.

Morristown, Tenn., Gazette
October 17, 1938

Payne Ratner, the Parsons lawyer now running for governor of Kansas on the Republican ticket, is an odd mixture of racial and religious elements. His father was Jewish, his mother Irish, while he is a deacon in the Christian Church of his home town.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
November 4, 1938

RENAMING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The republican national committee is discussing the feasability of changing the name of the party. A recent bulletin from the Connecticut finance division of the party give the idea in succinct form, naming three alternatives that seem to be necessary to the situation. First, is that the name of the republican party be changed or a new party be formed or a coalition be completed with the conservative democrats.

The name of the party need not be changed necessarily, provided there is sufficient jusitfication or reason for other sections to join it. The south is particularly aimed at in the matter, for the adherence of southern democrats has always left an organized unit to which any group can become attached and ultimately control, as they now do, the democratic party. Changing the name would do no good with the thinking people of the south, unless there were some essential forms of the political system changed and that concerns the use of the negro voter as a lever with which to gain control of the machinery of the states.

They then urge that a new party be formed and claim as a reason for the failure to accept this change the election laws of the various states which require a long rigamarole and red tape to get candidates names on the official ticket. In some states it would take years and in others it seems that it cannot be done unless it is advanced two years previous to an election with other qualification necessities.

A coalition with the conservative democrats of the south may be the solution if it can be brought about without a revision of the laws that the states have enacted and enforced for the handling of the racial question. That seems to be one of the main points at issue, but both parties are now a unit in using the negro as a pawn in the other sections of the country and it would be but a short while before they would attempt to expand the election laws in the south to bring the question more dangerously home here. In one county in Georgia there are 30,000 people, of them seven thousand are white, it is stated.

N.J. Republican Fight Continues

NEWARK, N.J.,—A Republican political war which raged in Essex County since election day failed to end on Friday, although on that day Thomas J. Puryear, apartment house manager, was elected chairman of the Essex County Colored Republican Association, succeeding George H. Bates.

Pittsburgh Courier

Instead, Oliver Randolph, attorney, who leading an opposing faction, came out this week lashing both Bates and Puryear and answering their attacks on him at a Montclair meeting two weeks ago.

To date the score is as follows:

Bates has publicly called Randolph a "followerless leader."

Randolph came back and named Bates a "political jitterbug."

Puryear has said Randolph tried to "hog" all the patronage.

Prosper Brewer, dynamic Third Ward figure, has charged that Puryear once wanted to send migrants back to the South.

James E. Fultz, Puryear's "manager," has stated he plans to make Puryear a national power in GOP Circles, perhaps in an alliance with Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh and friends of Puryear's brother-in-law, Bishop David Sims of the AME Church.

Political - 1938
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

NAMED GOP HALFBACKS

1-1-38

FRANCIS E. RIVERS T. G. NUTTER

who were among the 150 persons selected last week to draft a new charter for the Republican party. Mr. Rivers is a New York attorney. Mr. Nutter, who lives in Charleston, W.Va., is a former head of the Knights of Pythias. Bishop D. H. Sims of Philadelphia, and William E. King, Chicago lawyer, were also named on the high committee.

"Return Of Republicanism" Theme Of G.O.P. National Head Boosting Workers Here

Inquirer 1-17-38 Philadelphia Pa.

Colored Committeemen And Voters Turn Out In Large Numbers to Swell Throng Of 3,500

By EUSTACE GAY

Republicanism is on its way back in the nation.

al Committee, brought this cheering message to 3500 active Republican leaders and workers from Philadelphia and adjoining counties last Monday evening at Convention Hall, 34th and Spruce streets.

"I am optimistic because of what has happened since the last national election," Hamilton told the audience. "Public sentiment is aroused. And if what I have been told by your Ward leaders today is correct, Philadelphia is aroused."

"I have visited forty States since October, 1936, and the trend is definitely back to the Republican Party."

The National Chairman was one of several speakers at a mammoth dinner sponsored by the GOP. Jay Cooke, chairman of the Republican City Committee, presided and presented the speakers.

"Pennsylvania must be rescued from Democratic misrule at Harrisburg," G Edward Green, Republican State Chairman stated, "and in the Congressional elections a similar rescue will be launched at Washington."

Warns Against "Scars"

Emphasizing that the impending primaries were free to all who cared to run, Green urged candidates to so conduct their primary campaign as not to leave scars that could not be healed before the election.

State Senator G. Mason Owlett, Republican National Committeeman from Pennsylvania, predicted that "the people of Pennsylvania are going to take back their State this year. Since 1934 they have been sold down the river and they know it."

The best speech of the evening was easily that of C. Wayland Brooks, candidate for Governor of Illinois at the last elections in that State. He was forced to take several bows because of the prolonged applause which greeted him when he ended his remarks. It was easy to understand, after hearing him, why he had run 150,000 ahead of his ticket.

Scattered throughout the audience were colored men and women well known for their political activities. Seated at a special table reserved for political leaders among women, irrespective of race, were: Mrs. Maude A. Morrissett of the 7th Ward; Mrs. Daisy Berry of the 36th Ward; Mrs. Mary Douglas, of the 30th Ward; Mrs. Carrie Fisher of the 29th Ward! Mrs. M. E White, of the 40th Ward, and Mrs Josephine B. Talley, of the 29th Ward

B. G. Collier, City Committeeman from the 30th Ward, came in with the other members of the City Committee

Every Ward in the City, where there are colored committeemen and colored voters in appreciable numbers, had colored representation at the Ward table.

A few of the active workers present were: William Upshur, Luke McNair, Leonidas E. Allen, Wm. V. Cholmondeley, George Jeter, Patterson H. Carter, Shirley Morgan, R. Barrow, and Deputy Recorder of Deeds Ernest T Wright.

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
January 18, 1938

The G. O. P. And The South

Students of political trends are watching with a peculiar interest the efforts of reformers within the ranks to nationalize the Republican Party, as suggested a few weeks ago by Governor Aiken of Vermont.

Governor Aiken's suggestion goes largely to party reorganization. He would rid the party of "reactionary and unfair elements," especially in the Southern wing. This riddance would be followed up by a new leadership which would formulate platforms and policies. In line with the Aiken suggestion, but not a part of it, was the blast in Cleveland last week in which Col. Frank Knox, late candidate for Vice President, attacked the Republican tariff policies and demanded that the party put off its old livery of servitude to the interests.

Significant as these trends may be, they are not more significant than what is going on in the Democratic ranks. By abolishing the two-thirds rule in the last National Convention, the Southern Democracy has been relieved of its power to veto a presidential nomination. In addition to this, much of the conservative South has disagreed with President Roosevelt over his labor legislation. Now, many Southern leaders are chagrined over what they contend is an effort by Northern Democrats to cement through the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill, the gains made in the negro vote in 1936.

The Republican Party has always been a sectional party. Since its birth in 1856, the Northeastern and Central States have formed the chief basis of its support. While it has often carried the Western and sometimes the Border States, it has been able to penetrate the South only under extraordinary conditions. The reason for its failure to make headway in the South is, of course, apparent. It has not been because the Southern people disagreed with all of the Republican theories of government or of business; but it has been because of its oppressive record made during the days of Reconstruction. The Democratic Party was the only light to which the South could turn. It is not unreasonable that the party became a sort of religion, a sheet anchor which protected them socially as well as politically.

With one exception, this supremacy has never been threatened since the carpetbaggers were finally overwhelmed in 1876. That was in 1928, when Mr. Hoover swept the country and really broke the Democratic hold on the Solid South by capturing Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Observant Democrats saw in the victory something more than actually appeared on the surface. They saw an opportunity for the Republican Party to consolidate those gains. Mr. Hoover had performed a wonderful service to the South in the great flood of 1927. He had proclaimed his knowledge of conditions which brought about the political solidarity of the South, and many found intimations that he would respect them.

But, unfortunately for the party, Mr. Hoover showed the same ineptitude that later dominated his administration of public affairs. Instead of undermining the Democratic strength by finessing through an recognizing the leadership of Democrats, he took the bull-in-the-china-shop course of undertaking to reorganize a discredited and outworn Republican Party in the South. This could not be done for the simple reason that the Southern group, whether they liked it or not, inherited much of the enmity which the South harbored against the party when it emerged from Reconstruction.

Right here is to be found the main objection to Governor Aiken's plan. In spite of the charges and counter-charges indulged in by Democrats on the floor of the Senate nothing has been done to indicate that the Republican leadership has changed its attitude toward the South, or that it is prepared to recognize its solidarity and its insistence upon regulating its own internal affairs.

The real solution, of course, lies in the forming of a new party. History furnishes abundant evidence that this is the only procedure. No dying party in the United States has ever come back. The Federalists, finally knocked out in 1820, were succeeded by the Whigs and the Whigs, in turn, by the Republicans. In truth, one wonders why the Republicans of today have delayed so long. It is true that 20 years intervened between the death of Federalism and the triumph of the Whig, William Henry Harrison, in a national election; but Taylor, the last Whig candidate for President, was elected in 1848, a bare eight years before the Republican Party was born, and only 12 years before it elected Abraham Lincoln.

If the Republican Party is wise it will tear a leaf from these pages of history. It must realize that it cannot continue to feed on the sectional bitterness and prejudice which nourished it in its infancy, or upon a protective tariff which fattened it in its maturer years. The South has had enough of both, and great has been the price that it paid. If the Republican Party would make headway in the South it must invite the South to join in forming a new party, national, not sectional in its scope. This is a matter of organization, not reorganization

Fuller To Head GOP Committee Among Negroes

Will Seek To Effect Coordination Among Organizations In Phila.

Dismissing factional differences and merging all groups into a strong clearance group, Philadelphia Negro Republicans set their sails toward a November victory this week.

Establishing a precedent for cooperation with Negro leadership, Jay Cooke, chairman of the Republican City Committee, assembled a "Coordinating Committee" at city committee headquarters Tuesday, and laid upon its shoulders the responsibility of advising the Central Campaign Committee upon approaches and approach to the local Negro vote.

The definite charges given the group were two: the finding and recommending of suitable Negro candidates for the Republican ticket, and the formulation of planks for the GOP State platform which will adequately express the new birth of the Republican Party in Philadelphia and the State.

With its personnel a striking cross-section of Negro leadership in all its phases, the committee was addressed by the city leader, who outlined the purpose and asked Joseph V Baker to preside. In the expressions of party loyalty and pleas for a completely harmonious approach to November, all factions found a common ground.

Assistant District Attorney William H. Fuller was named chairman of the unit and asked to proceed with the selection of the sub-committees which will report to the central head as early as possible.

Others on the committee included Mrs. S. Willie Layten, Bishop D. H. Sims, W. C. Wingate, Dr. Thomas Georges, Dr. Clarence L. Smith, Ernest T. Wright, Thomas Bolden, Forrest W. Woodward, E. Washington Rhodes, Rev. D. W. Henry, Edward W. Henry and Amos Harris.

The creation of the committee came on the end of a city-wide move for members in the Republican State Negro Council, which has been successful in bringing into the GOP ranks scores of leaders who have not, heretofore, been active in any circles.

The meetings, which have been sectionalized, are being led by William Warrick, leader in North Philadelphia; Dr. Clarence Smith and William H. Hagans, in West Philadelphia; and Royal S. Weaver, in the South Philadelphia area. Each section has reported a tremendous interest in the organization of Negro forces throughout the city. W. C. Wingate is chairman of the local Council.

RACE ACTIVE IN G. O. P. PLANNING

CHICAGO—(A N P)—All nine colored members of the Program Committee, Republican National Committee, were present at the two-day conference called to order Monday by chairman Glenn Frank. Members are Frederick M. Roberts, editor New Age Dispatch, Los Angeles, Calif.; William E. King, State Senator, Chicago; Mrs. S. Joe Brown, Des Moines, Iowa; Atty. Joseph S. Mitchell, Boston, Mass.; John O. Hopkins, Jr., theatrical producer, Detroit, Mich.; Atty. Francis E. Rivers, N. Y. C.; Atty. Sara Pelham Speaks, N. Y. C.; Bishop David H. Sims, Philadelphia, and Atty. Thomas G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va., who was made a member of the organization committee.

At the banquet Monday night in an address which epitomized the combined views of the colored committee members and which brought tremendous applause from the numerous delegates, Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks said, in part:

"What caused the disaffection of Negro voters? Well, after the Republican party had an illustrious record as regards the Negro; won freedom for him, built for him the War amendments to secure that freedom, and recognized him as entitled to equality in American life, it began to worship strange gods; to play with that idea which now again rears its evil head: of merging the Bourbon Democrats of the South with intolerant Republicans in the North. They gained the general impression that the Republican party was concerned with property rights. With the advent of the New Deal, so suspicious had the Negro become of this unholy alliance that, as a protest, he supported the New Deal even though this Democratic Party introduced the principal of government-fostered segregation, and in its wage differentials and relief policies made of the Negro an indigent ward of the nation.

"It has been erroneously stated by certain persons that the Negro vote is lost to the Republican party forever. That idea is shared by many of you present. That is definitely untrue. The Negro, like other disaffected Republican groups, will readily return to the party the moment the party shows an understanding of the needs of his people.

"The idea that the Negro has become enslaved by the Franklin Roosevelt myth is wrong. Negro citizens are aware that the greatest betrayal perpetrated upon them in connection with the defeat of the Anti-lynching bill was the complete silence of Franklin Roosevet. Also, they are aware that the New Deal seeks to perpetuate for them an inferior status in American life. Negroes would gladly abandon their historic enemy: the Democratic Party. But if we would have them return to the Republican Party which they once supported so loyaly, the Republican party must make radical changes wherever needed to meet the desperate present day necessities of the Negro.

"This Committee will have an opportunity to say whether the Republican party will correct this injustice and return to its historic and famed championship of the Negro's right to equal opportunity in American life.

"It is one of the great opportunities, I believe, of our Committee on Program to evolve the answers for our Party to these pressing problems. The Committee can make fateful recommendations as to these questions of grave import to the Negro:

(1) Isn't it the proper function of the United States government to prevent segregation and elimination of any minority race either by governmental or private agencies?

(2) Isn't the proper function of the United States government to aid the integration of a minority race into all phases?

(3) Shouldn't the Republican party do all within its power to protect the life of the Negro against mob violence even at the cost of limiting debate in the United States Senate?

(4) If business leaders are going to substitute intelligent self-regulation for ignorant governmental regulation, shouldn't they hire Negroes as a means of correcting the present virtual barring of Negroes to cares in productive occupations?

"The Negro wants for himself and his family the very same thing that the other citizens of America want for themselves and their families. The burden of ill-health, old age and unemployment weigh as heavily upon him as upon the other working people of America. They want a safeguard from these dangers, and are unwilling to be satisfied with the present legislation in this direction as long as it excludes from its benefits those tremendously large groups of workers—the farmer and the worker in domestic and personal service.

"The Negro wants jobs and is willing to accept the dole as synonomous with prosperity. He wants child labor to be abolished; an anti-lynching law enacted; discriminatory practices in civil service done away with. He wants an opportunity to live in decent quarters from the disease infested slums.

"It is important that the Republican party recognize the fact that because of his most distressing social and economic situation, the Negro will no longer accept the sentimental appeal to reconstruction days as the basis for supporting a party. Negro Republicans urge the party to reestablish ideals that have made the Republican Party a great party in the past—to unequivocably and with complete courage dedicate itself to those principles. If the Republican party deserves to win it will win—with the Negro voters of America helping."

YANKEE NEW DEAL?

Southerner May Quit F. D. R For G. O. P.

To The Commercial Appeal:

The Philadelphia Record quotes Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as saying at a negro meeting in Philadelphia on Lincoln's birthday that "Lincoln legally freed the slaves but the race never has enjoyed economic and social freedom in all sections of the country. But a better day is dawning."

The Record is a Frank F. D. R. and C. I. O. advocate, and obviously would not misquote the First Lady. Just what did she mean by "social freedom?" So many funny things are happening under this New Deal that I am going to take to the woods, and when I do come out I'll come out voting the Republican ticket. Naughty as they are, they have never been half as mean to the South as those New Deal "damnyankee" Democrats.

JEFF BARTON.

Jackson, Miss.

Political — 1938
Party Affiliation.

Republican.

G. O. P.'S HEAR SARA P. SPEAKS ON VIEWPOINT OF NEGRO VOTER

At a banquet Monday night in the Palmer House, during the two-day conference of the Republican National Committee, Mrs. Sara Pelham, in an address which epitomized the combined views of the colored committee members, and the Negro voters of America, urged the Republican party to re-establish ideals which made it a great party in the past, and to dedicate itself to those principles.

Also present at the conference which was called Monday by Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the group, were nine colored members of the program committee. They were:

Frederick M. Roberts, editor New Age Dispatch, Los Angeles, Calif.; William E. King, state senator, Chicago; Mrs. S. Joe Brown, Des Moines, Ia.; Atty. Joseph S. Mitchell, Boston, Mass.; John O. Hopkins, Jr., theatrical producer, Detroit, Mich.; Atty. Francis E. Rivers, N. Y. C.; Atty. Sara Pelham Speaks, N. Y. C.; Bishop David H. Sims, Philadelphia, and Atty. Thomas G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va., who was made a member of the organization committee.

Mrs. Speaks drew tremendous applause from the numerous delegates when she outlined the attitude of colored voters as to party affiliation. The Negro, she pointed out, wants economic and social freedom as does any other racial group. If the Negro voter returns to the Republican party radical changes to meet the desperate present day necessities of the group will be necessary.

Pointing to the failure of the anti-lynching bill as the greatest betrayal perpetrated on the Negro, Mrs. Speaks said the group is aware that the New Deal seeks to perpetuate for them an inferior status in American life.

"The Negro wants for himself and his family the very same thing the other citizens of America want for themselves and their families," Mrs. Speaks declared. "The burden of ill-health, old age and unemployment weigh as heavily upon him as upon the other working people of America.

"He wants a safeguard from these dangers, and is unwilling to be satisfied with the present legislation in this direction as long as it excludes from its benefits those tremendously large groups of workers—the farmer and the worker in domestic and personal service."

Continuing, she said, "The Negro wants jobs and is willing to accept the dole as synonymous with property. He wants child labor to be abolished; an anti-lynching law enacted; discriminatory practices in civil service done away with. He wants an opportunity to live in decent quarters away from the disease infested slums."

Declaring that the sentimental appeal to reconstruction days as a basis for supporting a party is no longer enough, the speaker urged the committee to recognize the Negro's distressing social and economic situation and to champion his right to equal opportunity in American life.

"If the Republican party deserves to win," she concluded, "it will win—with the Negro voters of America helping." The planning committee divided the country into nine regions, and the colored representatives will serve with each of the regional organizations.

Colored Members Active In GOP Planning Committee

CHICAGO, Ill.—All nine colored members of the program committee Republican National Committee, were present at the two day conference called to order Monday by chairman Glenn Frank. Mrs. Sarah Pelham spoke at the banquet Monday night and epitomized the combined views of the colored committee members and brought tremendous applause from the numerous delegates. She said in part, "It has been erroneously stated by certain persons that the Negro vote is lost to the Republican party forever. That idea is shared by many persons. That is definitely untrue. The Negro, like other disaffected Republican groups, will reasily return to the party the moment the party shows an understanding of the needs of his people.

"The Negro wants for himself and his family the very same thing that the other citizens of America want for themselves and their families. The burden of ill health, old age and unemployment weigh as heavily upon him as upon the other working people of America. They want a safeguard from these dangers.

"The Negro wants jobs and is not willing to accept the dole as synonomous with prosperity. He wants child labor to be abolished; an anti-lynching law enacted; discriminatory practices in civil service done away with. He wants an opportunity to live in decent quarters, away from the disease infected slums."

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G. O. P. WANTS TO HELP U. S. AVERS LEADER

Speaks and Rivers Return from Chicago Confab

How the Republicans plan to sound out sentiment about the party among the rank and file of all American citizens was described this week by Attorney Sara Pelham Speaks and Assistant District Attorney Francis Rivers, just returned from "a successful two-day conference" of the Republican National Committee on Program held in Chicago on February 28 and March 1.

"The party wants to determine how it can best serve the country by interpreting the will and the ideals of the American people," the two well-known Harlem political leaders told The Amsterdam News.

Mrs. Speaks returned to New York Sunday night and said that she had an "interesting time in Chicago" and believes that the "enthusiasm born of the meeting will gain momentum and continue until the party returns to power."

Discussing the plans of the Republicans as formulated at the conference, Mr. Rivers said: "The committee plans to have in each city and community meetings at which policies of government will be analyzed and discussed."

"This will be of exceptional value to the Negro," he added, "in that these discussions will provide the occasion for him to debate and discuss what program best fits his modern-day needs. In considering this, the Negro will be aided by most intensive researches made by trained investigators.'

"Both from the standpoint of educating the white public on the proper understanding of the Negro as well as enabling the Negro to better appraise his own situation, the work of the Republican Committee on Program will be invaluable," Mr. Rivers declared, adding, 'we will be willing to let the Negro choose his party affiliation on the basis of the findings of the committee."

According to Attorney Rivers, the committee plans to study ways and means of integrating the Negro into the productive and industrial life of the nation. An effort will be made to induce Republican industrialists to employ Negroes.

A Square Deal Will Bring Victory

A CAREFUL reading of "The Guffey" in last week's edition of The Saturday Evening Post leaves the impression that the article was written for the deliberate purpose of helping to crack the Democratic Solid South by distorting facts concerning the treatment accorded colored citizens by the Democratic Party in the North.

It is clear that the article was keyed for southern consumption because the colored woman in the story is never referred to as "Mrs." or "Miss", while the Guffey sisters are always so designated.

Robert L. Vann is credited with swinging 2,000,000 colored voters to the Democratic Party as the result of a conference with Senator Guffey. That is one of the many inaccurate statements running thru the entire article. Colored people switched because Republicans, like the owners of the Saturday Evening Post, believed that the South could be weaned from the Democratic Party and made to vote the Republican ticket, if the G. O. P. would refuse to be fair to colored voters.

Certain Republican leaders thought that their party could swallow the Solid South, if the G. O. P. would only cut loose from the colored people. These men were of the opinion that the colored voters were a liability rather than an asset. Ten years ago this newspaper pointed out that this attitude would cause the defeat of the Republican Party. If the reasoning of the authors of the article in the "Post" is correct when they state "that colored voters won the election in Pennsylvania for the Demo-

cratic Party", then it is true that the Republican Party would still be in power had its leaders heeded the warning of this newspaper ten years ago and given colored citizens a square deal.

Apparently, the Republican Party, at least in Pennsylvania, has learned that the medicine of the witch doctors will not win elections; that while trying to capture the South it was losing Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The recent endorsement of Magistrate Henry for Congress and the endorsement of several other men for the State Legislature tend to show that the leaders of the G.O.P. will no longer heed the advice of stupid politicians.

If Guffey could win in Pennsylvania by promising colored citizens a square deal, the Republican Party will win by carrying out the new policy recently adopted of giving colored people equal consideration. Certain Republican publications should stop their stupid attempts to capture Mississippi and Georgia and begin advocating a square deal for colored Americans. This policy will assure a Republican victory.

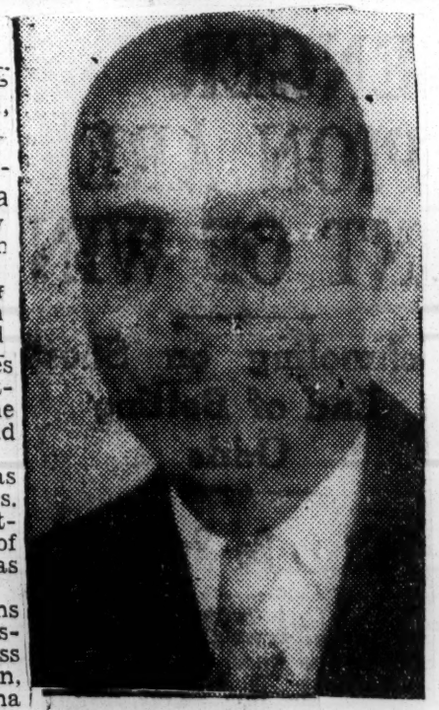
CHARLES M. STOKES OF LEAVENWORTH TO NATIONAL OFFICE

Charles M. Stokes, young attorney of Leavenworth, Kas., was elected vice chairman of the National Republican Youth Federation in a history-making move Saturday June 1, at the Hotel President in downtown Kansas City.

Stokes was the only one of the seven vice chairmen whose election was uncontested. He was elected unanimously by the 280 delegates who came here from 37 states to attend the biennial convention of the federation in session Friday and Saturday.

Stokes has been active in Kansas Republican politics for several years. He was the only Negro delegate attending the sessions, being one of the eight members of the Kansas delegation.

Other young Negro Republicans who attended the convention as visitors were Dan S. Sawyer, Miss Annabel Sawyer, Merritt Gordon, William M. Bradshaw, Mrs. Bertha Dandridge and Bernice Hodison, all of Topeka; Dr. William McKinley Thomas of Leavenworth; Henry Mundy, James A. Hamlett Jr., and Elmer Jackson, all of Kansas City, Kas.



CHARLES M. STOKES

The election of a Negro vice chairman came after the youth federation had voted to incorporate into the constitution, portions of resolutions presented by Stokes.

The constitution provides that the young Negro Republican be given adequate recognition on the governing bodies of the National Youth Republican Federation.

In his resolutions, Stokes had asked the federation to continue its policy of fairness to all people by electing a Negro vice chairman, having young Negro Republican as assistant to the director of publicity; by having a Negro assistant to the director of the speakers' bureau and by maintaining a department of Negro affairs under the direction of competent, well-trained Negroes.

Stokes and those visiting the convention felt that the election of a vice chairman was a big step forward.

Speaking of his objectives in his new office, Stokes said, "We intend to perfect an organization of young Republicans that will be a working unit from border to border. There is at this time a crying need for constructive work to be done within the party which stands as a challenge to Negro youth. We must and will meet that challenge."

Hamilton Sees Alabama Afloat In G. O. P. Pond

State Republicans Cheer; But Bankhead Fails To Be Deeply Impressed

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., June 22—(AP)—A plea for "real Southern Democrats" to join the Republican Party as the champion of "Jeffersonian philosophy" was voiced today by John D. M. Hamilton, G. O. P. national chairman.

Speaking before the Alabama Republican convention, Hamilton made his bid for Southern support in a State which has been unwavering in its Democratic loyalties since reconstruction.

JOHN HAMILTON

The G. O. P. chieftain urged Democrats to join the battle against "alien philosophies" in the White House.

His address followed a series of conferences with Birmingham business men, termed a "social get-together" by one of the conferees, but linked with the 1940 presidential campaign by convention gossip.

Hamilton recognized Democratic traditions of the deep South before saying "there is today no insurmountable barrier between the real Democrats of the South and the Republican Party. . . .Today we are speaking a common language.

"Only the deep-seated loyalty which comes from years of loving and serving their party keeps many Southern Democrats today from formally and openly repudiating the Democratic Party under its present leadership.

"Free Entedprise"

"If free enterprise, for which the South has always fought, is to be re-established, then principles must triumph over our emotions and our prejudices."

Hamilton described the New Deal as "dedicated" to an "alien philosophy" of regimentation.

"The Republican Party bears the name of the party founded more than a century ago by the great Thomas Jefferson. . . .It was on principles laid down by Jefferson that our party was founded. Whenever the party has departed from Jeffersonian principles it has not been true to itself. Today it stands as the only organized champion of the Jeffersonian philosophy.

"The future welfare of the South as well as the entire country, depends on getting rid of the New Deal and its apostles as fast as we can."

Hamilton said his address was the first in the deep South by a Republican national chairman. No arrangements have been made for similar speeches elsewhere in the South, he said, but a definite campaign is "under consideration."

State Republican Slate

J. M. Pennington, of Jasper, was nominated today as Republican candidate to oppose Lister Hill, Democrat, for the United States Senate and W. A. Clardy, of Roanoke, was designated the Republican candidate for governor against the Democratic nominee, Frank M. Dixon, in the November general election.

The Alabama Republican convention named a complete State ticket. Candidates who received the convention's unanimous nomination included: Lieutenant governor, W. L. Longshore, Birmingham; secretary of state C. C. Conway, Jemison; state auditor Arthur O. South, Florence; attorney general, J. Foy Guin, Russellville; State treasurer, Curtis Adkimy, Ashville; State superintendent of education, Aaron Weaver, Double Springs; Alabama Supreme Court, position No. 1, Milton Lanier, Huntsville; position No. 2, J. T. Johnson, Oneonta; public service commission, position No. 1, L. A. Carroll, Slocomb; position No. 2, Elmer Sutterer, Cullman; commissioner of agriculture and industries, J. H. Jones, Cedar Bluff.

No Wrinkle Of Worry Clouds Bankhead Brow

JASPER, ALA., June 22.—(AP)—Alabama's senior senator, John H. Bankhead, expressed no concern today over efforts of John D. M. Hamilton, Republican national chairman, to divorce the solid South from the Democratic Party.

"Mr. Hamilton's statement that there is no insurmountable barrier between the real Democrats of the South and the Republican Party' discloses that he is ignorant of what constitutes a real Democrat or he makes confession that the real Democrats of the South have been fundamentally right throughout the years in resisting the proclaimed principles and practiced policies of the Republican Party," Bankhead said in a statement which followed Hamilton's Birmingham address.

"Mr. Hamilton's statement that it was on principles laid down by Jefferson that the Republican Party was founded is in line with the precepts and practices of Republican leaders in recent years of claiming everything that is good.

"Protestations of fidelity to Jeffersonian democracy by a party whose leadership has received its inspiration by looking from the top floors of high office buildings down upon the swarming mass of struggling humans on the ground is not enough to induce real Democrats to accept Republicans like Mr. Hamilton into full fellowship with the Jeffersonian Democrats, the 'real Democrats' of the South."

Alabama

Political — 1938

Suffrage

Lister Hill Choice Of Colored Voters

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—SNS—While many organizations have been silent about their selection of candidates and almost all civic leaders have had nothing to say of the three candidates in the race only one is acceptable to the colored voter.

The Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club, The recently organized Right to Vote Club and labor have endorsed the candidacy of Lister Hill. In spite of Mr. Hill's position on the Anti-Lynching legislation before congress and his vote on the subject last year and his recent theatre speech here, colored voters will cast their vote for him. Many will go to the polls to prevent the election of "Cotton Tom" Heflin who is seriously ill at the moment.

Hill Endorsed

As a result of the BIRMINGHAM WORLD'S continuous policy of fighting for the registration of colored citizens more citizens of color will have the privilege of casting a vote in the election Tuesday than at any time in the political history of the city. Persons in the know estimate that almost one thousand colored citizens are qualified to vote in the primary or an increase of 250 in 1937.

A strong letter to Lister Hill, pledging support of a recently organized voters club in the January fourth election and protesting his opposition to the Wagner anti-lynching bill was made this week by the Right To Vote Club.

The text of the letter to Hill follows:

RIGHT TO VOTE CLUB
Birmingham, Ala.,
December 31, 1937

The Honorable Lister Hill
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:

By unanimous vote of our organization last night, I have been instructed to write you this letter.

Because we cannot under any circumstances support Thomas Heflin for the Senate, and because we approve of your support of President Roosevelt's program of social and labor legislation, we have endorsed your candidacy. Those of us who do vote and our friends who have the franchise will go to the polls January 4 and cast a ballot for you.

However, we want to register an emphatic protest with your statement at Pantage's Theatre Wednesday night, as well as your statements elsewhere, in connection with the anti-lynching bill. You stated that you had voted against the bill in the House and would fight it on the floor of the Senate if elected.

The Gallup newspaper poll showed a majority of Southerners opposed to lynching and in favor of federal anti-lynching legislation.

Congressman Maury Maverick of Texas has declared that he voted for the bill and has not received a single letter of protest from his constituents. In addition, we have the statement of Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch in The Nation of November 27 supporting the bill and demonstrating the changing attitude of white people in the South towards anti-lynching legislation. In spite of Senator Dixie Graves' speech in the Senate, we believe that a great majority of the progressive, decent-minded white citizenry is in favor of this law. We are both shocked and grieved to find you in open opposition to it.

Our Club has been formed to work for the enforcement of the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Our membership is almost entirely Negro. But when we speak in protest against your position on the anti-lynching bill, we believe we speak with the voice of the progressive Alabama. We urge you to reconsider these ill-advised remarks of yours and show the same courage in supporting the anti-lynching legislation as you have in supporting the wages and hours bill.

Respectfully,
Rev. S. H. Murphy, Vice Pres.,
The Right To Vote Club.

Getting Together

Call 2-4-38

Recently Alabama shipyard workers insisted that Negro members of their union be allowed to vote in the Democratic primaries. That shows which way the wind blows. Kansas City, Kans.

Race prejudice in the United States was born of rivalry in industry. Both races agree in loving their country and in lauding its customs. Only because of the tradition that self is better served by eliminating competition than in cooperating for common good, is there friction. The moment these Alabama workers united for mutual protection and advantage, the difference of race no longer serves as a reason why the blacks should not vote.

Industrial alliances are multiplying. In this generation the workers have done much and will do more toward getting together, until the social taboos of yesterday will be discarded along with the old labor outlook.

An America that pays no regard to the color and race of the individual is certain to come. Differences of nationality cut no figure already. An Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman who quarreled in their native British Isles, are cordial to each other here. The polyglot peoples of Europe forget their quarreling when they speak United States.

So it will be with whites and blacks, and the more easily because, from the cradle to the grave for generations back they have held common ideals. The one has borrowed from the other. As one speaker put it in explaining a Negro's participation in a radio program, "Everybody likes the spirituals and cornbread." There are many likeable qualities in both races, which the other is too decent and too honest to deny—as soon as selfishness quits counselling strife as the short cut to advantage.

Birmingham, Ala. News
January 31, 1938

Poll Tax Payments And The Right To Vote

Tuesday, as the public has been reminded much of late, is the last day on which Alabama persons can pay their poll tax and qualify for this year's elections.

Two reasons are obvious why Alabamians should attend to this poll tax this year. One is the importance of the elections to be held in 1938, with important state and county offices to be filled as well as the state's delegation in Congress. Another is the fact that all the poll tax receipts go directly into the school fund, which is much in need of receipts this year.

But there is another reason for payment of this tax, and that is, in order that one may have more of a voice in deciding whether the poll tax should be required as a prerequisite to voting.

Alabama is one of only eight states which make the poll tax a voting requirement. All these states are in the South, the others being Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. But the agitation for removal of the poll tax has been making headway in the South. Louisiana repealed its poll tax in 1934 and Florida in 1936. Arkansas will vote on repeal in a special referendum to be held this year.

During the years of the depression, many Alabama voters fell behind in their poll tax and disfranchised themselves. That fact, along with others is one reason why so small a part of the state's population has taken part in elections the last few years.

Lister Hill was elected senator over Tom Heflin in the recent election by only about 5 per cent of the state's population. That vote represented about 12 per cent of the population of voting age, and about 15 per cent of the white adult population.

There are, in Alabama, approximately 300,000 persons qualified to vote. But, on the basis of 1930 federal statistics, there are in the state 870,000 whites of 21 years of age or over, and 480,000 Negroes of that age. The largest number ever to participate in any election has been slightly better than 250,000.

Are we to be content in Alabama with a situation in which only about one-fourth of our adult white population is qualified to vote?

That question is likely to come before the next session of the Alabama Legislature. It came before the last Legislature in the form of a bill which would have permitted delinquent poll tax payers to qualify themselves on payment of two years of back poll tax. But the bill was defeated.

Those who believe that Alabama's system of poll tax as a prerequisite to voting is wrong have an opportunity to hasten its repeal by electing members of the Legislature committed to that cause. But Alabama will shortly be choosing members of the new Legislature. The choices they make at the polls will have considerable bearing on the fate that may await new poll tax legislation. If we would influence the matter of voting qualification in future years we must qualify to vote in this election now by paying the tax.

Political — 1938
Suffrage

Alabama

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Industrial alliances are multiplying. In this generation the workers have done much and will do more toward getting together, until the social taboos of yesterday will be discarded along with the old labor outlook.

An America that pays no regard to the color and race of the individual is certain to come. Differences of nationality cut no figure already. An Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman who quarreled in their native British Isles, are cordial to each other here. The polyglot peoples of Europe forget their quarreling when they speak United States.

So it will be with whites and blacks, and the more easily because, from the cradle to the grave for generations back they have held common ideals. The one has borrowed from the other. As one speaker put it in explaining a Negro's participation in a radio program, "Everybody likes the spirituals and cornbread." There are many likeable qualities in both races, which the other is too decent and too honest to deny—as soon as selfishness quits counselling strife as the short cut to advantage.

Birmingham, Ala. News
January 31, 1938

Poll Tax Payments And The Right To Vote

Tuesday, as the public has been reminded much of late, is the last day on which Alabama persons can pay their poll tax and qualify for this year's elections.

Two reasons are obvious why Alabamians should attend to this poll tax this year. One is the importance of the elections to be held in 1938, with important state and county offices to be filled as well as the state's delegation in Congress. Another is the fact that all the poll tax receipts go directly into the school fund, which is much in need of receipts this year.

But there is another reason for payment of this tax, and that is, in order that one may have more of a voice in deciding whether the poll tax should be required as a prerequisite to voting.

Alabama is one of only eight states which make the poll tax a voting requirement. All these states are in the South, the others being Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. But the agitation for removal of the poll tax has been making headway in the South. Louisiana repealed its poll tax in 1934 and Florida in 1936. Arkansas will vote on repeal in a special referendum to be held this year.

During the years of the depression, many Alabama voters fell behind in their poll tax and disfranchised themselves. That fact, along with others is one reason why so small a part of the state's population has taken part in elections the last few years.

Lister Hill was elected senator over Tom Heflin in the recent election by only about 5 per cent of the state's population. That vote represented about 12 per cent of the population of voting age, and about 15 per cent of the white adult population.

There are, in Alabama, approximately 300,000 persons qualified to vote. But, on the basis of 1930 federal statistics, there are in the state 870,000 whites of 21 years of age or over, and 480,000 Negroes of that age. The largest number ever to participate in any election has been slightly better than 250,000.

Are we to be content in Alabama with a situation in which only about one-fourth of our adult white population is qualified to vote?

That question is likely to come before the next session of the Alabama Legislature. It came before the last Legislature in the form of a bill which would have permitted delinquent poll tax payers to qualify themselves on payment of two years of back poll tax. But the bill was defeated.

Those who believe that Alabama's system of voting is wrong have an opportunity to hasten its repeal by electing members of the Legislature committed to that cause. But Alabama will shortly be choosing members of the new Legislature. The choices they make at the polls will have considerable bearing on the fate that may await new poll tax legislation. If we would influence the matter of voting qualification in future years we must qualify to vote in this election by paying the tax.

Sheffield, Ala., Tri-Cities Daily
March 22, 1938

NEGRO VOTERS' LEAGUE IN TUSCUMBIA IS ACTIVE

The Negro Voters' League of Tuscumbia, to sponsor greater interest of the negro citizens of the city in its affairs, has been organized, it was announced today.

Officers of the organization are: Norman T. Thomas, president; Prince E. Eggleston, vice president; Alice Graves, secretary; Dr. A. W. Davis, treasurer.

Objectives of the organization were set out as:

1. To have eligible negro citizens become bona fide electors.
2. To interest the negro population in citizenship, and what it is.
3. To recommend solutions of their problems to whom it may concern.
4. To promote and encourage education.
5. To recommend to its members men for office who will do the most good for the most people.

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long

THE CUMULATIVE POLL TAX LAW

Editor The Advertiser:

In 1901, in the capitol of the State of Alabama, a Constitutional Convention was held. In that convention were some of the best statesmen that Alabama ever produced. I will name just a few of them whose names, even now, 37 years later are still familiar to many of us: John B. Knox, John A. Rogers, Thomas W. Coleman, J. Lee Long, Emmett O'Neal, Thomas G. Jones, Ed de Graffenreid, Earl Bestus, William C. Fitts and many other notables whose names are too numerous to mention.

That convention passed our present suffrage law, realizing that ignorance and prejudice should not rule, then put in an educational requirement before a person could register to vote, unless said person could register under the grandfather's clause.

They then added what is known as the cumulative poll tax measure, requiring said party registered to pay said poll tax prior to the first day of February, and failing to pay, said voter was barred from voting. This poll tax has to be paid every year until said voter reaches the age of 45 years, and unless paid it accumulates against said voter and he cannot vote until all of the delinquent poll tax has been paid in full.

To say the least of it, this cuts out very many undesirable voters as the man who is unwilling to pay the paltry sum of $1.50 per annum is certainly an undesirable voter. Surely, any person who has the welfare of his city, county, State and nation at heart is willing to pay this small sum, especially since it all goes to the public school fund.

Mr. Voter, shall we do away with this and go back to the conditions we had prior to 1901? I ask that you inform yourself of the platforms of the various candidates for State office and see how he stands on this issue, and give it your careful consideration before voting.

You may vote now and be forever sorry, as it will then be too late. J. C. COLEMAN.

Eutaw, Ala.

NLRB And WPA Target Of Federation Of Labor

TUSCALOOSA, ALA., April 27.—(AP)—Resolutions criticising the National Labor Relations Board and the Works Progress Administration were adopted today by the Alabama Federation of Labor.

The NLRB was taken to task for "injecting itself" into short term contracts between the American Federation of Labor, with which the State body is affiliated, and employers.

Another resolution criticised the WPA for setting up projects "competitive with private construction." The resolution asked that future WPA projects be "of a non-competitive nature."

Other resolutions called for abolition of cumulative poll tax, and adequate building and inspection code to safeguard workers, free textbooks in all public schools, and suspension of A. F. of L. members who work with members of rival organizations.

Sam E. Roper, of Sheffield, was re-elected president today, defeating R. W. Storey, of Montgomery, 212 to 39. Secretary W. O. Hare was chosen to succeed himself without opposition.

Florence, Ala., Herald
May 20, 1938

WASHINGTON VOTES

Recently the residents of the City of Washington took an unofficial vote to sound sentiment for the official ballot which is denied them under existing law. More than 93,000 out of the total population of about 637,000 cast their straw ballots on two propositions: The right to vote for President and members of Congress; the right to local self government.

Both proposals carried overwhelmingly, the first by 13 to 1, the second by 8 to 1. Pathfinder, published in the national capital, suggests that the difference in the vote on the two questions was because many did not desire to bring the large Negro population into the local political picture. About one-third of the city's inhabitants are Negroes.

Residents of Washington have not voted for President since the national capital was established there in 1800, nor for local officials since 1874. The city, officially designated as the District of Columbia, is governed by Congress as to legislation, and by executive commissioners appointed by the President.

Many persons holding government positions in Washington retain their voting rights in the states from which they came. But permanent residents of the city, who pay taxes as citizens elsewhere do, think they should also be allowed to vote. And why not?

Roosevelt And The South

As is generally known, The Anniston Star has been a very consistent supporter of the Roosevelt administration. We have subscribed wholeheartedly to his attack on the abuses that have characterized the great aggregations of wealth in this country and his attempts to bring about a greater distribution of the material gains of the American people. The great social and humanitarian objectives that he has undertaken likewise have appealed to this paper. We have believed that by reason of his part time residence in this section the President would come to understand the social and economic problems of the South and that he would do more for us than any other man who had sat in the White House since the War Between the States. In some respects, we have profited tremendously by reason of legislation that has been enacted during the last five years but it would be a mistake to assume that all that Mr. Roosevelt has done and is attempting to do has been painful to the South.

In the first place, this paper is of the opinion that the South suffered an irreparable loss when the delegates to the Philadelphia convention from this section supinely surrendered in deference to Mr. Roosevelt's attempt to abolish the two-thirds rule as a governing policy in our national party assemblies. That one action makes the South's voice in the party practically impotent and we would be destroyed almost completely but for the right of filibuster in the Senate. Mr. Roosevelt, moreover, has not given us adequate representation on the many boards, bureaus and commissions at Washington that in recent years have done about as much as the Congress to control the destinies of the American people. His championship of the anti-lynching bill was an attempt to whittle out almost the last vestige of States rights he has shown no active sympathy with our appeal for equality in freight rates and now is backing a wages and hours bill which, without a differential, would be disastrous for this section.

On the positive side of the ledger, we can observe a great improvement in Southern farming conditions as a result of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts. Wages in industry have increased greater than in any other section of the country. Child labor virtually has disappeared. Great progress has been made and is being made with respect to flood control and navigation. Our schools have been aided by direct grants to students and to administrative agencies. The boys in the Civilian Conservation Corps have benefited personally and have rendered incalculable service to the country. Many public buildings have been erected and projects for the general betterment have been completed under the PWA and the WPA. The social security laws enacted there have been wise in conception, although we believe they could be administered with less expense and red tape and with greater efficiency. Of course, we will be taxed to pay for all of these and other benefits; but in many instances the taxes will be national and our proportionate share will be less than that of the national average, thereby compensating in a way for the many injustices we are made to suffer as citizens of the United States.

But as beneficial as many of these public projects may be, the record seems to indicate that we are not getting our legitimate share of the billions of public funds that are being dispensed. For instance, Russell Kent, Washington correspondent of The Birmingham Age-Herald, calls our attention to the fact that Pennsylvania, whose population was 9,631,000 in the last census, received more WPA money than the eleven Southern States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia combined, with their aggregate population of 28,761,000 in the same census. The official figures are: $214,565,000 for Pennsylvania as compared with $210,750,000 for the eleven Southern States. Almost the same ratio holds good for the nine months of this fiscal year, Pennsylvania having received almost as much as the eleven Southern States. It also is shown that while Pennsylvania is less than four times the size of Alabama, she has received more than eleven times as much WPA money.

And if we ask ourselves why this sort of treatment persists under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, the answer is not hard to find. It is simply because we are a one-party section, because we have continued to vote the Democratic ticket whether the Democrats or the Republicans are in power, and because under our party form of government the emoluments of office go to those sections where the votes are needed and can within reason be secured. Pennsylvania is a normally Republican State and the Democrats can get votes there only in proportion as they show that it is to the material advantage of Pennsylvania to vote the Democratic ticket. Loyalty such as the South has shown toward the Democratic Party, it seems, is no longer to be rewarded, especially in a day of boss rule such as exists in the big cities of the North.

If we expect ever to get our just deserts, therefore, the Southern members of the Congress must stand together as a solid bloc in the Congress as they did against the anti-lynching bill, as they propose to do against a discriminatory wages and hours bill, and as they should do with respect to unfair freight rates and disproportionate representation on government boards, bureaus and commissions. Furthermore, in the long run, we must form new party alignments and stop voting for more shibboleths. We may not be ready as yet to join the LaFollette revolt, and will not be so long as Wisconsin erects tariff barriers against our products. Neither are we ready as yet to vote for the decadent Republican Party or to enfranchise the Negroes and wipe out our poll tax laws in order to hold the representation we now have. But eventually there may be an alignment in this country along liberal and conservative lines, and in that event the South will come into its own and no longer occupy a mere colonial status in the eyes of the powers that be in the nation's capital.—Anniston Star.

Alabama.

Political — 1938

Suffrage.

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Roanoke, Ala., Leader
June 1, 1938

History Of Corrupt Politics— When And How Will It End?

A short summary of some political history might be of interest to our younger readers and perhaps to those older ones whose recollections may have become somewhat dim.

Following the Civil War many Southern white men were disfranchised, the recently freed slaves were given the ballot, Federal troops were often present at the polls on election days, and the prostrate Southern states had to submit to the rule of the ignorant and the vicious. For the story of this Reconstruction period read "The Tragic Era," by Claude Bowers, who is not a Southern man.

A proud and patriotic people could not submit indefinitely to such intolerable conditions, and, by such means and methods as necessity demanded, they overthrew the vicious and ignorant control that had dominated the state and many of the counties. The methods used to restore white supremacy had to be continued in the counties where the Negro population largely predominated. During the period from the restoration of white supremacy in 1874 until the Nineties crooked politics was chiefly confined to the counties with heavy Negro populations and was excused under the plea that the necessity of having a decent government demanded it.

But in the early Nineties a great change came about. The Populist movement came along and grew rapidly, dividing the white voters into two large groups and leaving the Negro voters holding the balance of power in many counties where the population was predominantly white. Then Blackbelt methods became common in many of the white counties, and white voters began to swindle other white voters instead of restricting the swindling to the maintenance of white supremacy.

So bad did conditions become that there was a widespread demand for a Constitutional Convention with the prime aim of restricting the suffrage so that election frauds could be stopped and clean elections could be had. Finally the Convention met, adopted a Constitution for submission to the voters, and adjourned. With the Negroes comprising about forty per cent of the voters, with many white Republicans in opposition for political reasons, and with many white Democrats against the measure because of opposition to the administration which sponsored the movement, it was generally recognized that a majority could not be had for the proposed Constitution, and sentiment seemed to favor making one big steal in order to quit having to steal at every election. The election was called for submission of the proposed Constitution to the voters, and it was several days after the election before its result was known. Each side kept holding back some of the counties where it controlled the election machinery, waiting for the other side to report so that the waiting side could turn in enough majority to overbalance that reported by the other side. Finally the Blackbelt counties began to turn loose tremendous majorities, nearly all of them for the Constitution. Newspapers remarked upon the surprising fact that Negro voters in large numbers had favored adoption. That "fact" was probably as surprising to the Negro voters as it was to anybody else.

The first primary was held in Randolph County in 1900. Up until about that time all party nominations, from local offices on up to state offices, had been made in conventions. In these conventions there was plenty of trading by the different candidates and their supporters, liquor and money were sometimes rather freely used, but the members of the conventions were only a very small portion of the population and no general debauchery of the electorate developed under that system.

For many years the white primaries were relatively free from venal and vicious politics. Of late years the number of those whose votes have to be bought and paid for has grown so large that in many Alabama counties they hold the balance of power and the offices go to the highest bidder.

The first great period of political debauchery was in Reconstruction days and was ended when white men rose in their might and routed the carpetbaggers and scalawags. The second period was in the Nineties and was ended by the adoption of the present Constitution. The third period is now when our primaries are ceasing to be free expressions of the will of the people and are becoming market places for the vote buyer and the vote seller. How will this period end? AND WHEN?

THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

Editor The Advertiser:

In the matter of the proposed quadrennial general re-registration of all the voters, this could only partially effect its purpose, in view of the section of the Constitution which provides that those voters registered prior to 1903 can not be required to re-register for the general elections, except in case of change of residence.

Advertiser

Howver, the main objective of such re-registration could be effected by amending the present inadequate laws for purging the voters lists, so as to require all registered voters to either appear before the county registrars in 1939 or 1940 for a check up as to present residence, or to file with the registrars a statement duly witnessed of the present precinct and district of such residence.

9-11-38

A list of those failing to appear or file such statement could be published as a tentative list of the registered non-voters, together with notice that the names of each of those appearing on such published list who failed to appear before the registrars within 60 days thereafter for such examination as to residence, would be stricken from the list of voters.

Montgomery

It is the duty of the voters to cooperate with the registrars in purging the lists of non-voters, especially when so required by statute, and such a check up as to residence, would eliminate more than 95 per cent of the names of non-voters remaining on the lists; of which, it has been estimated, there are 15,000 such names of decedents or non-residents now remaining on the voters lists in Jefferson County, alone, which clog the lists, and are included, at needless expense to the taxpayers, in the list of voters published every two years as required by law.

In Alabama, the participation of Republicans in the Democratic primaries is not a matter of "political immorality"; it is a clear violation of the primary election laws of the State.

Section 11 of the primary election law reads in part as follows:

"That all persons who are qualified electors under the general laws of the State of Alabama, and who are also members of a political party entitled to participate in such primary election, shall be entitled to vote therein and shall receive the official primary ballot of that political party, and no other; but every State executive committee of a party shall have the right, power and authority to fix and prescribe the political or other qualifications of its own members, and shall, in its own way, declare and determine who shall be entitled and qualified to vote in such primary election."

Section 4 of the resolutions of the State Democratic Executive Committee, adopted last January pursuant to the above quoted section of the primary law, reads as follows:

"That the following persons shall be entitled to vote in said primary election, and none others, namely: Qualified white electors in this State who believe in the principles of the Democratic Party and who agree and bind themselves by participating in said primary to abide by the result of said primary elections and to support the nominees of the Democratic Party therein."

It is therefore clear that only those who are members of the Democratic Party or who believe in the principles of the Democratic Party, can legally vote in the Democratic primaries in Alabama, and hence the participation therein of Republicans is clearly illegal and unlawful.

And it is a mockery to talk about clean primary elections and the sanctity of the ballot box while many thousands of Republicans openly, illegally and unrestrainedly, swarm in the Democratic primaries in Alabama.

These conditions can never be remedied until the primary election laws of Alabama are amended, so as to provide for the registration of a party membership as a prerequisite to participation in party primaries, as in North Carolina, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and most other Southern States.

ROMAINE BOYD.
1403 South 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala.

Urge Birmingham Citizens To Register

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (ANP) — Negro civic and political clubs of Birmingham and Jefferson County are seeking and expecting several hundred colored citizens to make application for registration and to be qualified voters.

A prominent commissioner was placed in the run-off by votes than colored citizens gave him. A past commissioner was elected by 400, and colored citizens gave him some 800. ?

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REAPPORTIONMENT AGAIN

Based upon the 1930 census, each of the 106 members of the Alabama House of Representatives represents an average of 24,964 people. By the same census figures Montgomery County's four representatives in the House each represents 24,668 people. That is about as close as the average could be figured, and in the struggle between the under-represented counties and over-represented counties Montgomery is in position of being on an exact median line between them and not subject to criticism by either. This county can look upon reapportionment in a purely detached frame of mind. In spite of the heat and agitation now and heretofore generated on the subject.

Reapportionment apparently is always going to be an issue in Alabama so long as discrepancies are evident. Henry and Lowndes Counties have a representative for each 11,400 population and Jefferson has a representative for each 61,600 population. If all the counties of the state were represented in proportion to population as is Montgomery County, Lowndes and Henry would have but one representative each and Jefferson would have 17 instead of seven.

Proportional representation is one of the biggest issues in the newly framed constitution for the state of New York, and if a constitutional convention were held in Alabama the subject would also occupy a large share of attention. That substantial changes will be made in Alabama's representative system without fundamental changes in the organic law can hardly be expected at this time even by the most optimistic of reapportionment advocates. — Montgomery Journal.

(It Works Both Ways)

THE aftermath of the recent primary in Georgia is bringing many things ashore in its backwash. Some of the candidates who sought preference in the white primary are far from satisfied. Charges and counter charges of fraud, stealing ballots and otherwise stuffing ballot boxes are rampant. The most unique phase of many of the discussions is to the extent that the so-called county unit system is far from satisfactory. According to Georgia primary rules, counties are apportioned unit votes according to population. For instance, the small counties are entitled to two unit votes while some of the larger counties are entitled to from four to six unit votes. The candidate, regardless of his popular vote, must carry a county before he is entitled to its unit vote in the state convention. A quarrel has ensued to the effect that some of the big counties whose population warrants four votes show in the voting less voters than some of the smaller counties, having only two county unit votes. It is cited that this is unfair. That the apportionment lays a premium on non-voting and that counties should be rated in proportion to the votes cast and not the county population. It is brought out that many of the larger counties have a heavy colored population. The colored population is counted in the census regulating the county unit vote, but are left out when it comes to voting in the white primary. In other words these people help send the county's stock up in its apportionment and are gladly counted for the purpse of boosting the county's strength, but are left when it comes to the voting.

The justice in the system falls down on that score and while those affected will hardly offer a bill in the executive committee rooms to change it, it is one vital thing that as long as it lives, will upset the political apple cart in Georgia.

In the same primary in question, former Governor Eugene Talmadge sought to contest some thirty counties whose votes were close, in an effort to secure a recount. He was unsuccessful in his efforts at a recount in all but one county and in that he gained only one vote.

However, there is rumbling in the camps of the primary system and while all the time on its very face it purports to wrest from the majority of the people the will of the majority, it is countenanced and looked upon as the bulwark thrown up by the fathers to save the state from Negro participation in an expression of having a say so in a setup supposed to be run on the basis of the consent of the governed.

These primaries have been contested in some states and carried as high as the Supreme Court of the nation. Still they carry on and as a result what these primaries do is regarded as equivalent to an election. In fact after the primaries are over many of the nominees go so far as to say they are elected. And they are, because on general election days, merely a gesture to go through the motion of an election, fewer people vote in the whole state as vote in some of the upstate counties of New York state.

In the census last taken to determine congressional representation in congress, Georgia, after counting heavily all its colored population, which does none of the voting for the congressmen, fell so low that it lost two members of congress. If the contenders against the county unit vote, where the colored population is counted, press their battle to the gates for a showdown, the question will naturally be raised that those furnishing the county strength be allowed to vote or else the county release its claim of excessive units.

Slowly but surely the forces which have prevented the race from participation in the primaries are weakening from pressure from various sources; but we must do more on our own account. The best way to hasten the change is through large registration lists. Do your part to this end by registering now with the county clerk.

Baptist Women Stress Ballot

By REV. TASCHEREAU ARNOLD
(SNS Religious Editor)

The Woman's Auxiliary to the Atlanta Missionary Baptist Association, Mrs. L. L. Craig, president, held its final session at Antioch (N) Baptist church, Rev. T. H. George, minister, with a large crowd in attendance.

The Rev. W. M. Jackson was the devotional speaker, while President Craig presented Mrs. Awtry, superintendent of the W. M. U. white, who delivered a sparkling address to the women.

STRESSES VOTING

Mrs. L. S. Weatherspool made a noble speech in which she stressed the fact that our women should vote and make full use of the ballot. The address was lauded by Mrs. I. F. Henderson, who also urged the women to register and vote, while President Craig urged them to be at Wheat Street Baptist church, where a meeting will be held by the Political League. A vote was taken and most of the women voted to attend the meeting tonight.

Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, one of the races most outstanding business women and one of the vice presidents, was a member of the Courtesy Committee. Her report was among the best heard at the meet.

REV. BORDERS HEARD

Fine addresses were made by Rev. W. H. Borders, Mrs. Ida U. Rhoade, white, Dr. M. W. White, Rev. A. G. Davis and Mother Gaines.

Officers elected were: Mrs. L. L. Craig, president; Mrs. Ida F. Henderson, vice president; Mrs. Mattie Furr, secretary; Mrs. J. C. Williams, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. T. Dorsey, treasurer.

The women raised more than they did last year, and the session was said by leaders to be highly pleasing in every sense of the word. Delegates were in attendance from several of the leading churches in Georgia.

POLITICAL-1938
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Fairhope, Ala., Courier
December 8. 1938

Some Facts About Alabama's Poll Tax Laws

BY DELPHINE F.. THOMAS

Alabama is the only state having the cumulative Poll Tax requirement by which the voter must pay $1.50 per year since he or she became 21 years of age. At present Alabama has about 400,000 registered voters. For the population there should be almost 1,000,000 white voters alone.

The South is the only section of the Nation that makes the payment of Poll Tax a requirement for voting. 40 states have no Poll Tax requirement. Some, as in the case of Virginia, require payment of three years back taxes. Louisiana and Florida have recently repealed their tax. No state has such out of-date laws on the matter as Alabama.

The South is solidly Democratic in party politics. Because of the recent National Democratic Committee ruling, changing the basis for decision in the conventon from two- thirds to a majority vote, the South lost power in the party Moreover, it is expected that representation in the future will be based on the number of voters in general elections. Therefore the South must have more voters to obtain sufficient representation in the National Convention to influence it actions.

It is extremely important that Alabama remove the Poll Tax requirement, increase its voting strength, and use its influence in the Democratic National Committee to decide policies to be used in solving the Nation's socalled Economic Problem No. 1. The South may be the Nation's problem but it is a very personal one to every Southerner.

There is no really good argument for the poll tax as a requirement for voting. It is manisfestly unfair to be required to pay for a privilege which is inherent in one's citizenship under a democratic government.

There are some who say that we appreciate what we pay for and therefore should pay for government in order to appreciate it. The answer to that is: Why should we pay for a privilege which citizens of 40 states have as a matter of course? More fundamentally, the answer is in the nature of democracy itself. Democracy is based on the belief in the soundness of the judgment of a majority and on the right of all to have representation in the government which taxes them. Today every one pays taxes. Intelligence is necessary for wise decisions. But $1.50 per year is no guarantee of intelligence.

Southern States which have eliminated the Poll Tax have had no trouble in maintaining "White Supremacy." Florida, Louisiana, and North Carolina have had no increase in negro voters while they have practically doubled their total number of voters.

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Suffrage

Alabama

HERE'S A FARMER THAT'S AGAINST RELIEF

Editor The Advertiser:

I notice Senator Bankhead and his cohort, the Farm Bureau, are out on a speaking tour—kinder feeling the pulse of the farmers, or rather testing their vulnerability to more promised dollars.

Six years should be enough to convince any sane mind—a most miserable flop—Chaos! Conditions were bad in '32, but there was hope, the morale was high; we had promise of relief from the load that was becoming burdensome. But the relief was to double the load and the drivers; so in '38 the morale is very low with no promise of relief in sight.

No American farmer worthy of calling himself a free-born American wants any government subsidy together with the things that necessarily go with it. When men you have respected tell you openly that they will vote for or sign anything for a little money, conditions are not healthy. We've had referendums of a kind (Negro elections), the electorate bringing to memory reconstruction days after the War Between the States—the officials, carpet-baggers, hand-picked. No! I didn't participate, and won't next time until Negroes are granted the franchise to vote in white folks' elections. The voters bribed or intimidated!—What is such an election? The man with the guts to balk it was blacklisted and persecuted.

Conservation? A shame to have debased such a worthy cause, to circumvent the ruling of nine worthy old gentlemen! The things being done under the guise of conservation makes a body sick.

Cooperate with the Government, a phrase to my mind a bit incongruous. What is the Government? Can one cooperate with one's self? Must he set his government apart from himself? Our government could and should function with a much greater degree of efficiency on one per cent of its present cost. We should deal with people and conditions as they really are and not as some would have them be. "Dreams don't often come true!" With the facilities at hand, and the Government in hand in America the American way the farmer could compete with coolie, peon, or any other kind of labor.

The farmer has become the most docile of all the domesticated dumb brutes—just a little fodder, preferably green, or something that will rattle, he will lead right up and lay his head on the block. Four years is a long time for Mr. Bankhead, I'm afraid the fodder won't last at the present rate of consumption—and the bureaucrats are adept to sleeping sickness unless there is plenty of fodder.

The last round-up showed 30 Farm Bureau members in Bullock County—think of it, 30! And wouldn't it be interesting to know how many of those 30 had ever manned a plow, or milked a cow? What per cent of their income is derived from their farming? The Farm Bureau after an extended period of dormancy had the gall to usurp the authority to speak for the farmer without his endorsement! Check the history of the organization from the beginning and recall the happening within the year.

The farmer, with the Farm Bureau and Mr. Bankhead for friends, should be exempt from all Hell in the hereafter. Ignorance among the farmers is deplorable, but to exploit that ignorance to factional gain is disgraceful.

Midway, Ala., Route 1. E. W. HALL.

Birmingham Negroes Urged to Register

BIRMINGHAM, Oct. 13—Negro civic and political clubs of Birmingham and Jefferson county are seeking and expecting several hundred colored citizens to make applications for registration and to be qualified voters.

In spite of the relatively small number of colored voters in the city during past elections, colored citizens have played important roles. A present commissioner was placed in the run-off by less votes than colored citizens gave him. A past commissioner was elected by 400, and colored citizens gave him some 800.

Dabney Heads Suffrage Body Of Conference

Work Of Publisher's Group Expected To Furnish Fireworks

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Nov. 5.—(Special)—Appointment of Virginius Dabney, nationally known editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, as chairman of the suffrage committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which meets in Birmingham Nov. 20-23, was announced today by Judge Louise O. Charlton, general chairman of the conference.

The suffrage committee's sessions are expected to provide some of the real fireworks of the Southern Conference, since it is this group which will deal with the problems of liberalizing the poll tax laws.

Dr. Herman Clarence Nixon of New Orleans field chairman, said today that seven of the eight States in America which require voters to pay poll tax are located in the South. He also cited the National Emergency Council's report that more than half of the white citizens of these States are barred from voting, due to accumulation of back poll tax.

Judge Charlton announced that hundreds of leading Southerners have enlisted as members of the suffrage committee and that their views on this topic are believed to be widely divergent. It is expected that the conference will recommend liberalization of poll tax requirements, but it will not be known until the suffrage committee adjourns whether this liberalization would take the form of outright abolition of the poll tax in the South. There are many Southern advocates of abolition for the cumulative feature of the tax, Judge Charlton said.

Gov. Bibb Graves, of Alabama, will be chairman of the conference committee on freight rate differential. Dr. Herman Clarence Nixon, will serve as chairman of the farm tenancy committee. Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, has been named chairman of a Southwide committee to award the conference's annual Thomas Jefferson medal. This medal, designed and contributed by Rockwell Kent, noted artist, is to be presented the Southern statesman judged most outstanding in promotion of human welfare in the South along the lines of the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.

Known as "the South's answer" to the National Emergency Council report on southern economic conditions, the gathering here will be held for the purpose of mapping out a program to correct southern economic evils. Its sponsors include hundreds of the South's most widely known men and women.

Foley, Ala., Onlooker
November 24, 1938

POLL TAX LAW IN ALABAMA

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The South is solidly Democratic in party politics. Because of the recent National Democratic Committee ruling, changing the basis for decision in the convention from two-thirds to a majority vote, the South lost power in the party. Moreover, it is expected that representation in the future will be based on the number of voters in general elections. Therefore the South must have more voters to obtain sufficient representation in the National Convention to influence its actions.

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Storm Cloud Rising Above Legislature

Reapportionment Fight Threatens To Destroy Peace Of '39 Session

Opposition Heard

School Financing Another Troublesome Issue For Lawmakers To Settle

By LEROY SIMMS

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Dec. 3.—(AP)—Legislature reapportionment was hailed by Alabama's political soothsayers today as the most likely stumbling block in the path of harmony for the lawmakers who convene at Montgomery Jan. 10.

Gov.-elect Frank M. Dixon, in conferences with legislators this week, listed a reapportionment amendment to the consttiution as one of five amendments he wants submitted to the people.

Rumblings from the Black Belt counties, which stand to lose representation by reapportionment, indicate that section will not give up its present powers without a battle.

The veteran Representative L. A. Sanderson, of Montgomery, said he favored "letting the present representation stand." Present apportionment of the Legislature is based on the census of 1900, since which time many Black Belt counties have lost population while other sections gained.

Dixon's amendment would name an apportionment board, which would fix representation according to population after each census. Its acts would be submitted to the Legislature, but would become effective without legislative approval in case of a disagreement.

Present statutes provide reapportionment after each Federal census, but the Legislature has failed to enact such legislation, often after bitter battles.

As examples of present inequalities, advocates of reapportionment give the following county populations, with their representation in the House:

Some Examples

Jefferson, 431,493 and seven; Montgomery, 98,671 and four; Mobile, 118,363 and three; Dallas, 55,094 and three; Madison, 94,623 and two; Hous-

ton, 45,823 and one; Bullock, 20,016 an dtwo.

Prohibition, one of the chief causes of high blood pressure in Alabama Legislatures for 35 years, is hardly likely to play more than a minor role at the 1939 sessions, most observers agree. The Alabama Temeprance Alliance has announced it would make a determined fight for certain revisions in the beverage control act, however.

The usual battle over school finances is in prospect, with school forces variously estimated their needs for minimum eight-month terms at from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 above present revenues from State sources.

Dixon, in conferring with the members of his new Legislature, has let it be known he does not contemplate levying additional taxes. In fact, one source close to the Governor-elect says that at least one reduction is planned ,although the fund affected does not involve school money.

If no new taxes are levied, the schools apparently must content themselves with the estimated $1,500,00 0annually which may be shaved from State expenses by Dixon's planned reorganization of the Capitol administrative branches.

New Revenue Sources

Whether the Governor-elect's plan for revamping the Capitol setup will save as much as $1,500,000 remains to be seen, of course. Some additional income may result from a revision of the sales tax, planned with administration support, to eliimnate exemptions.

Another possible source of revenue for schools is seen by some observers in the proposal to establish a State board of tax equalization, to raise assessments of those who have not adhered to the 60 per cent of rue value level in estimating worth of their holdings for tax purposes.

Most persons familiar with the State tax structure agree that revisions downward will be necessary in few cases, and increased ad valorem valuations will add materially to local school revenues.

Dixon's plan for a short session of the Legislature in January, to be followed by a recess until after the people decide on at least five constitutional amendments, will be explained to all the members of the new Legislature before the end of next week.

Amendments which will be thrown into the legislative hopper with administrative blessings include:

1. To provide legislative reapportionment through a board, of which the Governor will be chairman, instead of through the Legislature.

2. To change poll tax laws to permit persons delinquent in payment to become electors after payment o two years' back tax.

3. To provide biennial sessions o the Legislature, with pay fixed a $10 per diem for 60 calendar days, re placing present pay of $6 a calenda day for 50 legislative days.

4. To revise the pardon and parol system.

5. To permit the use of voting ma chines in general and primary elec tions.

The first and third amendment above would not affect the Legislatur already elected, if approved at th

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Arkansas.

Suffrage

Campaign Opens In Arkansas To Do Away With Poll Taxes And Increase Vote In State

Only 8.7 Per Cent Cast Ballots, Committee Says, As Fight Is Pushed For November Victory—Nine States Charge For Suffrage

By PAUL MORRIS

From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, May 28.—Taking cognizance of the fact that only 8.7 per cent of Arkansas' more than 2,000,000 population cast a ballot in the presidential election of 1936, and blaming this showing on the existence of the election laws requiring a poll tax as a prerequisite to suffrage, a campaign has been started by interested Arkansans to do away with the tax.

Organized in February this year, and already boasting organizations in at least 12 counties, this group of citizens—known as the Voters Campaign Committee—has set about to become firmly entrenched as a statewide organization.

At the present time, the Voters Campaign Committee is carrying direct to the people, through pamphlets and personal contacts, some of the ill effects of the poll tax as a voting perequisite.

Led by Roy Prewitt, Little Rock attorney and former state welfare commissioner, as executive director, the committee has delved into the statistical standing of the poll tax as a deterrent to a complete expression of the electorate on voting days.

Ballot In November

Spurring the Voters Campaign Committee on to their goal right now is the realization that the electorate will ballot in November on a constitutional amendment, which will propose to do away with the poll tax as a voting requirement; yet will not abolish the per capita tax.

This amendment, submitted by the Legislature is the result of a joint resolution introduced by Representative Kenneth Coffelt of Saline County, and adopted during the closing hours of the 1937 regular session.

The resolution calling for the amendment came when there was agitation for abolition of the poll tax, and the legislators had reached a standstill in their efforts to meet the demands of those backing the antipoll tax movement. The Coffelt resolution solved the problem.

But it remained for the Voters Committee, coming into being early this year, to get behind the proposal with the avowed purpose of putting it across.

The committee lists several pertinent facts concerning the voting strength of nonpoll tax states, and the eight remaining states that still cling to the poll tax.

Less Than 10 Per Cent

The following stand out:

That in 1936, the nine poll tax states—Arkansas, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina and Florida—cast a combined vote for Roosevelt of only 2,457,000 or less than 10 per cent of the total vote of 27,750,000 cast for Roosevelt. On the basis of this vote, the committee points out, the so-called "Solid South" would pass into oblivion as far as representation in the Democratic National Convention is concerned.

In 1936, New York state alone polled 3,293,000 votes for Roosevelt, nearly 1,000,000 more than the combined vote of the nine Southern poll-tax states.

With the 1936 vote as the basis of representation in the Democratic National Convention, the rock-ribbed state of Pennsylvania, which gave Roosevelt a vote of 2,383,788, would have more strength in the national party councils than the nine poll tax states.

Only 3,500,177 Voted

In 1936, of the total 12,472,245 persons of voting age in the poll tax states, only 3,500,177 voted for all candidates for president, including Democratic, Republican, Socialist, and others.

The 39 poll tax states in 1936 cast only 24 per cent of their voting strength, while the 39 nonpoll tax states balloted 72 per cent strong. Using the Voters Committee's figures for comparison a checkup reveals furthermore that Arkansas with its population of 2,048,482 polled over 100,000 votes less than the tiny state of Rhode Island, with its population of 678,497 in the 1936 presidential election.

Arkansas' neighbors, were showing a similarly increased voting strength over the Wonder State. Missouri, with no poll tax, voted 1,808,934 or 45.3 of its electorate compared to Arkansas' 8.7 per cent. Oklahoma, at the same time was polling 29 per cent.

Tennessee Rate Heaviest

Tennessee, across the Mississippi River, and incidentally, the heaviest voter of the poll tax states, balloted 16.3 of its electorate. Tennessee, however, with its population of 2,893,556 and its total 1936 presidential vote of 473,599, was running considerably behind, for instance, the state of Washington which boasts only a population of 1,658,205, but which polled 666,488 votes or a percentage of 39.2 of its qualified electorate.

Mississippi, with its estimated 1936 population of 2,923,821, turned in only 161,618 votes, representing 7.9 per cent of its electorate in the presidential election, to rank second from the bottom on the list of poll tax states. New Mexico with less than one-fifth the population of Mississippi chalked up 167,545 votes in 1936, or 30.4 per cent of its electorate.

Arkansas is not alone in the fight to abolish the poll tax as a voting perequisite. Virginia, at the present time is waging somewhat of a similar fight. Since 1920 only two states have successfully carried out the abolition of the poll tax. They were Louisiana and North Carolina. In 1936 North Carolina voted 25.1 of its electorate, while its neighbor, South Carolina, a poll tax state, balloted 6.1.

The Arkansas State Policy Committee, also interested in the removal of the poll tax, delved into the election laws and in a report published last month declared "The requirement of the poll tax in the South was undoubtedly intended to disfranchise the negro voters. It is common knowledge that the results have exceeded the original purpose.

Defense Often Backfires

"Defense of the poll tax as a requirement for voting on the ground that its effect is to exclude unlettered and incompetent voters has often been shown to backfire when political machines and unscrupulous politicians see to it that such voters do get tax receipts. The disfranchisement of ignorant voters, white or black, by honest legislation that is justly administered, is possibly defensible. The success of a democracy depends upon intelligent voters, and every democracy has the responsibility of improving the enlightenment of the people. But possession of a collector's receipt is a poor guarantee of a critical grasp of the issues at stake in governmental procedure."

The report was written by Dr. Matt Ellis of Hendrix College at Conway. Others who assisted in the study were Frank McAnear, Karl Greenlaw, attorney for Rogers, J. W. Trimble, prosecuting attorney of Berryville. Brooks Hays, Democratic National Committeeman from Arkansas, also assisted in the study and has become an active worker in behalf of the organization's efforts.

Issue Becomes Vital

"I think that the action of the Democratic National Convention in suggesting that the 1940 convention take up the question of representation in future conventions being based on the Democratic vote in each state, should be especially considered by voters in the Southern states," Mr. Hays said. "The trend is very obvious, in my opinion, that representation in the future conventions will be based on the Democratic vote, therefore this poll tax issue is of vital importance to us," he declared.

The only objectionable part of the proposal to abolish the poll tax receipt as a voting perequisite, the Policy Committee found in its study, is that under the present setup the pool tax collections go into the school funds. Approximately between $200,000 and $300,000 are collected annually, it is estimated.

Under the proposed amendment, however, the Legislature is given the power to levy a per capita tax of not more than one dollar for the benefit of the public schools.

"Whether a per capita levy should ever be enacted on the basis of the enabling provision of the amendment may be questioned," the Policy Committee reports. "But if school funds are not raised in this manner, then they will have to come by some other method," it continues, then pertinently points out:

"Other states have found a way So can Arkansas."

ARKANSAS REFUSES TO LOWER BAR

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 21.—Chairman June P. Wooten, white of the Arkansas State Democratic Committee Friday told President J. M. Robinson of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association that Negroes cannot vote in the Democratic Primary, August 9.

Robinson wrote a letter asking that the party let "all known Democrats" instead of "white Democrats" vote, saying Negroes voted only in isolated cases.

In his answer Wooten said he believed Robinson's group could get the State Committee to lower the bar

Arkansas Demos Ban Negro Vote

Black Democrats

LITTLE ROCK.—(ANP)—Although there is an Arkansas Negro Democratic association with members anxious to vote for candidates of their party, they will not be able to do so in the Democratic primary August 9, Chairman June P. Wooten of the State Democratic committee Friday told President J. M. Robinson of the colored group. Wooten's statement was in answer to a letter from Robinson asking the state committee to adopt a ruling that "all known Democrats" should be allowed to vote n primaries, omitting the word "white." The letter pointed out Negroes voted in isolated cases, depending on judges and clerks.

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The committee could not properly change a rule adopted years ago by the state convention specifying the party should consist only of white electors, Wooten said. The committee has authority to modify, interpret and administrate party rules in convention, but "it does not wish to make an abrupt change in party rules adopted by the convention," the chairman said.

"It is properly a matter which should come before the state convention and not the state democratic committee," Wooten declared, adding he had advised a group of Negroes that the association should prevail upon the state convention to change the rules.

Arkansas Bans Race In Primary

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Wooten's statement was in answer to a letter from Robinson asking the state committee to adopt a ruling that "all known Democrats" should be allowed to vote in primaries, omitting the word "white." The letter pointed out Negroes voted in isolated cases, depending on judges and clerks.

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"It is properly a matter which should come before the state convention and not the state democratic committee," Wooten declared, adding he had advised a group of Negroes that the association should prevail upon the state convention to change the rule.

ARKANSAS REFUSES TO BAN TAX

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 23—(ANP)—An amendment to the state constitution of Arkansas, which was designed to do away with the poll tax in this state, was decisively defeated in the elections held last Tuesday. Colored voters are said to have divided their vote on the proposition.

In this state, as in a number of southern states, a poll tax of $1.00 is required before a citizen can register. Originally conceived to discourage the Negro vote, the poll tax has operated to disfranchise large numbers of poor whites as well. The whites through inability or unwillingness to pay the tax are eliminated in even greater numbers than the Negroes. The result has been that a comparatively small oligarchy, composed of bankers, planter sand business men control government in Arkansas.

All Nation To Watch Vote On Poll Tax In Arkansas

By The Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, Oct. 11.—The national spotlight will play upon Arkansas when its voters express their opinion at the Nov. 8 general election on a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a requisite for voting. The result will attract national attention due to recent expressed criticism by President Roosevelt of poll tax laws, who described them as "inevitably contrary to the fundamental democracy and its representative form of government in which we believe."

The 1937 Legislature referred the proposed amendment to the people. It would authorize institution of a registration system for voting to replace the assessment and payment of the poll tax. Those proposing to vote would be required to register in their county within six months before an election.

The cost of a poll tax is $1. The amendment would empower the General Assembly to pass a per capita tax if the November vote is affirmative not to exceed $1 for the benefit of the public schools.

"In no event," the proposal says, "shall it (the Legislature) abridge the right of suffrage in this state which shall extend equally upon men and women without regard to sex and that women shall not be compelled to serve on juries.

"The Legislature shall by law provide a just system of registration for all voters in this state and the assessor shall be the ex officio registrar."

The voters' Campaign Committee, headed by former State Welfare Commissioner Roy Prewitt, is actively working for repeal of the poll tax. Another organization, the Taxpayers' Committee, is urging retention of the present system.

The recent Republican state convention in its platform went on record opposing the amendment, asserting it would deprive the schools of $285,000 annually and declaring that "the failure of citizens to qualify as electors by the payment of poll tax is not compelled by poverty, but rather by indifference and ignorance."

The state Democratic convention didn't mention the matter.

Arkansas Refuses To Ban Poll Tax; Negroes The Issue

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 18—(ANP)—An amendment to the state constitution of Arkansas, which was designed to do away with the poll tax in this state, was decisively defeated in the elections held last Tuesday. Colored voters are said to have divided their vote on the proposition.

In this state, as in a number of southern states, a poll tax of $1 is required before a citizen can register. Originally conceived to discourage the Negro vote, the poll tax has operated to disfranchise large numbers of poor whites as well. The whites through inability or unwillingness to pay the tax are eliminated in even greater numbers than the Negroes. The result has been that a comparatively small oligarchy, composed of bankers, planters and business men control government in Arkansas.

It is said that President Roosevelt favored the poll tax repeal, feeling that the only way to secure cooperation with his liberal measures was to broaden the voting base so that poor people who have been benefited by his measures might have greater means of expression.

Big business and the planters immediately set up a quiet campaign against repeal of the poll tax. They were assisted by the school clifue. All of the money collected from the poll tax goes to the public schools, which has enabled the state department of education headed by the white superintendent of schools to build up one of the strongest political machines in Arkansas. This group naturally opposed cutting off the tax because of loss of money. Negroes benefit to the extent of two jobs from the school fund. Mrs. A. M. P. Strong is assistant supervisor of Negro education; Prof. R. C. Childers holds a similar position. The state college at Pine Bluff, where Dr. J. B. Watson is president, has also received fine allocations recently.

Negroes who opposed the amendment put forward a unique plea. They contended that abolishing the poll tax would not abolish the democratic primary through which Negroes are so successfully disfranchise. The democrats contend that their party is a social organization and has a right to select its membership, thereby eliminating blacks.

These Negroes also pointed out that the proposal to establish a registration system would mean the building up of an army of white collar workers composed of cheap white rascals. Those who favor repeal point out that if there were no poll tax and Negroes registered freely, there would be 100,000 Negro voters instead of 18,000 as at present. They contend that there were plenty of white men who would run in the regular election as independents and appeal to the Negro vote as well as the poor white if the elections were not sewed up in the white primary.

Through the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Rev. E. C. Dyer of the 1st Baptist church is attempting to rally the Negroes into a voters' league. He was a part of the league at Dallas which is rapidly developing a political consciousness on the part of the Negroes of that city, one which is bringing improvements and appointments of various kinds to the Negroes in Dallas. He sees similar possibilities here.

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California.

"HAVE NEGROES NO RIGHT?

"We Southerners are going to have to face the question of whether Negroes are to have any rights at all. Social equality is not the question here. Juryman G. F. Porter did not demand social equality at the court house. He merely asked for equality before the law. You can call that courage, if you like, or you may call it poor judgment. But before you call it either, put yourself in his shoes. Certainly no coward would have done what he did or faced what he faced.

"The law is plain. The law has plainly been outraged, and that the course of justice in Dallas County is seriously threatened. You noticed that when Judge Sarah Hughes discharged Porter (following the assault) she also discharged all other jurors remaining on the panel. There was a reason for that.

"No Negro defendant convicted by men taken from this jury for the week need have any cause to fear. If he has lawyer worth 30c a month, that lawyer can take his case to the Supreme Court of the United States and get that defendant's conviction reversed for violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"Either we give the Negro fair show in the courthouse or else every conviction of a Negro in this county is voidable upon appeal to the federal jurisdiction."—Dallas Morning Post.

BATTLE WITH BALLOTS

Political campaigns were designed to be used as clearing houses, to check on men and issues. During a "campaign" we let these men tell us about themselves. Then we allow others to place long, wordy amendments on the ballot which we are supposed to study, but never do.

Finally voting day rolls around. It finds us armed to the teeth, not to battle with ballots for our citizenship rights in city, state and national congress, but to wage bitter word battles against one another.

And when an election becomes past history, men are rewarded with high salaried offices, paid from your taxes; amendments become laws by which you are governed—WHERE ARE YOU?

Voters and fellow citizens, let us realize that we are living in one of the world's greatest metropolises and that as citizens some fifty thousand strong it is our first duty to decide that taxation without representation is as tyrannical today as it was in 1776. However, when our rights are infringed upon because we fail to use the ballot to battle for them, we fail in doing our duty not only to ourselves but also to our posterity.

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D.C.

Negro Thought To Be Bone Of Contention In Fight For Vote Power In D.C.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (By Florence Murray for ANP) — Following the impressive demand for right of suffrage made by some 87,000 District residents in a recent referendum here, citizens are losing no time in taking further steps to obtain voting privileges for the approximately 600,000 voteless residents of the nation's capital.

Voting for a chance to vote in national and local representation, polls throughout the city were literally stormed April 30 when more than 95,000 black and white, rich and poor, the lame and the blind cast their votes in the informal referendum conducted by local citizens.

It is estimated by members of the Citizens' Conference on District Suffrage, composed of white and colored, that more than one third of the votes cast were by colored citizens. The latest census estimate gives a population of 627,000 for the District of Columbia, with more than one-fourth colored. The final tabulation of the voting showed 13 to 1 for national representation, and 7 to 1 for local suffrage.

The Negro in Washington has long been the bone of contention in the argument for suffrage in the District. His plight here has been a source of ridicule by his fellow countrymen throughout the nation. It is known that he is discriminated against in government employment, schools, theatres, stores and other public places which his taxes support.

Such treatment of him in the nation's capital at the seat of the federal government is considered one of the worst blights on the face of the nation by many liberal-minded Americans. It is known too, that organizations labelling themselves "patriotic" have for a long time kept the vote from District taxpayers, those familiar with the problem say, on the lone contention that franchisement for Washingtonians would give the balance of power politically to the large and literate, colored population.

The privilege of voting in the nation's affairs was taken from District residents some 68 years ago because of irregularities at the polls, coupled with the fear of the rising power of Negroes as they swarmed into Washington during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

Subsequently, the real fight against suffrage here has been soft-pedaled by Southern elements dominating District affairs. Only in recent weeks when a daily paper took the lead and brought the Negro question out into the open has attention been publicly focused on this phase of the argument for and against the vote.

Southern members of Congress recently have expressed fears of colored representatives from the District sitting in the halls of Congress. Even Representative Maury Maverick of Texas, hailed as a great liberal and friend to the under-dog, though not mentioning the colored race, took a slap at the idea of suffrage for the District.

At its last meeting the Conference on Suffrage voted to seek authority of Congress for legal machinery to be set up to elect an advisory committee on local citizens to work with Congress on all matters affecting legal legislation as the "first step" toward self-government.

This was done in view of the employment by the Senate and House District committees of Chicago firm to conduct a survey for reorganizing the District government. Committee members, however, characterize the move as only an "interim" expedient, not to be accepted in the place of suffrage.

At the same time, the conference authorized its chairman, Wilbur S. Finch, white, to appoint a delegation of from 5 to 10 members to testify at the hearings before the House Judiciary Committee May 18 and 19 on two pending constitutional amendments empowering Congress to give the District a vote.

George H. Rycraw, government worker and union leader, and Dr. Tehophilus J. Houston, civic leader, are the colored members of the election committee of the conference. On the executive committee are Mrs. Mary Mason Jones, teacher, and Howard D. Woodson, civic association president, and others

RACIAL ISSUE PARAMOUNT AS WASHINGTON FIGHTS FOR VOTE

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26—(ANP)—Fear of the political power of the Negro if Washingtonians are granted the right of the ballot in common with other American citizens has popped up in the current attempt to win suffrage.

This racial bogey was so strong that it came in for special attention when Paul E. Lesh, white representing the Citizens Joing Committee for National Representation for the District of Columbia, told the House Judiciary committee Wednesday:

"Don't let anybody sell you the idea that if we get the vote here you are going to get a colored mayor. That is a bogey. Anyone who fears domination by one race is a pretty timid soul when his own race outnumbers the other three to one. The quality of colored people here being what it is, they are entitled to a vote. Colored residents here are only 27.1 per cent of the population."

Political – 1938

Suffrage

Florida

Pensacola, Fla. News
April 23, 1938

NEGROES TO BE CUT OFF ROLLS OF DEMOCRATS

State Committee Instructs Registrar To Remove 385 Names

Ben L. Davis, county supervisor of registration, has been instructed by J. B. Hodges, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee to purge the Escambia registration rolls of the names of all negroes registering as Democrats, it was learned today.

Davis, who said he had wired the attorney general for authority to comply with the Democratic committee chairman's request, gave the number of negroes registering as Democrats as 385. He said they came principally from Precincts 31 in the western section of the city and 29 in the East Hill section.

"I am perfectly wliling to strike their names from the books if given proper authority," he said.

"The proper members of the Democratic party are white persons and a certified copy of resolution of the state committee relative to proper members of the Democratic party has been forwarded to you," Hodges advised Davis "but I am enclosing herewith another certified copy of such resolution which was adopted pursuant to statute.

"In 1934 a colored man undertook to register and vote in Escambia county, taking his alleged right into the federal court and the matter was heard by Judge A. V. Long, and Judge Long held that colored people could not register and vote as Democrats in the Democratic primaries.

"You will strike from the lists any colored people who have been registered as Democrats and do not register them any more as Democrats.

"They are entitled to registration as Republicans or as Independents but not as Democrats.

"The Democratic organization will be compelled to take legal action to strike these colored people from Democratic registration lists unless you go ahead and do your duty and strike them off.

"These colored people can not vote in a Democratic primary.

"Please let me hear from you by return mail."

Davis said he replied to Hodges yesterday. He said his understanding of Judge Long's ruling was that it permitted negroes to register but did not permit them to vote in the Democratic primaries.

Florida Primary Victory Poll Tax Was Removed Relief Workers Ballot Question Is: Who Won?

Communist

WASHINGTON, May 6.—Florida's primary is being variously hailed as a victory for Son James, F. D. R., the Reorganization Bill, Wages-Hours and practically everybody and everything else on the winning side—except Senator Pepper who won it.

5-7-38

That is customary. But that is only a public sport. When the serious pros get together, they dispense with technicolor and try to find out what happened.

Anything Jerk

Taking the Florida political particles apart here they have found some generally un-noticed considerations and learned much that is not obvious. These are the points which will influence congressmen in their voting and their pending election campaigns.

Most important technically is that the poll tax requirement for voting was removed for the first time. A competent impartial authority estimates this brought to the polls 40,000 to 50,000 new votes which were not cast in any previous elections. These new voters heretofore had not cared to pay or could not afford the $1 tax, and included presumably, most of the 32,000 Floridans who are now receiving Federal relief funds from the Administration.

Naturally these 40,000 to 50,000 new voters are supposed to have all gone to the winning candidate Mr. Pepper, but perhaps not entirely on the theory that it is unwise to bite a feeding Federal hand. More important may have been the fact that Pepper is personally popular, came from a poor family, worked his way through Alabama and Harvard by waiting on tables, and—most important of all—his leading adversary Mr. Wilcox had a Palm Beach background.

Insiders Learn Political Lesson

The political lesson which insiders learn from this is that the Roosevelt forces may measurably increase their national voter power by getting poll taxes repealed everywhere—and by inducing Palm Beach to put up their opposition.

The Townsend vote is expertly estimated here at no more than 20,000. Townsendites approved all the combatants except Wilcox, but Pepper received their most reverent blessing and probably half their votes, 10,000. Therefore the Townsend influence was considered negligible.

The wise ones figure also that the Wage-Hour influence was probably far less than popularly advertised, and that the Reorganization Bill likewise made much talk but brought or changed few votes.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
May 19, 1938

Poll Taxes and Democracy

We hope the victory of Senator Pepper in Florida will lead the administration high command to open a campaign for the repeal of poll taxes in the south. The south has used "grandfather clauses" to disfranchise the negro; poll taxes to deprive the poor white of his ballot.

The Pepper victory followed repeal of Florida's poll tax last January. The tax was only $1, but, like the tax in the eight other states which still have poll taxes (all southern states), the tax is cumulative. There are hundreds of thousands in the south to whom the payment of $3, $4 or $5 for the privilege of voting is a luxury they cannot afford.

In both Georgia, where the new deal hopes to unseat Senator George, and South Carolina, where Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith were restored to private life, poll taxes are imposed. In Georgia, with almost 3,000,000 people, less than 300,000 votes were cast in the last presidential election; in South Carolina, with 1,738,000 people, only 115,000 votes were polled.

Significant is the fact that the states with poll taxes have the poorest labor and social legislation; the poor are often deprived by the tax of their power to influence legislation. The other states which have poll taxes are Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The south might not be so reactionary if by the repeal of poll taxes there was more power for the masses, less for the big planters.—*New York Post.*

West Palm Beach, Fla. Post
June 22, 1938

APPLAUDING VOTE TAX

County commissioners of Florida in session at Pensacola are reported as having applauded suggestions for restoration of a tax on the vote of Florida citizens.

Just a brief time ago the people of Florida decided that the original tax of one dollar on the vote was an unjust and an unfair tax, and that the right to vote should be a free one. They voted to abolish this vote tax, and it stands abolished.

There was no abolishment of the dollar poll tax, however. It still stands, and is due from each citizen annually.

That the restoration of a tax on the vote will keep government clean, as asserted by one commissioner, deserves some attention. In some respects, at least, the recent elections in Florida were cleaner than ever before—nobody paid anybody else's poll tax, or vote tax.

While the payment of the old poll tax by anybody other than the citizen himself was forbidden under election laws, everybody knows that it was a chief source of political corruption, and that the vote tax was paid contrary to the law. This corruption, at least, was absent in the recent elections.

That restoration of the vote tax will operate to keep the negro vote from becoming a deciding factor in elections, as also was asserted, likewise deserves attention; for it is not recorded that either white or negro voters appeared in unusual numbers when the vote tax was not in effect. In Palm Beach County in the first May primary there were some 8,000 qualified citizens who did not vote, with about 13,000 out of the 21,000 qualified who did vote in the second primary. And the ratio of white and negro votes to each other was about the same as in other years.

The evidence is brief, but so far it indicates a lack of corruption with no sign that the negro vote assumed a heavier proportion than there was a tax on the vote.

The poll tax still stands, and if it is needed for the schools it should be collected and the revenue so applied.

Before abolishing its vote tax, Florida was one of a few States that retained such a tax. No State that ever got rid of this un-American tax ever has returned to it. It smacks of the old property-owning qualification on the vote that was kicked out in our earlier States thru the activities of such patriots as Thomas Jefferson, who felt that every citizen should have the privilege of voting whether a millionaire of a pauper.

With this iniquitous tax so lately abolished, it can not help but be astonishing to understand that the county commissioners of the State applaud suggestions for restoring it.

It will not, of course, be restored.

RACE IGNORES KLAN WARNING, GOES TO POLLS

Kluxers Toured Negro District . . . Throwing Out Notes To Stay From Polls Or Take Consequences— Race Casts Votes Without Challenge.

STARKE, Fla., Sept. 22—(Special)—Disregarding a warning demonstration Monday night by a group of men wearing the regalia and robes of the Ku Klux Klan, that the municipal election to be held on the day following was to be exclusively for "white folks" with "No Negroes Allowed," a number of Negro citizens who are qualified electors cast their ballots at their regular polling places Tuesday, without challenge.

The Ku Klux demonstration consisted of a tour of the residential sections by three or four cars in which white-robed figures were sitting. There was no speech-making nor verbal warning of any kind, but notes were broadcast signed 'K. K. K." and bearing the Klan seal, stating the forthcoming election was for "white folks" only, and that all Negroes who did not so regard it would "have to take the consequences."

Several of these notes are in the hands of authorities who are, it is understood, holding them for use in the event any attempt is made to crry out the "consequences" threat.

Anderson, S. C., Mail
September 14, 1938

Negroes Vote In Face Of Threats

STARKE, Fla., Sept. 14—(AP)—A Ku Klux Klan demonstration failed to prevent several negroes from voting in Starke's municipal election yesterday.

Men dressed in Klan regalia visited the negro section Monday night, burned two crosses and left notes warning the negroes to "stay out of Bradford county politics or take the consequence."

Unofficial returns showed Dr. W. E. Middleton defeated N. D. Wainwright, Jr., for mayor, 351 votes to 281.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
September 16, 1938

NEGROES VOTE DESPITE KLAN

STARKE — (AP) — Clerks said several negroes voted yesterday in Starke's municipal election despite a demonstration by men dressed in Ku Klux Klan regalia.

Several automobiles filled with white-robed men circled the negro section late Monday night. The men left behind several notes saying "All negroes take warning. Stay out of Bradford county politics or take the consequences. This is a white election." The warnings bore the ink-drawn K's and the Klan seal.

Political – 1938

Suffrage

General

FDR Wants All to Vote

President Makes Dixie Sore by Hinting Poll Tax Death

BEAUMONT, Texas (ANP.) — The Democratic State Convention last week endorsed Vice-President Garner, native Texan, for the 1940 Presidential nomination and went on record as opposed to President Roosevelt's recent proposal that the poll tax, which bars large numbers of Southern colored and poor white citizens from voting, be abolished.

Opponents of President Roosevelt's proposal asserted that if the tax were eliminated, the colored people would gain control in those sections where they constitute a majority.

F. D. Behind Fight

The president threw his influence behind the fight to repeal State poll taxes during a talk with reporters at his Hyde Park estate in New York.

F. D. Behind Fight

He pointed out that the State poll taxes prevented a considerable percentage of the population from exercising their democratic rights. Previously, he had written to Brook Hays, Arkansas national committeeman, to endorse a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the Arkansas poll tax.

Eight States—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—have poll taxes as prerequisites to voting. The taxes range from $1 to $3 a year.

Test Out Whites

The president, in citing Virginia as an example, confined his remarks to the disfranchisement of white Virginians, but many observers interpreted this merely to mean that Mr. Roosevelt was intent upon educating Southern white workers and farmers in the matter of their democratic rights before tackling the far more tickish question of the violations of the democratic rights of the colored people.

As reported, last week, many of the President's advisers interpreted the recent victory of Senator Ellison (Cotton Ed) Smith, anti-New Dealer, in the South Carolina primaries as a direct result of the disfranchisement of large bodies of colored and poor whites in that State. They contend that the results would have been diffirent had these groups access to the polls.

The President's poll tax elimination proposal was bitterly assailed by Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, Senator Bailey of North Carolina and other anti-New Deal Southern Democrats. Bailey demanded that the South be left alone "to solve its economic, social and racial problems in the Southern way."

Texas New Dealers saw in the endorsement of Garner for Democratic Presidential candidate in 1940 an attempt to scuttle the progressive social measures of the New Deal.

ABOLITION OF THE POLL TAX

The statement coming from President Roosevelt, in which the chief executive of the nation expressed himself as being in favor of the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, is in keeping with the progressive ideas of the New Deal policy. If the President will push this idea of his to the extent that the poll tax in the South will no longer be a requirement for voting, such an act would go down in history as the master stroke of the present administration to help the "underprivileged" to whom the President has made previous reference.

Of course there will be opposition on the part of the eight southern states which have the poll tax qualifications and who will vigorously oppose any suggestion of a change. They will brand such a move as "meddling" with state rights and the demagogic politicians will use such a statement for years to come to entrench themselves in public office. To make his statement as inoffensive as possible to the South, the President made haste to say that his proposal had "nothing to do with Negro voting" because that situation was a separate question. In making this explanation we think the President acted wisely, but it is our opinion that the people of the South will look upon this statement with suspicion and view it with the fear that it will give the vote to millions of Negroes who are now disfranchised because of the poll tax.

The thing we think Mr. Roosevelt can and should do despite any opposition on the part of the South, is to enforce the Constitution of the United States in reference to the enfranchisement of citizens as is encouched in the Fifteenth Amendment. In this amendment we find the following: **"The right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."** The amendment does not provide that it be enforced by appropriate legislation, so therefore it is the plain duty of the President of the United States as chief executive of the nation and commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to enforce this amendment with respect to citizens voting. And while this amendment does not confer upon anyone the right to vote, yet it is very specific in its statement that no one should be denied the right to vote because of race or color. Hence, any law by any state which disfranchises the Negro, directly or indirectly, on account of his race is a plain violation of the Constitution of the United States.

As will be remembered, several years ago many of the southern states had a constitutional amendment which provided that no one would be eligible to vote who had not voted prior to 1865 or whose grandfather had not voted prior to 1865. That was an amendment aimed solely at Negroes and was therefore declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. In later years some of the southern states have denied the Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections, and everybody knows that inasmuch as nomination is tantamount to election in most of these southern states, such a law is also in violation of the Constitution of the United States, any technicalities thereto notwithstanding.

Of course, as a matter of regular procedure, the proofgia and others of that Negroes are denied the right to participate in thethat the Democ Democratic primaries must be sustained by the Unitedfully agree. W States Supreme Court, and here again we are confrontedfilibustered the almost directly with the actions of the President. Mr.and when we fo Roosevelt has advocated for some time a Supreme Courtprogressive legis made up of liberal minded judges. It may be that he wasple, then we, th thinking about just such issues as the disfranchisement oiing." We believ voters in the South, which he assumed would come beforeefforts to purge the Supreme Court during his administration. We also knowthat any defeats that he has expressed the hope for a Supreme Court thatthe recent primary was liberal on social issues as they affect the people of thehe succeed in ge country today. Consequently, we have every reason to be-people in the So lieve that if the question of the disfranchisement of Negroesor by direct act should come before the present United States Supremeservice of which Court, that issue would be met with boldness and courage much different from the "dodging" which the Supreme Court has done in the past.

Mr. Roosevelt, no doubt, sees and understands that had the Negroes and poor whites been able to vote in South Carolina, such old time reactionaries as "Cotton Ed" Smith would have been left at home in the November election. The same may be said of Tydings of Maryland, George of Geor-

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Political – 1938
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'Disfranchisement May Cost Southern States Their Prestige In Democratic National Conventions'—Michelet

Courier 10-1-38

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29—Disfranchisement may cost Southern States their strength and prestige in future Democratic national conventions, a statement issued by Simon Michelet, president of the National Get-Out-the-Vote Club infers.

Analyzing the poll-tax revolt, in which President Roosevelt intervened as an advocate of repeal of poll-tax laws which operate to disfranchise colored persons and poor whites in the South, Mr. Michelet pointed out that the apportionment of delegates in the 1940 Democratic national convention may be based on the number of votes cast in each State in the last Presidential election.

"The combined vote of the present seven poll-taxed States for President Roosevelt in 1936," he stated, "was only 2,457,000, or less than 50 per cent of the President's 27,751,000. It is plain that, on this as the basis of representation in future Democratic national conventions, the so-called 'Solid South' would quickly pass into partial eclipse as a power in the Democratic party."

Mr. Michelet pointed out that Texas had 3,220,880 citizens of voting age in 1930, but that even on popular amendments submitted to referenda only about 3.4 per cent of the maximum potential electorate voted. In 1936, Texas gave Roosevelt 734,485 votes; Landon, 10,874, and all other candidates, 1,185, making a total vote of [illegible],444.

California with a similar population cast 1,766,836 votes for Roosevelt in 1936, 836,431 for Landon, and 35,119 for all other candidates, a total of 2,638,386.

Pointing out that the poll-tax group had declined from 11 States in 1920 to seven at present through withdrawal, first of North Carolina, then Louisiana, and last year, Florida and Arkansas, Mr. Michelet said:

"In the Presidential election of 1936, the poll-tax group included nine States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. With a combined electorate of 12,472,245 citizens 21 years of age or older, these nine poll-taxed States in 1936 cast only 3,005,177 votes for all candidates for President and Vice President.

"They polled only 24 per cent of their potential electorate—the lowest voting record on the civilized globe—as compared with a 72 per cent vote as the average of 39 States free from poll-tax ban.

"New York State alone in 1936 cast 3,293,000 votes for Roosevelt, or nearly a million votes more than the combined States of the poll-tax group.

"Illinois in 1936 polled 2,283,000 votes for Roosevelt or as large a Democratic vote as the seven remaining poll-tax States after the revolt of Arkansas and Florida.

"With the vote polled in 1936 as the basis for party representative, even the former 'rock-ribbed Republican' State of Pennsylvania, which gave the President a popular vote of 2,353,788 would count for more in Democratic councils, than all of the present poll-taxed South.

"In the census of 1930, Virginia had 1,300,893 citizens of voting age against 900,987 in West Virginia, which has no poll tax. In 1936, Virginia polled on 334,590 Presidential votes as compared with 829,945 for West Virginia. In other words, poll-taxed Virginia admitted only 25.7 per cent of its potential electorate to vote, while West Virginia, poll-tax free, led the States in polling over 90 per cent of its electorate."

Richmond, Va News-Leader
October 19, 1938

Parties Seek Negro Vote

Both Groups Make Bid for Election Support

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19.—(AP)—The parboiled words being swapped over the Negro vote in Pennsylvania testify to the bids that both major parties are making for the support of Negroes in the November election.

Not only in Pennsylvania, but in Illinois, New York, Michigan and several other Northern States both Democrats and Republicans are telling the Negroes what they have done for the race.

In Illinois, the Democrats have the only Negro member of Congress—Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago. He took the seat from a Republican Negro, Oscar DePriest, four years ago. William L. Dawson, another Republican Negro, is running against Mitchell this fall.

The Republicans are making a strong drive in several Northern States to recapture the Negro vote which has escaped from them in the last six years. They had several Negroes trying for the Republican nomination for Congressional seats in the primaries. Besides Dawson, two of them were nominated in Detroit and Philadelphia.

In other sections, the maneuvering for votes may be less apparent, but nonetheless real. Negroes are invited to take prominent parts in political meetings. Democratic speakers tell what the administration has done for Negroes in improving their living conditions and educational facilities. Republican speakers tell what they would do if they had a chance

Gastonia, N. C. Gazette
October 19, 1938

Battle Hard For The Negro Vote

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One of the speakers who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey for the governorship of New York at the Republican state convention was a Negro. Many Negroes attended both the Republican and Democratic conventions in New York as delegates.

In perhaps no other state, however, will the Negro vote play such an important part in November as in Pennsylvania. Estimates place the total Negro vote in that state at 177,000. Even with a large share of these votes, the Democrats polled 147,000 fewer votes than did the Republicans in the primaries last spring.

Robert L. Vann, Negro Democratic leader in Pittsburgh, is advocating the election of Judge Arthur James, Republican candidate for governor. Senator Guffey promptly accused Vann, who has been his supporter, of deserting the Democratic party.

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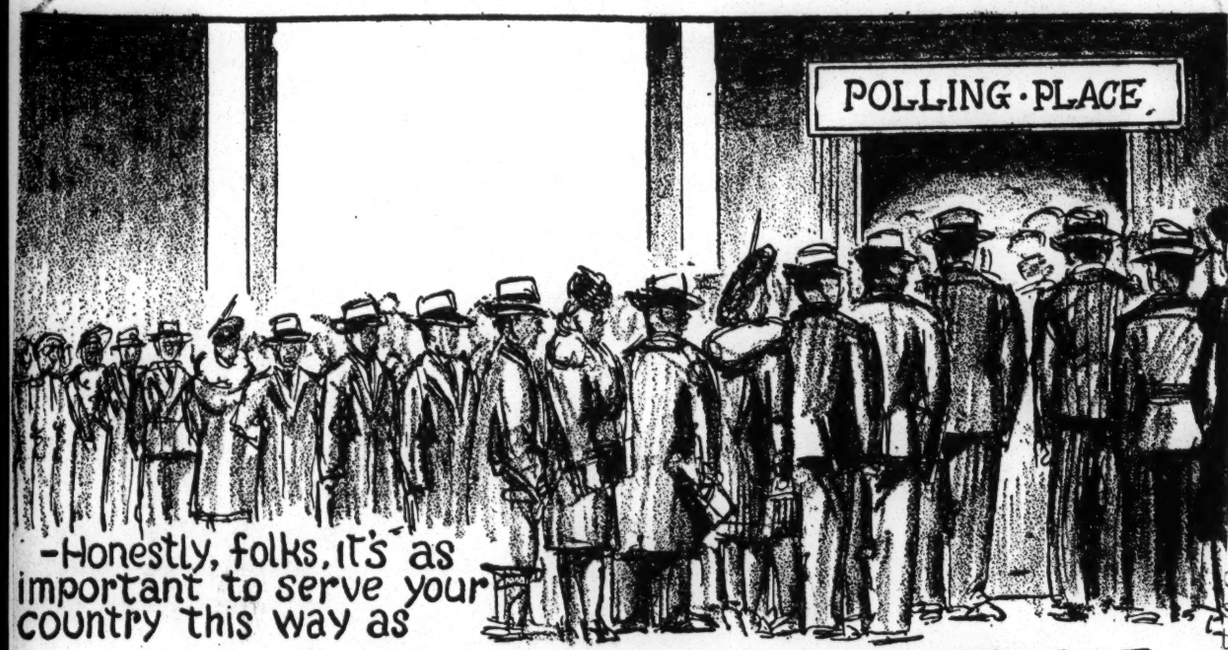
IT'S STILL TIME TO REGISTER



—Honestly, folks, it's as important to serve your country this way as

—This way!

10-15-38

South May Pay for Vote Bar

Disfranchisement May Cost Loss of Prestige in Future Democratic Conventions

WASHINGTON

Disfranchisement may cost Southern States their strength and prestige in future Democratic national conventions, a statement issued by Simon Michelet, president of the National Get-Out-the-Vote Club, infers.

Analyzing the poll-tax revolt, in which President Roosevelt intervened as an advocate of repeal of poll-tax laws, Mr. Michelet pointed out that the appointment of delegates in the 1940 Democratic national convention may be based on the number of votes cast in each State in the last Presidential election.

Fewer Votes

"The combined vote of the present seven poll-taxed States for President Roosevelt in 1936," he stated, "was only 2,457,000, or less than 10 per cent of the President's 27,751,000," he said.

"It is plain that on this as the basis of representation in future Democratic national conventions, the so-called 'Solid South' would quickly pass into partial eclipse as a power in the Democratic party," he added.

Mr. Michelet pointed out that Texas had 3,220,880 citizens of voting age in 1930, but that even on popular amendments submitted to referenda, only about 3.4 per cent of the maximum potential electorate voted.

In 1936, Texas gave Roosevelt 734,485 votes; Landon, 103,874, and all other candidates, 5,085, making a total vote of 843,444.

More California Votes

California with a similar population cast 1,766,836 votes for Roosevelt in 1936; 836,431 for Landon, and 35,119 for all other candidates, a total of 2,638,386.

Pointing out that the poll-tax group had declined from eleven States in 1920 to seven at present through withdrawal, first of North Carolina, then Louisiana, and last year, Florida, and Arkansas, Mr. Michelet said:

"In the Presidential election of 1936, the poll-tax group included nine States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

"With a combined electorate of 12,472,245 citizens 21 years of age or older, these nine poll-taxed States in 1936 cast only 3,005,177 votes for all candidates for President and Vice-President.

Lowest Voting Record

"They polled only 24 per cent of their potential electorate—the lowest voting record on the civilized globe—as compared with a 72 per cent vote as the average of thirty-nine States free from poll-tax ban.

"New York State alone in 1936 cast 3,293,000 votes for Roosevelt, or nearly a million votes more than the combined States of the poll-tax group.

"Illinois in 1936 polled 2,283,000 votes for Roosevelt, or as large a Democratic vote as the seven remaining poll-tax States after the revolt of Arkansas and Florida.

"With the vote polled in 1936 as the basis for party representative, even the former 'rock-ribbed Republican' State of Pennsylvania, which gave the President a popular vote of 2,353,788 would count for more in Democratic councils, than all of the present poll-taxed South.

Va. and W. Va.

"In the census of 1930, Virginia had 1,300,893 citizens of voting age against 900,987 in West Virginia, which has no poll tax.

"In 1936, Virginia polled only 334,590 Presidential votes as compared with 829,945 for West Virginia.

"In other words, poll-taxed Virginia admitted only 25.7 per cent of its potential electorate to vote, while West Virginia, poll-tax free, led the States in polling over 90 per cent of its electorate."

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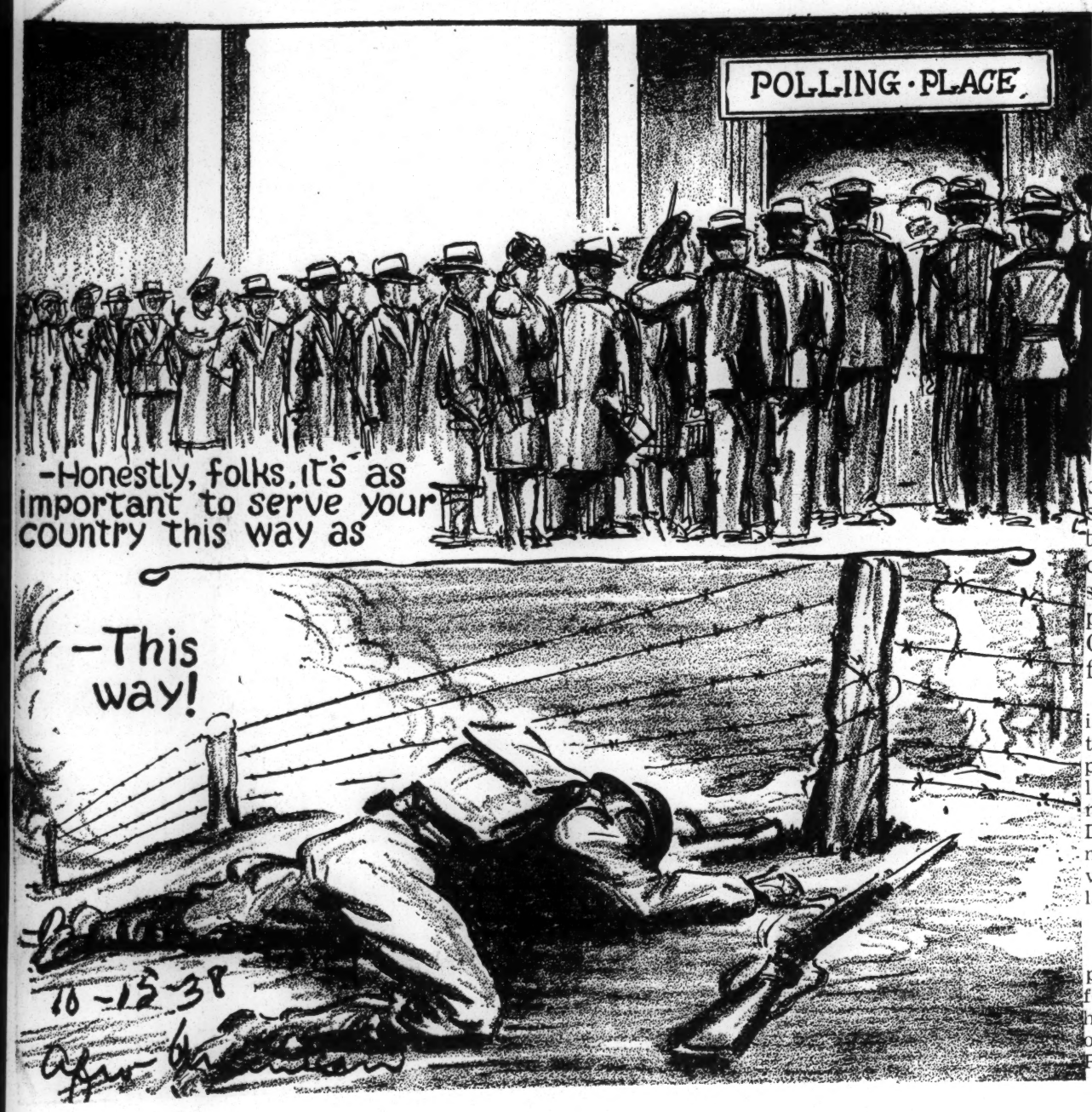

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Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
October 23, 1938

Will Democratic Party Confer Suffrage On Negro Is Question Asked By Sullivan

Noted Politcal Writer Sees Great Significance in Recent Actions By Northern and Eastern Democrats Aided By Present Administration

Under a September 6, 1938 date line the following letter by Mark Sullivan, noted political writer, appeared in the papers subscribing to his column which is supplied by The New York Herald-Tribune. The article is re-printed by permission of The Herald-Tribune.

Wash.—In the Georgia Democratic primary the issue on the surface has been whether Senator George should de defeated because President Roosevelt wants him defeated. But beneath that, strong in the minds of many voters, has been the issue of states' rights. And in Georgia, as in all the South, states' rights means mainly one right, the right to control elections.

In application, the rincipal use the South has for the right to control elections is to exclude, practically or wholly, Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries. In the South, the Democratic primary is the actual election—whoever wins the primary gets the office. By preventing the Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary, the South achieves what is formally proclaimed on some southern official Democratic ballots as "white supremacy."

Now, somewhat vaguely as yet, the South feels that "white supremacy," and the system by which it is maintained is threatened. The South feels that somewhere in the background of Mr. Roosevelt's intervention in southern primaries, or as an aftermath from it, may be a result which will bring about Negro voting in southern primaries as generally as in northern ones.

This thought has figured in the Georgia primary. It figured strongly in the South Carolina primary last August. In the South Carolina campaign, as described by Mr. Turner Catledge in the New York Times: "Fully half of Senator Smith's final radio speech was on the "white supremacy" issue. In one county a group started over the week-end to revive Gen. Wade Hampton's old "red shirts' to fight again any outside interference with South Carolina's affairs and to protect white supremacy."

Shall Negroes Vote As Generally In South As In North?

There is no definite relation between President Roosevelt's intervention in two southern primaries and negro participation in southern primaries. Nevertheless, the southern feeling is supported by facts. The Democratic Party as a whole, in the nation including the South, is face to face with decision on the question whether Negroes shall vote in the South as generally as in the North. This decision is more or less forced on the party as a result of events during the past six years. The South is now obliged to see that what the Republican Party vainly promised to Negroes for 70 years, the Democratic Party is now, apparently, about to do.

For six years, Mr. Roosevelt as head of the Democratic Party, Mr. Farley as the next head, and other leaders who dominate the national party organization, have been in a position of carrying water on both shoulders with respect to Negro voting. In the North they sought and got the Negro vote away from the Republicans. The vote is extremely valuable to the Democrats, for it is the balance of power in several northern states. At the same time, the alliance of the northern wing of the Democrats with the Negro vote was concealed from the southern part of the party. In the 1936 Presidential election the Democrats staged a Negro mass-meeting in New York. From an account by Dr. Stanley High, who was associated with the Roosevelt campaign, I quote a sentence—the point is in the closing words: "A half hour of the high spot of the New York meeting was broadcast over a coast-to-coast radio network, with all southern states carefully omitted from the hook-up."

While the practical politicians of the Democratic Party quietly annexed the northern Negro vote, the other wing of the New Deal, the idealists, set about with equal quietness to get the southern Negro vote. One method is a movement to get rid of the poll-tax which in nine southern states works to limit the voting not only of Negroes but of whites of low economic status. An account of this New Deal effort is in a well-informed article in the Washington Post by Mr. Sydney Olson:

Quiet Drive To End The Poll-Tax

"The quietest of all New Deal movements, the one least traceable to Washington, and yet the one that carries most implications in the future, is unquestionably . . . the present South-wide drive to repeal the poll-tax . . . The battle is secret now. But those days of secrecy and of quiet are numbered. For when the full implications are revealed, when the southerners learn, as they inevitably must, that they even face the possibility of Negro legislatures, as in the gall-and-wormwood carpetbagging days, then a struggle will begin which may be as important in history as Runnymede, Gettysburg or the fateful ten days in October in the Russian revolution."

The purpose of the New Dealers is to tap a wire of several million potential voters, hitherto deterred from voting, every one of whom in 1940, if they vote at all, will vote for the New Deal and for Mr. Roosevelt if he is a candidate.

It would be one of the strangest episodes in history if the thing for which in part the Republican North fought a civil war, which the Republicans tried to accomplish by three amendments to the Constitution, which they tried to carry out by ten years of carpet-bag government in the South, which they tried to enforce by presence of federal troops at the polls—if this attempt in which the Republican failed should now be carried to fulfilment by the Democratic Party, or at least in the name of the Democratic Party, which for 70 years successfully resisted the attempt.

Sumter, S. C., Daily Item
October 19, 1938

Both Parties After Heavy Negro Vote

Republicans Making Strong Drive in Northern States to Recapture Lost Ground

Washington, Oct. 19.—(AP)—The parboiled words being swapped over the negro vote in Pennsylvania testify to the bids that both major parties are making for the support of negroes in the November election.

Not only in Pennsylvania, but in Illinois, New York, Michigan and several other norhtern states both Democrats and Republicans are telling the negroes what they have done for the race.

In Illinois, the Democrats have the only negro member of congress—Rep Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago. He took the seat from a Republican negro, Oscar DePriest, four years ago. William L. Dawson, another Republican negro, is running against Mitchell this fall.

The Republicans are making a strong drive in several northern states to recapture the negro vote which has escaped from them in the last six years. They had several negroes trying for the Repubcan nomination for congressional seats in the primaries. Besides Dawson, two of them were nominated in Detroit and Philadelphia.

Other sections, the maneuvering for votes may be less apparent, but nonetheless real. Negroes are invited to take prominent parts in political meetings.

One of the speakers who seconded the nomination of Thomas E. Dewey for the governorship of New York at the Republican state convention was a negro. Many negroes attended both the Republican and Democratic conventions in New York as delegates.

In perhaps no other state, however, will the negro vote play such an important part in November as in Pennsylvania. Estimates place the total negro vote in that state at 177,000. Even with a large share of these votes, the Democrats polled 147,000 fewer votes than did the Republicans in the primaries last spring.

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Farm Ballot is a Ballot

The Negro in the South has the ballot! Hallelujah! No repeal of disfranchisement has taken place. No announcement of any change of public policy in the states which have used subterfuges to evade the 15th amendment. Nonetheless the Negro has the ballot! Before the cotton quota goes into effect for 1938, the farmers will vote on it! not white farmers, but all farmers, black as well as white!

Cotton is the basic crop of the South. Since business sets the course for all community action, the Negro through his vote for the quota of cotton and tobacco which is to be raised, becomes a factor in business life. From this point it is only a step to participating in political decisions.

Any farmer who grew cotton, flue-cured tobacco, or dark tobacco in 1937 is eligible to vote in the referenda to be held March 12. The ballot will be secret—no one is entitled to know how an individual farmer votes. All Negro farmers who grew cotton, flue-cured or dark tobacco will find ballot boxes placed in their cotton or tobacco growing community.

Disfranchisement, like other injustices, is not being overcome by direct attack. But it will not long survive the cooperation which will grow up between the blacks and the whites in a community, when they act together in farm matters.

The value of the administration's farm program has not been admitted universally. Some parts of the country definitely object to it. But even if the objections are greater than the advantages, Negroes will find compensation when they have a say in what the community shall plant, and through that enter into every decision it makes. The pattern for this quota voting has been set. In Atlanta and other cities, Negroes have voted in bond elections. As soon as the novelty wears off, and their part in farm decisions is accepted, disfranchisement will fall into disuse.

Only one impediment stands in the way of this great reform—that is the possibility that the Negro farmer will not avail himself of his right to vote on the cotton and tobacco quotas. The whites who have insisted upon disfranchisement will see the threat to their rule which is in blacks casting their farmer votes.

But cast them they must! The whole purpose of the farm act being to regulate production, with the federal government beneficently entering into the decisions, this is one time when Negroes have a big brother in Washington to help them. Local sentiment can keep them from voting for the sheriff, but the federal government will not let them be kept from voting for cotton and tobacco.

We are not fearful that Negroes will refrain from voting on these farm quotas. We almost risk the prophecy that there will be little effort made to stop them. In spite of all instances of friction, the two races have gotten far enough along in understanding to realize that in money matters they go up or down together.

SOUTHERN CITIZENS BEGIN CAMPAIGN FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE

N. A. A. C. P. Backs Move of Negroes To Fight For Franchise; Anti-Lynch Bill Defeat Spurs Action

NEW YORK. — The keen interest of Negroes in politics, sharpened still more by the long filibuster against the federal anti-lynching bill, is being reflected in a wide campaign through out the South for the right to vote.

The true lesson of the anti-lynching bill, namely, that citizens must have the right to vote if they expect to have their interests represented and protected, was not lost on Negro citizens and they have set out promptly to secure the franchise which is now being denied them through one method or another.

Southern Negroes, far from being frightened by the anti-lynching filibuster, are laying plans, mostly in the open, to register and vote in the spring and fall primaries.

N.A.A.C.P. Behind Move

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced here that it stands ready to make available the benefit of its experience and give legal advice in the fights against the white primary system. Clearcut cases of denial of the right to register and vote will be fought out in the federal courts if the ground work is carefully laid by the parties concerned.

The Association cited its victory in Wilkesboro, N. C., following the 1934 congressional election in that state. A white registrar who had refused to register 14 Negro citizens, 11 of whom were college graduates, on the ground that they had not fulfilled the educational requirements of the North Carolina law, was tried in the federal court, found guilty, fined $300 and given a suspended sentence of three years. This is the type of legal action the N. A. A. C. P. will undertake in cases where the evidence warrents action.

Educational Program

In addition, the Association is carrying on an educational campaign urging the use of ballot and pointing out that communities should carry on intensive courses in citizenship and organize and carry out careful campaigns to secure the registration of every qualified voter.

"The anti-lynching fight," said an N. A. A. C. P., statement, "made clear that if we are to rid the country of lynching, secure better schools, and assist other groups in the passage of liberal laws improving the condition of factory workers and farmers, we must have the ballot. This is the first one great task before the race and the N. A. A. C. P. stands ready to use its resources and machinery in the campaign."

Confirmation of the new drive for the vote in the South is contained in the March 23 issue of the New Republic in an article entitled "The Solid South Cracks" by Lee Coller. Mr. Coller declares that a wedge has been driven into heretofore solid southern politics and that this wedge "represents the desires of a large majority of southerners, Negro and white." He asserts that in Alabama Negroes have organized Right-to-Vote clubs and that they supported Lister Hill, successful candidate for the Senate against Negro-hating Tom Heflin.

The Negro Voter A Factor

Dealing with the Negro voter today is becoming a more serious matter with those who depend upon that vote than was the case some years ago. That is one sign of progress. Two things are very apparent. One is that the voter himself is coming to a larger appreciation of just what a factor he is in securing and maintaining the kind of government under which he desires to live. The other is that those who depend upon the Negro voters are coming to see how futile some of the old methods of securing that vote are becoming. The Negro voter is more than a mere incident. And securing votes among our people is becoming more than a mere rummage sale on election day. With the increase of intelligence regarding governmental affairs and how a sound and stable government is a growth of a sense of obligation, which to the man of color, as to other citizens, is symbolized by the ballot. So today, more than ever, the Negro looks upon the ballot, not as something to be auctioned off on election day to the highest bidder, but as a symbol of obligation which he owes to himself, his family, his community, and all phases of governmental life which his vote is expected to effect.

The Negro also sees the ballot as a symbol of power. Many experiences

and disappointments have led him to see that the vote registers a power that can be made effective. And in many cases it is the only power that can be brought to bear upon vexing situations that will command any serious attention and effort on the part of those in office. Indignation meetings, resolutions, either of appreciation or protest, may have some value. But there are many office holders in municipal, county and state government who pay no attention to these things. Nothing will reach them, and nothing will compel attention from them and respect from them but a voter who has sense enough and self-respect enough to go to the polls on election day and without the influence of flattery, oratory, or bribery, cast his vote as it ought to be cast. As long as we allow any man or set of men to regard our votes as so much candy or chewing gum to be purchased on election day with a few dimes we will be the victims of inefficient, discriminating, oppressive governmental conduct of unscrupulous office holders. It is heartening to see the growing sense of appreciation of the value and power of the ballot among our people. They are learning how to play politics on the shrewd politicians. And some of the stupid office seekers whose habit is to treat our people just any way, and then send out a few curbstone politicians on election day to buy up the votes will come in for some very shocking surprises. On the morning after the election they may be both poorer and wiser. They may be found without their money and without the jobs they seek by that method.

This new sense of duty and appreciation for the sacredness and power of the ballot is coming to the people through agencies that are very, very near to them and upon which they depend, namely: the pulpit and the press. Negro people are being influenced today more through the pulpit and the press than through any other agencies that reach them. We have new conditions. And these new conditions are to be met with new methods and a new sense of obligation. We have what is called a New Deal. And that New Deal is ramifying all of our thinking and acting. That calls for new types of leadership, new methods of dealing with our problems, new ways of reaching and influencing people. All of this goes to show that the Negro voter today is a factor.

WHY DON'T SOUTHERN PEOPLE VOTE?

For some reason, largely attributable, in all probability, to the one-party system of politics, southern people, when compared with people of other sections, do not go to the polls on election day to exercise their right of franchise. It cannot well be maintained there is a lack of interest in politics for it is doubtful if there is more general excitement at the hustings anywhere than in the south. But the people, in large numbers, simply won't vote.

Some observers trace this absence from the polls to the imposition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting. Eight southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—require payments ranging from $1 to $2 annually. To vote in Virginia, receipts for the three preceding years are required; in Alabama, the voter may be forced to produce receipts for every year since attaining majority, while in Arkansas, the tax is doubled if not paid when due. All these requirements tend, of course, to make registering and voting more difficult.

Compare these eight southern poll tax-paying states with non-poll tax-paying states of approximately the same population. In the 1936 elections, the former, with a population of 22,000,000, polled 2,675,000 votes—approximately 12 per cent; the latter, with the same population, polled 9,840,000 votes — approximately 44 1-2 per cent. In the same election, as a single instance of comparison, South Carolina polled 115,000 votes against West Virginia's 829,000, both states having approximately the same total population.

In the present Georgia primaries, it is estimated only 295,000 are eligible to vote out of a possible voting population approximating 1,750,000. This will mean 250,000 votes at the maximum, or about 14 per cent. In New Jersey in the 1936 elections, 64 per cent of the population voted; in Illinois, 48 per cent; in Iowa 48 per cent, and in 20 other states outside the south, over 40 per cent of the total population cast ballots.

In all probability, assessment of the poll tax keeps many potential voters from registering. In Florida, where imposition of the tax has lately been waived, the vote was considerably increased in a recent primary. Regardless of the cause, however, it cannot be denied that southern people, the people of Georgia, express their feelings more emphatically in the matter of politics in public and private debate than at the ballot box on election day. Uncounted thousands, who are well able to pay the poll tax, are content to "let George do it," then spend the next two years abusing the administration, which they helped into office by absenting themselves from the polls

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Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 13, 1938

A New Poll Tax Scheme

HOW much money, asks The Alabama Journal, would be required to pay up all the back poll taxes in Alabama and make every eligible man and woman entitled to cast a ballot?

The Montgomery paper is prompted to that question by a recent statement in the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen to the effect that President Roosevelt has been giving consideration to the use of relief money for paying back poll taxes in order that a vast number of citizens may not remain disfranchised. The columnists state that the president considers it an unhealthy situation to the national body politic to have several million voters unable to exercise voting privileges, particularly if it be because of inability to raise the money to pay the taxes.

"Back poll taxes," observes The Alabama Journal, "are becoming a serious problem both in this and other states where poll taxes are required. It is all very well to say that any man who thinks enough of his franchise would have raised the $1.50 a year necessary and should have kept himself qualified as a voter. The fact remains, however, that thousands of worthy men and women have failed to keep up their payments and can take no part whatever in government. The suggestion that back payments be made with relief funds is something entirely new and can be expected to rouse a storm of protest, particularly among those who have made sacrifices to keep up their payments and would regard it as unfair for others to have such payments made with government funds. Anyway, this matter of franchise is a subject for state treatment, not for federal action."

We agree with The Journal. The scheme will stir up a storm of protest, and we hope to be among the first to join in it. To begin with, it is palpably unfair, as the Montgomery paper suggests, to those who have already made personal sacrifices in meeting their poll tax payments to see the federal government dole out money to those who have neglected their duty.

Then, too, it's hardly logical to have the federal government spend tax money for tax payments. If it provides poll tax money for people who won't pay their state poll tax, why shouldn't it also provide income tax money for people who find that they have spent so heavily that they can't pay their state income tax? Why not also provide a special fund to buy Bibbies for those who don't want to pay the sales tax in Alabama?

The possibilities are unlimited. Couldn't you use a little of Uncle Sam's money to buy a new auto tag next fall?

But most important of all, this poll tax business, as The Alabama Journal points out, is purely a state matter, and neither the president nor anybody else in Washington has any business in meddling with it. The assessment of a poll tax for the privilege of voting has been recognized as constitutional, and at that point the federal government ceases to have anything to do with it.

If the people of Alabama wish to alter the provisions of their poll tax law, they can do so—but you are familiar with the fact that such an amendment got nowhere in the last Legislature. If Alabama wishes to widen the franchise, as the president seems anxious to do, it can abolish the cumulative feature of the poll tax, or even the poll tax itself. The state, of course, wouldn't get the money which it would get from the relief funds if the president's scheme were put into effect, but what difference does that make? We've got to pay for that relief money in taxes anyway, so why shouldn't we just drop the poll tax entirely, and eliminate the handling charges which the politicians would find necessary to inflict upon us were the money to go all the way up to Washington, through the various agencies, and back down here again?

The truth of the whole matter, as you know and as we know, is that this is just another step toward the adoption of a uniform franchise law throughout the country, with the direct election of the president instead of his election by the states through the Electoral College as the motivating influence. In the 1936 presidential race, New York cast 5,500,000 votes; Alabama cast only 275,000—but we had 11 electoral votes to 47 for New York, a ratio based accurately on the population itself. New York thinks that it can wield a far greater influence, proportionately, in the presidential election if we have a direct vote on that office, and it can—unless Alabama is forced to widen its franchise until it has no more limitations than New York. With that, the negro will be the same factor in the government of Alabama that he was in the days of the Reconstruction—and we have a Democratic administration in Washington which is trying to bring that about! Now that the majority of American negroes have been lured into the party—Senator Byrnes of South Carolina even goes so far as to say that they are running it—our Democratic friends from the North are not satisfied with the way in which we conduct our election system, and they demand that it be changed.

The president may go ahead with his plans to pay those delinquent poll taxes in the states which require a poll tax. We don't know. Nothing would surprise us now—but he's not going to get by with it without a howl from those who not only have had to pay their own poll taxes through the years but will have to foot the bill for this payment on the part of their brethren as well.

Gastonia, N. C. Gazette
January 13, 1938

ANGLING FOR THE NEGRO VOTE

One of the most scathing denunciations of Northern Democrats we have read was that by Senator Jimmy Byrnes on the floor of the Senate the other day when he accused the Northern Democrats of selling out for the negro vote. He told them that they were supporting an unjust and sectional measure, one that threatened to disrupt the party.

In so many words he declared they were mere puppets of Walter White, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, who has told them how to vote on this measure. "If," said Senator Byrnes, "Walter White, who from day to day sits in the gallery, should consent to have this bill laid aside, its advocates would desert it as quickly as football players unscramble when the whistle of the referee is heard."

This is the same opinion held by Frank R. Kent well known political commentator, who says that the Democratic political leaders value the negro vote more highly than they do that of the labor or farming alliances, whom they are also cultivating. It is claimed that the stealing of the negro vote from the Republican party was the cleverest and slickest bit of political strategy in 70 years. There are 2,000,000 negro voters in the Northern states which have been won by relief money, patronage and careful cultivation. And they are determined to keep this vote. Says Mr. Kent:

"Having succeeded in capturing what undoubtedly is the greatest voting group in the country, heretofore solidly hostile, the hard-boiled politicians of the administration are determined to keep it. They agree that neither the President's labor alliances nor his agricultural subsidies would compensate for the loss of the negro vote. Hence when the anti-lynching bill made its biennial appearance, the administration swung in behind it—first because of the desire further to cement the New Deal grip on the Northern negroes; and second because failure to support it would create negro resentment and provide a Republican opportunity for recapture.

"So, the strange spectacle is presented of a Democratic administration trying to jam through a Democratic congress a measure which strikes at the very root of the Democratic doctrine of local self-government, and is aimed at the section in which the Democratic party is strongest and where the Democratic President had his most loyal support. The pretense that the bill will stop or diminish the inhuman practice of lynching, to which all decent men are opposed, is too thin to stand analysis. In one of the ablest speeches he has ever made, Senator Borah last week showed the hollowness of the whole proposal, indicted it as an insult to the South. And to his charges that it opened the door for complete Federal domination of the states there has been no effective answer. Nor will there be.

"Nor is there the slightest suggestion of recent lynchings, or of any outbreak of lawlessness, or threatened outbreak, or emergency of any kind that would justify the administration in creating a situation by which this vicious and unnecessary bill can clog indefinitely the legislative wheels, which seems the present prospect. The flaming oratorical attack of the President and his aides of the Jackson-Ickes type upon 'business abuses,' their excited insistence upon freeing the people from what they call 'industrial enslavement,' and their demand for speedy labor and agricultural legislation—all that would impress the ordinary man with the belief that nationally there were many things of more immediate importance than the anti-lynching bill. Yet, under White House pressure, supplemented by a militant negro lobby located at Washington and operating through administration leaders, and in close contact with all the machinery, everything is held up for action on it—and every suggestion for postponement is rejected. It is an exhibition of hypocrisy in politics rendered the more unpleasant because conducted beneath the sheltering folds of a humanitarian cloak."

Memphis, Tenn., Com'rcial Appeal
January 17, 1938

About Tax Reform?

The seems to be a sharp difference of opinion between a considerable group of United States senators and a still larger group of their colleagues over the so-called Anti-Lynching Bill.

The opposing group has taken the attitude that the bill must not pass; certainly not soon. They are encouraged by the disinclination of the Republican senators to agree to any form of cloture. Under the free debate rules of the Senate this may mean that opposing senators can talk on into the Spring and Summer.

Meanwhile, everybody from the President on down is agreed that some needful and wholesome readjustments are necessary in our tax structure. All of the leaders have announced their support of a revision which would eliminate many of the burdens now

General.

Political - 1938

Suffrage

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
January 13, 1938

A New Poll Tax Scheme

HOW much money, asks The Alabama Journal, would be required to pay up all the back poll taxes in Alabama and make every eligible man and woman entitled to cast a ballot?

The Montgomery paper is prompted to that question by a recent statement in the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen to the effect that President Roosevelt has been giving consideration to the use of relief money for paying back poll taxes in order that a vast number of citizens may not remain disfranchised. The columnists state that the president considers it an unhealthy situation to the national body politic to have several million voters unable to exercise voting privileges, particularly if it be because of inability to raise the money to pay the taxes.

"Back poll taxes," observes The Alabama Journal, "are becoming a serious problem both in this and other states where poll taxes are required. It is all very well to say that any man who thinks enough of his franchise would have raised the $1.50 a year necessary and should have kept himself qualified as a voter. The fact remains, however, that thousands of worthy men and women have failed to keep up their payments and can take no part whatever in government. The suggestion that back payments be made with relief funds is something entirely new and can be expected to rouse a storm of protest, particularly among those who have made sacrifices to keep up their payments and would regard it as unfair for others to have such payments made with government funds. Anyway, this matter of franchise is a subject for state treatment, not for federal action."

We agree with The Journal. The scheme will stir up a storm of protest, and we hope to be among the first to join in it. To begin with, it is palpably unfair, as the Montgomery paper suggests, to those who have already made personal sacrifices in meeting their poll tax payments to see the federal government dole out money to those who have neglected their duty.

Then, too, it's hardly logical to have the federal government spend tax money for tax payments. If it provides poll tax money for people who won't pay their state poll tax, why shouldn't it also provide income tax money for people who find that they have spent so heavily that they can't pay their state income tax? Why not also provide a special fund to buy Bibbies for those who don't want to pay the sales tax in Alabama?

The possibilities are unlimited. Couldn't you use a little of Uncle Sam's money to buy a new auto tag next fall?

But most important of all, this poll tax business, as The Alabama Journal points out, is purely a state matter, and neither the president nor anybody else in Washington has any business in meddling with it. The assessment of a poll tax for the privilege of voting has been recognized as constitutional, and at that point the federal government ceases to have anything to do with it.

If the people of Alabama wish to alter the provisions of their poll tax law, they can do so—but you are familiar with the fact that such an amendment got nowhere in the last Legislature. If Alabama wishes to widen the franchise, as the president seems anxious to do, it can abolish the cumulative feature of the poll tax, or even the poll tax itself. The state, of course, wouldn't get the money which it would get from the relief funds if the president's scheme were put into effect, but what difference does that make? We've got to pay for that relief money in taxes anyway, so why shouldn't we just drop the poll tax entirely, and eliminate the handling charges which the politicians would find necessary to inflict upon us were the money to go all the way up to Washington, through the various agencies, and back down here again?

The truth of the whole matter, as you know and as we know, is that this is just another step toward the adoption of a uniform franchise law throughout the country, with the direct election of the president instead of his election by the states through the Electoral College as the motivating influence. In the 1936 presidential race, New York cast 5,500,000 votes; Alabama cast only 275,000—but we had 11 electoral votes to 47 for New York, a ratio based accurately on the population itself. New York thinks that it can wield a far greater influence, proportionately, in the presidential election if we have a direct vote on that office, and it can—unless Alabama is forced to widen its franchise until it has no more limitations than New York. With that, the negro will be the same factor in the government of Alabama that he was in the days of the Reconstruction—and we have a Democratic administration in Washington which is trying to bring that about! Now that the majority of American negroes have been lured into the party—Senator Byrnes of South Carolina even goes so far as to say that they are running it—our Democratic friends from the North are not satisfied with the way in which we conduct our election system, and they demand that it be changed.

The president may go ahead with his plans to pay those delinquent poll taxes in the states which require a poll tax. We don't know. Nothing would surprise us now—but he's not going to get by with it without a howl from those who not only have had to pay their own poll taxes through the years but will have to foot the bill for this payment on the part of their brethren as well.

Gastonia, N. C., Gazette
January 13, 1938

ANGLING FOR THE NEGRO VOTE

One of the most scathing denunciations of Northern Democrats we have read was that by Senator Jimmy Byrnes on the floor of the Senate the other day when he accused the Northern Democrats of selling out for the negro vote. He told them that they were supporting an unjust and sectional measure, one that threatened to disrupt the party.

In so many words he declared they were mere puppets of Walter White, secretary of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, who has told them how to vote on this measure. "If," said Senator Byrnes, "Walter White, who from day to day sits in the gallery, should consent to have this bill laid aside, its advocates would desert it as quickly as football players unscramble when the whistle of the referee is heard."

This is the same opinion held by Frank R. Kent well known political commentator, who says that the Democratic political leaders value the negro vote more highly than they do that of the labor or farming alliances, whom they are also cultivating. It is claimed that the stealing of the negro vote from the Republican party was the cleverest and slickest bit of political strategy in 70 years. There are 2,000,000 negro voters in the Northern states which have been won by relief money, patronage and careful cultivation. And they are determined to keep this vote. Says Mr. Kent:

"Having succeeded in capturing what undoubtedly is the greatest voting group in the country, heretofore solidly hostile, the hard-boiled politicians of the administration are determined to keep it. They agree that neither the President's labor alliances nor his agricultural subsidies would compensate for the loss of the negro vote. Hence when the anti-lynching bill made its biennial appearance, the administration swung in behind it—first because of the desire further to cement the New Deal grip on the Northern negroes; and second because failure to support it would create negro resentment and provide a Republican opportunity for recapture.

"So, the strange spectacle is presented of a Democratic administration trying to jam through a Democratic congress a measure which strikes at the very root of the Democratic doctrine of local self-government, and is aimed at the section in which the Democratic party is strongest and where the Democratic President had his most loyal support. The pretense that the bill will stop or diminish the inhuman practice of lynching, to which all decent men are opposed, is too thin to stand analysis. In one of the ablest speeches he has ever made, Senator Borah last week showed the hollowness of the whole proposal, indicted and in close contact with administration leaders, it as an insult to the South. And to his charges everything is held up for action on it—and that it opened the door for complete Federal every suggestion for postponement is domination of the states there has been no effective answer. Nor will there be is an exhibition of hypocrisy in politics rendered the slightest suggestion of recent the more unpleasant because conducted beneath lynchings, or of any outbreak of lawlessness, or the sheltering folds of a humanitarian cloak." threatened outbreak, or emergency of any kind that would justify the administration in creating a situation by which this vicious and unnecessary bill can clog indefinitely the legislative wheels, which seems the present prospect. The flaming oratorical attack of the President and his aides of the Jackson-Ickes type upon 'business abuses,' their excited insistence upon freeing the people from what they call 'industrial enslavement,' and their demand for speedy labor and agricultural legislation—all that would impress the ordinary man with the belief that nationally there were many things of more immediate importance than the anti-lynching bill. Yet, under White House pressure, supplemented by a militant negro lobby located at Washington and operating through

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Meanwhile, everybody from the President on down is agreed that some needful and wholesome readjustments are necessary in our tax structure. All of the leaders have announced their support of a revision which would eliminate many of the burdens now

imposed by the undistributed profits tax.

In view of all these facts, why would it not be a good plan to take a few days off and correct these tax evils? It would have a salutary effect upon the country, and that is not to be sneezed at right now.

Roanoke, Va., World News
January 14, 1938

Two Thirds Disfranchised

Forty of the forty-eight States now make no charge for admission to voting booths. Arkansas will soon make the forty-first, leaving Virginia in a group of only seven States adhering to the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting.

Now observe the difference between poll-taxed Virginia and poll-tax-free West Virginia. In the census of 1930, Virginia had 1,300,893 citizens of voting age, as compared with 900,987 citizens of voting age in West Virginia. In the Presidential election of 1936, Virginia polled for all candidates 334,590 votes, as compared with 829,945 in West Virginia. In other words, poll-taxed Virginia admitted only 25.7 per cent of its potential electorate to the ballot box, while West Virginia, poll tax free, polled 94 per cent of its electorate.

Virginia, with its total of 334,590 votes in the last Presidential election, is bounded on the north by Maryland, poll tax free, which in the Presidential election polled 624,896 ballots.

Virginia is bounded on the South by poll-tax-free North Carolina, which in that election polled 839,462 votes.

Virginia is bounded on the west by poll-tax-free Kentucky, which in that election polled 926,199 votes.

Virginia is bounded on the west by poll-tax-free West Virginia, which in that election polled, from a much smaller population, 829,945 votes.

The three-year poll tax, payable six months before an election, provided under the Virginia Constitution, is said to be the most complicated voting law of any of the States. Originally designed to check the Negro vote in some Eastern Virginia counties, it now disfranchises many times as many white voters all over the State. Originally supported as a means of eliminating the unfit from the ballot box, it is now supported by the office holding clique, which enjoys its perquisites only so long as it can keep the electorate small enough to be readily controlled.

Virginia in the last census had a native white electorate 21 years of age and over of 947,207, which now approximates 1,000,000. If not a single colored citizen had cast a ballot in the 1936 election, and all of the 334,590 ballots had been cast by white people, the official returns would still show that two-thirds of the white vote of Virginia is in all practical effect disfranchised. And if those who control the courthouse groups have their way, they will continue to be disfranchised.

BILBO FEARS VOTE POWER OF NEGROES

Daily Worker

3-7-38

Southern Solon Tells Committee 'Racial Suicide' Coming

Atlanta Ga.

SEES 'DOOM'

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)— Sen. Theodore Bilbo, described by many whites as "the meanest man in Mississippi," is pursued by the fear that Negroes will eventually vote in his state and control the South, he told a joint session of the legislature Monday.

That is why, he said, he will offer an amendment to the $250,000,000 federal relief appropriation to provide an "adequate sum" for transporting members of the colored race to Liberia for colonization and thus minimize that danger. He said 2,000,000 are ready to migrate to the African republic and believes several million more would do likewise.

Saying he foresaw "racial suicide even in the South, if the Negro and white man continued to live side by side," he warned:

"The time will come, possibly not in your life or mine, when the Negro will be in control, even in the South, if we do not take drastic steps to present intermingling of the races.

The history of Egypt proves there can be no continued intermingling of the races or we may expect a race of mongrels, another brown race. Already there are 19 states that permit intermarriage of Negroes and whites and there are thousands of mulattos who move from their native status and live as whites.

"But our chief problem is not alone with race adulteration in the states that permit legitimate propagation by intermarriage. The most horrifying menace is illegitimate crossing of white and Negro blood.

"Mississippi is the only state with more Negroes than whites. They may tell you we can't get along without the Negro here—that he is indispensible to our economic welfare. That isn't true. It is because of the cheap Negro labor that our white men must work for such low wages. It was for this very reason that I supported the wages and hour bill in congress.

"We think we are in control of the race problem in the South, but in a majority of the Southern states the Negro is already voting—and the time will come when he will vote in Mississippi. Once he does, the white race is doomed and you will have a Negro in the United States senate and in the governor's chair."

SENATOR BILBO

We have been amused during the week over press reports telling about a speech before the Mississippi legislature, delivered by United States Senator Theodore G. Bilbo. The speaker, according to news reports, made it appear that he was very much frightened and excited with the fear that Negroes soon will be in control of the South unless drastic steps are taken to prevent intermingling of the races. Of course, we presume that the younger and sane white people of the South "laughed him out of court" when he was making such a speech! We think it was quite a reflection of the South to have it generally believed that if they take their thumbs off the Negro, the Negro will out-strip them in a few years and take all the power and influence from them, and dominate the South. As optimistic as we are with regard to the future possibilities of the Negroes if they will only think, we do not think such domination possible. Even if it were possible, we can truthfully say that the Negro seeks no domination of any race. All we want in the South or anywhere else is equal justice. Give us equal justice and we will be satisfied.

If Senator Bilbo believes what he preaches, then we say that the white people of Mississippi should know that he has a feeble mind and is living in the horse and buggy days. If, on the other hand, he would make such statements for the purpose of stirring up racial feelings, then the people of his state should rise up and condemn him in no unspeakable terms and give him a long rest in some sanitarium, by refusing to elect him to the United States Senate again.

Surely, the time has come for the people in the South to wake up and put an end to the bourbon reactionaries of the South, who hold public office. That section of the country will always be known as the "backward South" if such men as Bilbo of Mississippi, "Cotton" Smith of South Carolina and Ellender of Louisiana continue to represent it in the United States Congress.

Editor W. W. Ball, of the Charleston News and Courier, contests (as only Editor Ball can contest) a statement by Carroll Kilpatrick recently quoted here to the effect that the poll tax keeps great numbers of people from voting in South Carolina and other southern states. "The poll tax is a minor factor," he writes, "and it is absurd to suggest that it prevents negroes from voting. . . . The tremendous majority of the South Carolinians' neglect to vote in the general elections because they are uncontested. For no other reason." But how about the tremendous majority neglecting to vote in primaries, Mr. Ball? Certainly it is inexact to attribute the small vote in general elections in the Democratic south to poll tax requirements. But how about the vote in Democratic primaries which, while much larger, is still far below the average obtaining in states where there is no poll tax? It can't be mere coincidence that the poll taxed states should have proportionately smaller votes in primaries as well as in general elections.

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General

Suffrage

Orlando, Fla., Morning Sentinel
September 17, 1938

EXAGGERATED CONDITION

The Negro vote in the North is a bugaboo and "not so important as many people think," insists the New York Times which believes the real basic reason for this exaggeration of its importance is that nowadays we have landslides rather than elections!

Prior to the rise of Joe Guffey and Jim Farley the northern Negro vote usually went to the Republicans. That was before federal relief became necessary to save the nation and maintain relief for some office holders.

New York and Pennsylvania have 200,000 Negro voters, Illinois and Ohio about 150,000 each—equivalent, the Times thinks, to about 25,000 in New York and 10,000 in Indiana in 1884. "Our ideas of the decisive importance of the Negro vote is to say that New York's estimated 200,000 Negro voters must be assayed against a Roosevelt plurality of about 850,000 in New York two years ago," comments the newspaper.

In the last twenty years the Presidential vote has steadily increased due to franchise accorded women, to young men and women in varied organiaztions taking a greater interest in public affairs, in Jaycees, for interest, getting out a vote, and appeals to new or first-time voters.

Where small margins used to carry elections a fluctuating Negro vote was somewhat important, now it is different. A five or six percent Negro vote does not swing elections or hold a balance of power. Then too Negro voters in the North and East are getting a trifle wiser. The intelligent ones who are leaders do not want to be sans

Roanoke, Va., World News
September 20, 1938

The Poll Tax Requirement

Only nine States now impose a poll tax as a prerequisite of voting, though a number of the States have a head tax as a means of revenue. The fact that in Virginia this tax is not collectible by process until it is three years past due means that we lose a great deal of the revenue it might otherwise produce.

Arkansas is to vote in November on a pending Constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting. It was in reference to the coming election in Arkansas that President Roosevelt made his recent comment that the poll tax as a voting test is a relic of the days of restricted balloting when only land owners voted. Mr. Roosevelt illustrated his point by well known Virginia figures. The highest vote cast under the restricted Virginia system was 334,000 for all candidates. On the same day States of comparable population and similar social and racial conditions cast from two to three times as many ballots. North Carolina, for example, cast on the same day 839,000 ballots.

The Virginia Constitution requires that poll taxes be paid for three years, and that the payment be made six months before an election. A dozen years ago, when Senator Byrd was Governor, the Prentis commission on revision of the Constitution recommended reducing the period to two years, but the Legislature refused. Since then there have been many proposals for cutting the payment to one year, shortening the time limit from six to three months, and making the poll tax immediately collectible as are other taxes. All of these proposals were smothered in committee without a direct vote at the last session of the Virginia Legislature.

There are those who fear that abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting would result in Negro domination in some counties having a large Negro population. And there is opposition to placing on the voting lists large numbers of those on relief, or who may be influenced in their voting by special government benefits. It may be pointed out, however, that North Carolina, a State with similar racial and social conditions and with only slightly larger population, abolished its poll tax as a prerequisite of voting in 1920, and in the succeeding eighteen years has not experienced the results that opponents of that change predicted. It is neither dominated by Negroes nor reliefers. Its senior Senator, Josiah W. Bailey, is one of the strong conservative forces of the Senate, and it furnishes a number of able leaders of the House of Representatives, including the distinguished chairman of the ways and means committee, Robert L. Doughton.

Abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting would not affect revenue if the tax were continued and made immediately collectible as a head tax rather than as a voluntary contribution from those desiring to vote. It would not affect the literacy test under the registration section, which might well be strengthened to the Massachusetts formula of registering as voters only those who can actually read and write.

Of the States that now impose a tax on voting, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas all exempt those who have reached a certain age—usually sixty—thus giving to the elderly part of the electorate an advantage over the younger voters, who must both register and pay poll taxes before casting their first ballot. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* holds this to be an important consideration, when unsound and visionary old age pension schemes are being promulgated by every demagogue. Youngsters who pay taxes may be swamped by the votes of those deluded by old age assistance promises, who pay no taxes.

That argument does not apply in Virginia, which makes no such exemption. Perhaps the strongest argument in this State is that by rigidly restricting the electorate, an advantage is given to the court house rings and professional politicians, who see to it that their adherents are qualified, while many good citizens not familiar with complex requirements, find themselves without a ballot and are therefore subjected to taxation without representation.

Morganton, N. C., News-Herald
September 20, 1938

NEGROES NOW HOLD BALANCE OF POWER IN TWENTY STATES

Washington.—A careful study of the census figures for 1920 and 1930 and the negro newspapers published in Northern and Western cities will convince one that a Southern problem—not No. 1—is being shifted to other sections of the country. Had the anti-lynching bill come to a vote in the Senate last session it would have had 73 supporters out of a possible 96. The migration of more than two million negroes to the North, East and West since the World war has given them the balance of power in close elections in 20 states where they vote.

A group that holds the balance of power at the ballot box is most powerful, and the colored leaders now realize that, and are casting their votes where they count.

The Washington Tribune, a leading negro weekly, says: "Senator Elmer Thomas (Oklahoma) was assured of the Democratic nomination for reelection by an estimated majority of 50,000 over his closest opponent. Senator Thomas, a staunch supporter of the anti-lynching bill, was given the solid support of the 60,000 colored voters in Oklahoma."

In other words the negroes claim credit for the Thomas victory.

Dr. T. V. Smith, a professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, addressing the conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Columbus, Ohio, last month told his audience that the negro must use politics to win his rights. He said he would have to resort to pressure through the vote as a way out of his economic plight.

The negro population decreased in 16 states from 1920 to 1930, as follows: Maine 16.3 per cent; Vermont 0.7; Rhode Island 1.2; Iowa 8.6; North Dakota 19.3; South Dakota 22.4; Virginia 5.8; South Carolina 8.2; Georgia 11.2; Kentucky 4.2; Montana 24.2; Idaho 27.4; Wyoming 9.1; New Mexico 50.3; Utah 23.4; and Washington 0.6. A majority of those states had but few negroes to begin with.

The important set of figures are these(comparing the increases in white and colored percentages. Twenty-one states:

	Increases	
	White	Negro
New Hampshire	5.0%	27.2
Massachusetts	10.2	27.2
Connecticut	16.	39.5
New York	19.5	108.0
New Jersey	26.1	78.0
Pennsylvania	9.0	51.5
Ohio	13.6	66.1
Indiana	9.4	38.6
Illinois	15.4	80.5
Michigan	29.2	182.0

Wisconsin	11.4	106.5
Minnesota	7.2	7.2
Missouri	5.5	25.6
Kansas	5.9	14.5
Delaware	6.8	7.5
Maryland	12.4	13.0
Dis. of Columbia	8.3	20.1
West Virginia	17.2	33.1
Arizona	30.2	34.3
Nevada	17.3	49.1
California	60.3	109.1

Twelve states, as follows, showed a greater increase in white than colored population:

	White	Negro
Nebraska	6.1%	3.9
North Carolina	25.3	20.0
Florida	62.2	31.1
Tennessee	13.4	5.7
Alabama	17.5	4.9
Mississippi	16.8	8.0
Arkansas	7.5	1.3
Louisiana	20.5	10.9
Oklahoma	17.1	15.3
Texas	21.4	15.3
Colorado	5.6	4.5
Oregon	21.9	4.2

By sections of the country the increases were as follows:

	White	Negro
The North	13.4%	63.6
The South	16.6	5.0
The West	30.1	53.1

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
September 12, 1938

THREE SOUTHERN STATES PONDER POLL TAX VALUE

Survey Shows 2 States Unconcerned

ATLANTA, Sept. 11.—(Associated Press)—Poll taxes, frowned upon by President Roosevelt as an unfair restriction on suffrage, are in jeopardy in at least three of the eight southern states in which they survive, an Associated Press survey disclosed today.

Due to complicated systems of collections and the controversial element in some states, it was difficult to obtain figures on the number who might be added to voting rolls by wholesale removal of poll taxing, but conservative estimates indicated the total would run into the hundreds of thousands.

Well-defined movements for modification or abolition of this type of levy were found in Arkansas, Tennessee and Alabama, while Mississippi and South Carolina reported their systems firmly entrenched with no audible opposition.

Agitation in Georgia

Virginia's legislature only this year defeated several efforts to change the requirements or repeal the law, but agitation for change was reported continuing. In Georgia public abolition demands have been limited of late to planks in the platforms of two of four candidates seeking nomination in this week's primary. Texas is the only other state in the union having a poll tax law.

An early decision was assured in Arkansas, where a constitutional amendment abolishing the tax and authorizing a registration system will be submitted to voters in the November general elections. The tax of $1 levied on adults without age limit was paid by 338,000 this year and proponents of the constitutional amendment estimate its passage would increase the voting rolls by one-third.

Opposed in Tennessee

E. H. Crump, head of the powerful Memphis political organization, is a leading opponent of the Tennessee laws which provide a $1 state tax and an additional $1 county levy on persons between 21 and 50. Although the constitution requires a 50-cent payment for voting in general elections there was much sentiment among legislators to cut the tax to this minimum in the 1939 legislative session and deny counties the right to impose any such tax.

Mississippi reported a tendency to tighten, rather than relax, voting requirements in the past few years. The $2 poll tax never has been a statewide issue largely because the funds (about $400,000 last year) are retained by the counties for school use.

Virginia Revenue Heavy

A somewhat similar situation obtained in South Carolina where the tax is collected by the counties and kept by them for educational purposes. It was estimated the levy was returned against about 250,000 males but paid by only about half of them. The age limit is 60.

Virginia reported the heaviest revenue from its $1.50 tax, collecting $784,000 in 1937, two-thirds going to the school funds and one-third being retained by counties. Gov. James H. Price has recommended a reduction to $1 and more earnest collection efforts.

In general, all states reported the question of negro voting did not now figure strongly in the poll tax situation.

Trick Laws Bar Many Voters in the South

The American 10-1-38

By ARTHUR J. SMITH

WASHINGTON.

The recent statement made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt just before his departure to Rochester, Minn., in reference to the poll tax in Virginia, which "disqualifies one-third of the qualified voters of the State," is very timely, and what is true of Virginia is pronouncedly true of most of the southern States.

While a great number of qualified white citizens and inhabitants are disqualified, approximately ninety per cent of the colored citizens and inhabitants are disqualified by the poll tax assessments and other black laws that were adopted by the Southern State legislatures when they got control of the State governments, after the reconstruction period.

The white citizens can enjoy many other rights and immunities of citizens that the highest educated, cultured and tax-paying colored man is not permitted to enjoy, only because of his color, yet the colored man must pay all taxes and assessments that may be levied, whether, county State or national.

The following synopses are some of the abnoxious laws in the constitution of several of the Southern States, for a citizen to comply with before he or she may vote.

The following is the letter of the law, the spirit of which is applied as the registrar thinks:

Qualifications for Voters

ALABAMA

1. Read and write U. S. Constitution.
2. Employed for twelve months before registration.
3. He or his wife must own $300 worth of real estate or personal property one year before registration.
4. Previous residence required two years.

GEORGIA

1. Read, write and interpret Constitution of the United States or of this State, and understand duties and obligations of citizenship.
2. Own $500 worth of real estate or personal property upon which all taxes have been paid six months prior to election.
3. Previous residence required one year.

LOUISIANA

1. Read and write and provide essential facts necessary to show that he is entitled to register and vote.
2. Previous residence required two years.

MISSISSIPPI

1. Read, write and interpret Constitution of the United States or of this State.
2. Previous residence required two years.

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Read, write and interpret U. S. Constitution.
2. Previous residence required one year.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. Read and write U. S. Constitution.
2. Own $300 worth of property on which taxes for previous year have been paid.
3. Pay poll tax six months prior to election.
4. Previous residence required two years.

VIRGINIA

1. Pay $1.50 poll tax for each of three years prior to registration.
2. Answer in writing any and all questions affecting his qualifications as submitted to him by the officers of registration.
3. Previous residence required one year.

* * *

The above synopses will give any reader an idea of the poll tax requirements and voting requisites President Roosevelt had reference to in his Hyde Park, N.Y., interview September 9.

The above laws are the southern politicians instruments, called democracy, but white supremacy called a Republican form of government.

Of the rights of citizenship, the U. S. Constitution makes the following mention:

Article 14, section 1—All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside.

Article 15, section 1—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color of previous condition of servitude.

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

Article 19—The right of citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.

Political — 1938

Suffrage

General.

Columbia, S. C. State
August 1, 1938

Negro Voting Question Rises In Deep South

Participation in Democratic Primaries Engages SC, Ark., Tenn.

Atlanta, July 30—(AP)—Negro participation in Democratic primaries, rare in the deep South, engaged the attention today of party officials in three cotton belt states with heated senatorial campaigns, Arkansas, Tennessee and South Carolina.

Approached on the subject of relaxing restrictions imposed in Reconstruction days, Democratic committee executives of South Carolina and Arkansas said flatly party rules excluded Negroes from voting.

Organized in Tennessee.

Tennessee Negroes organized in four large cities and asked the right to cast ballots in the party primary August 4.

Arkansas Democrats will vote August 9 and South Carolinians August 30 in primaries which virtually assure the nominees of victory in the subsequent general elections.

Political futures of Senators E. D. ("Cotton Ed") Smith, South Carolina New Deal critic; Hattie W. Caraway of Arkansas and George L. Berry of Tennessee were at stake in multiple-entry races.

Cole. L. Blease, former governor and senator, opened the question of Negro voting in South Carolina with an observation that he was "reliably informed" approximately 8,000 had enrolled over the state. Blease seeks the governorship again.

"Are the Negro people who are enrolling on the Democratic club rolls going to be allowed to vote in the Democratic primary?" he asked the state executive committee.

S. C. Rules Forbid.

Secretary Lane L. Bonner replied quickly that party rules provided no Negro could belong and none could enroll and that if any had their names were on the books illegally.

In former years Negroes who swore they had voted for Wade Hampton for governor in 1876 and had white witnesses to back them were allowed to vote in South Carolina. A few did. The provision was eliminated at the 1938 state Democratic convention.

In Arkansas J. M. Robinson, president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic association, asked the executive committee to revise a party rule providing "all known white Democrats" may vote. He suggested "all known Democrats."

No Arkansas Change.

State Chairman June P. Wooten said the committee could make no change. He recommended that the association present its proposal to the state party convention in September.

Robert Buckner of Chattanooga, Negro barber and a candidate for the Democratic nomination to the Tennessee senate, said Negro organizations had been formed in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville.

"We expect to poll heavy Democratic votes in each of the four cities," he said.

Joe Brown, former Republican representative in congress from Chattanooga, said many Negroes "voted the Democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year."

Washington, D. C. Post
August 1, 1938

Negro Primary Vote Studied In Deep South

Tenn. Colored Democrats Organize; Banned in Two States.

By the Associated Press.

Atlanta, July 31.—Negro participation in Democratic primaries, rare in the deep South, engaged the attention today of party officials in three Cotton Belt States with heated senatorial campaigns—Arkansas, Tennessee and South Carolina.

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Roosevelt Raps State Poll Taxe

Advertiser

President Says Large Part Of Population Is Deprived Of Vote

Cites Free Trend

9-10-38

Executive Scores Move To Take Ballot Away From Persons On Relief Rolls

Montgomery

HYDE PARK, N. Y., Sept. 9.—(AP)—President Roosevelt late today expressed emphatic opposition to State poll taxes, saying they disenfranchised large portions of the population.

Advertiser

The President told his press conference, in response to questions, that State poll taxes apparently were the outgrowth of requirements during the post-revolutionary war period that citizens own property before they could vote.

Mr. Roosevelt disclosed he previously had written to Brooks Hays, Arkansas National Democratic Committeeman, endorsing a proposed Arkansas constitutional amendment to abolish the State poll tax.

The President talked with reporters on the front porch of the Summer White House a few hours before his scheduled departure for Rochester, Minn., where he will remain until after his son, James, undergoes a stomach operation Monday.

Discussing the poll tax situation, the President said his views did not pertain particularly to any one State. In some States, he added, a good many citizens still are denied the right to vote because they can not pay poll taxes.

Many States have been getting away from the poll tax, the chief executive continued.

He said that Virginia, for instance, has a high poll tax which disqualifies one-third of the qualified white voters of the State.

The President said that the question of poll taxes has nothing to do with the question of negroes voting. The latter problem, he asserted, should be considered separately.

Raps Reliefer Vote Buy

The imposition of poll taxes, the President said, is in the same category as a movement he said had been launched by ladies in New Jersey to keep those on the relief rolls from voting. The President told reporters they could put the word "ladies" in quotation marks.

If carried to its logical conclusion, the chief executive continued, the poll tax requirement might be changed to require a person to have a college degree before voting.

Earlier in the day, the President talked with Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, and cruised on the Hudson River aboard his yacht Potomac. Accompanying the President on his cruise were Gerard Swope of the General Electric Company, Theodore Dreiser, the writer, and Elliott Roosevelt, the chief executive's son. Elliott was expected to accompany his father on the trip to Rochester.

Told that Bilbo has advised newsmen he had suggested doubling the present old age pension rate, the President replied he had asked Bilbo one question—how was he going to raise the money?

Reporters further quoted Bilbo as saying that the President would offer no objection to the increase if a sound method of financing could be found.

Mr. Roosevelt replied he would be glad if all the reporters present could receive $25,000 a year—if a sound method of financing such salaries could be found.

Reticent On Politics

Questioned about the Maryland political situation, where he has urged the nomination of Representative David J. Lewis in the latter's attempt to unseat Senator Millard E. Tydings, the President said he had not heard a peep from Maryland.

Asked whether it could be inferred from the talk that the administration would make no new efforts to defeat anti-administration candidates, the President said such a conclusion was not justified.

The President was told at the press conference that the impression had been growing that the United States was morally linked with European democracies in a "stop Hitler" movement.

The chief executive replied that speaking of impressions meant speaking of interpretations by columnists and others. These interpretations, he said, had been about 100 per cent wrong regarding the international situation.

A portion of the press, the President said, has been behaving rather badly on the whole foreign policy situation by approaching it from a political point of view.

Ft. Myers, Fla., News Press
September 9, 1938

Views Of Other Editors

The Negro Vote

Good judges agree that President Roosevelt has succeeded in winning away the negro voters from their traditional mass allegiance to the republican party. Just how decisive a factor this has been in the last two presidential elections, and is likely to be in future elections, it not so certain. On the whole it seems clear that the transfer of the negro vote, while not at all to be dismissed, is not so important as many people think.

Popular notions about the size of the negro vote in the northern states are probably exaggerated. New York perhaps has 200,000 negro voters, Pennsylvania a trifle more, Illinois and Ohio 150,000 each, and Indiana 50,000. But this would be about 4 per cent of New York's total vote in the last presidential election and about 5 per cent of the Pennsylvania and Ohio vote.

Another way of putting the case is to say that New York's estimated 200,000 negro voters must be assayed against a Roosevelt plurality of about 850,000 in New York two

years ago. So in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, the whole body of negro voters would be one-fourth or one-fifth of the Roosevelt pluralities in 1936. The ratio might be as high as one-third in Pennsylvania.

Our ideas on the decisive importance of the negro vote are still shaped by conditions of 50 years ago up to 20 years ago; to be precise, up to the Harding election of 1920. Before that there were close states and close elections. But beginning with Mr. Harding we have had landslides instead of elections, and there are no close states.

It is thus altogether likely that 200,000 negro votes in New York or 50,000 in Indiana today count for less than perhaps 25,000 negro votes in New York in 1884, or 10,000 negro votes in Indiana. Grover Cleveland twice carried Indiana by approximately 6,000 votes. For that matter, as late as 1916 Charles E. Hughes carried Indiana over Woodrow Wilson by 7,000 votes, a margin which might easily have been supplied by negro republicans. —New York Times.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
September 11, 1938

Violating "Political Morality"

The past few hours have brought an unusual number of those "violations of political morality" of which Mr. Roosevelt complains—in theory.

The people of the South have been definitely warned that it is the purpose of the New Deal strategists to destroy the Democracy of the South by exploitation of the Negro vote. The first stage in that process was to secure the enactment of the anti-lynching bill so as to win the support of the Negro vote in those states where it has become practically the balance of power. We were told in plain terms that another step would be to break down the white primary and to abolish the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to participation in any primary.

There may be those who honestly believe it would serve a good purpose if the poll tax were abolished, but the advocacy of such a measure when it is part of the general pattern to destroy the Democracy and white supremacy of the South becomes a matter of suspicion.

At his Friday press conference Mr. Roosevelt came out strongly for the abolishment of the poll tax and admitted that he had written a letter to Brooks Hays, Democratic national committeeman for Arkansas, endorsing a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the state poll tax.

Here we find not only a further unfoldment of the New Deal strategy against Democracy in the South, but another instance of that interference with the rights of the states which has become a mania with the administration at Washington.

It is a state, and a state alone, which confers and regulates the right of franchise on its citizens, and federal interference in this important function becomes highly significant at a time when all the power and prestige of the White House are being thrown into Maryland and Georgia to carry out the New Deal conspiracy.

Thus it is all the more apparent, as pointed out in these columns, that the anti-lynching bill and the so-called civil liberties bill may have to be strangled before they come to a vote and it is important that Georgia should be represented in the senate by a man like Senator George whose experience and personal character have endeared him to senators from the North and West who would join him in smothering these legislative attacks upon the Democracy and the white supremacy of the South.

Practically at the same moment when Mr. Roosevelt was disclosing his efforts to write a constitution for Arkansas, Senator Millard E. Tydings was broadcasting a speech in which he quoted the strong denunciation of federal interference in state affairs uttered by Presidents Washington, Jefferson and Tyler, and also by Franklin D. Roosevelt when he was governor of New York.

Eight years ago the federal government was also interfering in state and local affairs. At that time Governor Roosevelt said:

> We in this state (New York) in every city and on every farm, know the high impropriety of interference by the federal government in the purely local affairs of any state, and we are fully conscious of the effective manner in which the people of this great state will at the polls SHOW THEIR RESENTMENT AGAINST SUCH CONDUCT.

In any discussion of "violation of political morality" it is pertinent to inquire how the Governor Roosevelt of 1930 can reconcile the foregoing language with the bitter tirade he delivered against Senator George at Barnesville or even his milder intervention in those other states into which he traveled, not as president of the United States, but as a politician.

The best friends of the president might very well appeal from the Roosevelt of Washington, D. C., to the Roosevelt of Albany, New York.

It is hardly surprising to find that Mr. Harry Hopkins gives us another instance of the "violation of political morality." Senator Sheppard's committee to investigate campaign expenditures, after persistent efforts, finally secured a reply from Mr. Hopkins to the charge that relief funds had been used for political purposes in Kentucky in the most "flagrant" manner. Mr. Hopkins was told that in two of the most important counties in the state during the Barkley campaign thousands of workers on WPA rolls had been required to say whether they intended to vote for Senator Barkley or not.

Mr. Hopkins comes back with the lame and impotent statement that he saw "no cause or reason for disciplinary action" against WPA officials in Kentucky who canvassed the political affiliations of relief workers.

He denied that this was an attempt to promote the candidacy of Senator Barkley. He said the canvass was made in Russell and Pulaski counties because of a complaint that "a preponderant number of persons being certified (for relief) were Republicans and that Democrats were being discriminated against."

Mr. Hopkins might as well be invoking the vicious man-eating habits of a sheep. Does any man of sound mind and discretion really believe that the WPA organization in Kentucky was being manipulated, not in the interest of Senator Barkley, but in the interest of the Republican party? It is too childish for words, and certainly raises the question of political morality in its most acute form.

Again, the people of Georgia are under no illusions as to why 53 million dollars of WPA highway money was suddenly tossed into the state on the eve of our primary, when the funds have been available for the last four months.

But the effort to make political capital for the New Deal purge by giving us a little of our own money has had a contrary effect. It has set the people of Georgia to asking why this state has been so grossly discriminated against in the past and is still so far below its rightful quota of federal funds, even with this latest allocation.

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General

An Important 1938 Objective

This publication feels that the Negro community everywhere ought to have some great objective for the year 1938. In casting about for that end we decided that we could bring no new thing to our readers that would merely excite them for a while before interest lags. We also concluded that we could find no cure-all, no easy thing which would merely please those who like to toy with social progress for personal preferment. We simply offer for our readers' consideration the basic, important matter of the vote as a prime necessity for community activity for the year, wherever our readers may live. As long as they live in America, there is something not only possible, but urgently necessary to be done about the vote. Daily Worker

Much talk is necessarily in the air about anti-lynching law. There are also signs of life among those who are worn threadbare with our limited educational opportunities in many parts of the nation, and among those who are resolved to fight for teachers' salary equalization. But have we stopped to consider that these fights would not be necessary if any considerable number of Negro voters made or unmade the public servants of the people . . . . or even served as a threat to their political fortunes?

Behold, no new thing we bring unto you. We cannot hope to do more in awakening our communities to their fundamental interests than to pile line upon line and precept upon precept until the public conscience is awakened to its dangers and to its opportunities. 1-18-38

First, it is not a one-man job; next, if the community does not feel that it is of prime importance, is worth working after in season and out of season, and deserves all the sacrifice one may be called on to make for it, then it is doomed at the beginning.

We ought to consider this movement in the "deep" south of sufficient importance to approach this and other problems in the Virginia way. In that state is an organization known as the Negro Organization Society. Briefly, the function of this organization is to get other organizations to make some sort of contribution, financial, moral, or otherwise, to the general social welfare, thus supporting whatever social effort is in the public's activities at a given time. Thus useless effort, duplication and misunderstanding are often thwarted in the complete functioning of the Negro Organization Society of Virginia thru its paid representatives. Atlanta, Ga.

In every large southern city existing machinery can do much good if it is allowed to function. We feel that the N. A. A. C. P., the civic and political organizations and the various groups who are interested CAN produce the desired results. We would suggest, however, instead of confining our efforts to one section of the city, that attempts made to get people to vote should be made in ALL possible public places . . . . especially those so infrequently visited. When we neglect the man whose life is inconspicuous, we are neglecting our greatest source of power, for however "big" a man may be in a community, under the law, he can have but one vote. Under the circumstances we need thousands of votes, and experience has proved in the city of Atlanta when the N. A. A. C. P. held its voting schools, that the man who came to those schools was of the unknown groups. These voting schools did incalculable good.

It will be increasingly necessary for the Negro in the north to keep up his cooperation with his southern brother in the matter of the vote. He has done yeoman service as is proved by certain remarks made concerning the anti-lynching bill. But it is doubly important that southern Negroes take every opportunity to bolster their own self-respect and the respect of others by seeking the use of the ballot in every possible instance until they have fixed within themselves those characteristics and won for themselves those advantages which announce them as free and full citizens of these United States.

To do this we must work thru existing organizations, ... those reaching and enlisting the interest of teachers, business groups, lodges and churches. Some schools are doing notable work in giving instruction in citizenship, and we have heard of at least one Negro school which will not allow a student over twenty-one years of age to graduate in peace unless he is a registered voter.

If the Negro is to survive in America, he can do so only by self-assertion, and the fear of remaining voteless is the beginning of the wisdom in this direction.

REPEAL THE POLL TAX LAW

We are in receipt of a communication from the National Get-Out-The Vote Club with headquarters in Washington which states that in 1938 a strong effort will be made to reform the election and registration laws of the states. Particular efforts will be made to have repealed the laws which require a poll tax receipt as a prerequisite of voting. 1-21-39

The organization's efforts should be of interest to Tennesseans because, unfortunately, this state is among the "7 Only" states of the union which still maintain the poll tax form of disfranchisement. The other six states are Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Nashville Tenn.

Originally the idea behind passing a poll tax requirement for voting was predicated upon the belief that it was a splendid device for disfranchising Negro citizens, while at the same time it would work no harm to white citizens. Those ancient "dwellers in a fool's paradise" quite gleefully predicted that few Negroes would have the foresight, even if they did have the money, to pay their poll taxes sixty or more days prior to an election, but this requirement promptly and enthusiastically would be met by whites.

Time has proved the error of the reasoning done by the disfranchising clique of the old era. As pointed out by the Washington organization working for election reform, the nine states which held to the poll tax device, in the Presidential election of 1936, "with a combined electorate of 12,472,245 citizens 21 years of age . . . cast only 3,005,177 votes for all candidates for President and Vice President. They polled only 24 per cent of their potential electorate, the lowest voting record in the civilized globe, as compared with 72 per cent vote as the average of 39 states free from poll tax ban."

If we are to have "more democracy" in the United States the first step in that direction is to provide for the free exercise of the franchise by all citizens. Laws to this end should be passed, and in addition, the Supreme Court of the United States needs to reverse itself in the decisions it has rendered, upholding the rights of states to operate voting systems, whose plain intent has been and is to deprive citizens of their franchise, because of "race, color or previous condition of servitude."

In the meantime efforts should be made to elect members of the Tennessee Legislature who will vote to repeal the poll-tax monstrosity. Since the last election Florida stepped out of the poll-tax group and Arkansas has submitted to the people a proposal for the repeal of the poll-tax provision of its state constitution.

Come on, Tennessee and get in line with the forward-looking rather than lag with the backward states of the nation!

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Summit Miss. Sun Jan. 27, 1938

THE NEGRO VOTE

Jim Walton, of Meridian, in a recent letter to the Jackson Daily News, says that northerners are making a "supreme effort to restore the ballot to the negro" and states plainly that in the event of such an improbability, he is ready to get a "red shirt and go riding with the departed spirits of the Hamptons, Garys, Georges and others who risked their lives for the perpetuation of white supremacy in the heroic old South of yesteryear. The passage of the anti-lynching bill is an entering wedge to the restoration of carpet-baggers in the South.

He continued, "While there are many progressive colored people in the South who have risen toward civilization, the majority of colored in the state and the South do not possess the qualifications of an electorate. Many have made remarkable progress, but the majority are still little above a state of savagery."

We can frankly say that it is this phase of the anti-lynching bill which frightens us most. We have come a long way since the day of carpet-baggers. In these many years which have passed there has been little or no sentiment against the negro race. There has been an harmonious spirit prevalent except on the rarest occasions when the "savagery" of which Mr. Walton spoke became evident in some negroes. This revival of racial discord is sure to react in tragic fashion on the South.

In our own way we have tried to befriend the negro race. Anything which would react for their good we would unhesitatingnly endorse. But we cannot see how the vote could benefit them here. We know that the negro vote would mean a revival of old hatreds, old prejudices and old crimes, because this black race which dwells here in our beloved South is, even as Mr. Walton says, not completely civilized yet. The negroes know it, too, and only a few of them have a real desire for the privilege of the ballot. They still look to their "white folks" for the help and advice they know will be gladly given if they behave in civilized fashion.

The Growing Negro Vote

Courier 1-13-38

The growing importance of the Negro vote has been stressed a great deal lately in the U. S. Senate and in the daily press.

It is said that this Negro vote is a factor in the elections in seventeen States.

Certainly it is obvious that politicians are paying more attention to the Negro vote than ever before because it has become with the years a more intelligent vote.

It is probably the most intelligently skeptical vote in the country, because constant contact with harsh reality has made the average Negro more realistic than the average white person.

The Negro vote today is not really wedded to any party, but is ready to swing in any direction that promises good results.

From close contact with and observation of white people of prominence and influence, Negroes have come to understand the real nature of politics, and they are now playing the game like veterans.

It is significant that despite the political changes that have taken place in the past ten years, there are always some Negroes holding office or benefiting from the current city, State or Federal Administration.

At the same time, with a few unfortunate exceptions, these Negro politicians can be depended upon to "go to the bat" whenever some racial issue is involved.

This was true in the Parker case and in all the anti-lynching fights. Very frequently Negro politicians on opposite sides of the fence will get together in the interest of the group.

Beginning this November, it will become the duty of the Negro voters to crack down on Senators whose actions and votes buried the Wagner-Van Nuys Federal anti-lynching bill.

In order to bring full power to bear, every Negro of voting age will have to be enrolled, and the time to start the preliminary work is now.

There are many cities and towns in the South where Negroes can vote, do vote and where more could vote if they would make an effort.

To the extent that local Negro leadership gets out that vote, to that extent will the power and importance of the group increase.

And with the growing government control over business and the means of making a living, it is becoming more and more important that the workers have political power.

Concord, N. C. Tribune
February 10, 1938

WOOING NEGRO VOTE.

The Republican senators, all of whom with the exception of Arthur Capper of Kansas voted against the cloture which would have forced a vote on the anti-lynching bill, did so largely because they didn't want Democrats to get credit for an anti-lynching vote among Negro voters.

Even more conspicuous, if anyone looked twice at the roll call, was the fact that none of the G. O. P. senators had any substantial colored constituency to worry about. States with large Negro populations haven't been electing Republican senators in recent years and so there just aren't any Republican senators from those states today except Jim Davis of Pennsylvania. This is just one more evidence that the mass of the Negro vote has swung from the Republicans to the Democrats.

Any Republican who had to think of the colorted vote presumably would have voted for cloture. Davis was paired in favor. Other Republican senators come from New England, Idaho, California, Oregon, Delaware, North Dakota and Michigan.

The only senator among the 37 anti-cloture Democrats who comes from a state where the Negro vote is important was Senator J. Ham Lewis, of Illinois. The others went down the line for Walter White and his anti-lynching bill lobby.

Political—1938
Suffrage

General

Coming Primaries Holding Spotlight

Staff Correspondence

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If the term "election" as used in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act had included a primary as well as a general or special election when primaries were held in Texas last Saturday, it is doubtful that Representative Maury Maverick of the Twentieth District would have been defeated.

As a progressive southerner, he voted for the Gavagan anti-lynching bill and was friendly disposed to colored people in all legislative matters. In return, it is only fair to assume that if colored people had the untrammeled privilege of voting in the Democratic primary in his district, they would have supported him.

Ever since the Supreme Court in an opinion delivered by Justice James C. McReynolds held unconstitutional the section of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act which undertook to limit the amount of money which any candidate for the office of Senator or Representative may use in procuring his nomination in the Newberry case, political parties have been free to designate the voters who might participate in their respective party primaries.

Primaries yet to be held include two in states in which only white persons are permitted to vote in Democratic primaries and nomination is equivalent to election. One of these states is South Carolina, which holds its primaries on August 30.

If permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries in that state, it is certain that they would vote against the nomination of Senator Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith whom the New Deal would like to see defeated for his opposition to New Deal measures.

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The next primaries to be held will be in Virginia and Missouri on August 2. Colored voters participate in a limited number in Democratic primaries in Virginia. There is no disfranchisement in Missouri on account of color. State and federal court decisions have removed legal barriers to Negroes voting in Virginia, and generally there is no opposition to colored voters in primaries in the Old Dominion now.

In Virginia the primary election in the Eighth Congressional District is of national importance because Representative Howard W. Smith, a member of the Byrd organization, is being opposed by William E. Dodd, Jr., son of the former Ambassador to Germany and an ardent New Dealer.

The Missouri primaries are also of national importance. In that state Senator Bennett Champ Clark, who was an active supporter of the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill when it was under consideration in the Senate, is being opposed for numerous New Deal heresies, including opposition to President Roosevelt's Supreme Court reorganization bill.

Primaries will also be held in West Virginia in August 2, but they are attracting no national interest.

TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY

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OTHER CONTESTS

The California primaries will also be held on August 30. President Roosevelt has personally endorsed Senator William G. McAdoo for renomination.

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NEW DEAL AN ISSUE

In Michigan and Colorado the primaries take place on September 13. In the former state, labor controversies are expected to figure in both the Democratic and Republican primaries.

In the latter, Senator Alva B. Adams is opposed by New Deal forces, although President Roosevelt also showed friendliness to him on his recent swing through that state. Senator Adams as well as Senator McCarran opposed the President's Supreme Court enlargement plan.

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Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
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Three Southern States Confront Problem of Allowing Negroes to Vote

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Approached on the subject of relaxing restrictions imposed in Reconstruction days, Democratic committee executives of South Carolina and Arkansas said flatly rules excluded Negroes from voting.

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Political futures of Senators E. D. (Cotton Ed) Smith, South Carolina New Deal critic; Hattie W. Caraway of Arkansas, and George L. Berry of Tennessee were at stake in multiple-entry races.

Cole L. Blease, former Governor and Senator, opened the question of Negro voting in South Carolina with an observation that he was "reliably informed" approximately 8,000 had enrolled over the state. Blease seeks the Governorship again.

"Are the colored people who are enrolling on the Democratic club rolls going to be allowed to vote in the Democratic primary?" he asked the state executive committee.

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After making the statement that the CIO would come into South Carolina and fight for Governor Johnston one of their leaders has now declared that he never had any intention of coming to this state.

There are some of us who heard several weeks before the press release that representatives of the CIO were coming into the State and were ready to spend $200,000. We presume that a survey has been made and the powers that be in the organization have come to the conclusion that the money would be lost.

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KELLY MILLER WRITES ABOUT

THE POLL TAX QUALIFICATION FOR THE FRANCHISE

By Dr. KELLY MILLER

THE WASHINGTON POST of September 20th, contained an interesting article under the caption "South Warned Poll Tax May Cost Prestige." Simon Michlet enters into an interesting discussion upon the possible curtailment of the South's strength in the Democratic Convention of 1940. If the National Democratic Convention should adopt a rule similar to that of its Republican rival limiting the number of delegates to each state according to the effective Democratic vote in the last election rather than according to population quota the South would find itself greatly embarrassed. It would find its voting strength greatly restricted. This would be wholly apart from the cunning devices and tricky contrivancies to exclude the Negro from the franchise is contravention of the plain letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Such limitation of delegates to the national conventions of both parties is logically justified and politically expedient. A party does not represent all the people of the state but only those who subscribe to the party tenets and principles. Therefore representation in the national council of the party should be limited not by the population of the state but by the number of party adherents. Both parties are in the habit of granting nominal representation to the District of Columbia and the territories where none of the citizens vote, in order to give it the semblance of a National spread and also out of deference to its co-partizans who may reside in those jurisdictions.

The Republican National Convention curtails the number of Southern delegates, largely because those delgates were alleged to be purchaseable by the highest bidder. But be this as it may it is logically sound and politically expedient for any National party to apportion delegates on the basis of its voting strength. Let us by forced logic assume that there is not a single Republican in a given state; should such a state be allowed representation in the National Republican Convention in proportion to its population?

It is ridiculous as well as embarrassing for the South with no Republican votes in the electoral college to dictate the nominees, whose election depends wholly upon Northern votes. The Democratic party is approaching the same predicament though perhaps to a less glaring degree. If the state of Vermont justly claims a larger proportion of Representatives in the Republican National Convention than South Carolina, because it has a larger number of effective Republican voters then why shouldn't New Jersey plan a like preference over the state of Mississippi on the Democratic side of the fence. Why should the nine poll tax states where only twenty-four percent potential voters go to the polls, be accorded the same representative weight in either convention, as the thirty-nine states free from poll tax, where seventy-two percent of the citizens over twenty-one years of age avail themselves of their voting privilege?

The Southern States impose the poll tax with the expectation that it would effectively disfranchise the Negroes rather than poor whites but as a matter of fact more whites are self disfranchised by neglect and disinclination than Negroes, by local disability.

It would certainly prove a boomerang if the South found itself seriously handicapped in council of the Democratic party by reason of tricky contrivancies and cunning devices calculated to disfranchise the Negro. It would prove to be a modern instance of the predicament of Hayman who was executed on the gallows intended for Mordecai.

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Primaries

BY WICKES WAMBOLDT

A UNITED STATES senator proposes that the Federal Constitution be amended to give Congress control of state primaries "to correct existing evils."

It should be noted that the "evils" the senator referred to were the interference by one party with the objectives of the other party. In this instance it was the senator's own party that was interfered with. Had it been his party that had done the interfering, would the senator have squeaked?

It is significant that the proposed amendment is not aimed at corruption in the elections, but at the interference of party with party. In other words, it is to strengthen a serious menace to the working of true democracy—party control of the people.

Now if the senator had advocated some plan which in case of rascality in elections, would require the Federal Department of Justice to investigate and prosecute the cases on request of citizens in localities where frauds occur, he really would have something commendable and constitutional.

The Federal Constitution guarantees to the citizen the right of franchise; yet repeatedly and commonly do party rings and machines deprive citizens of such right. By an infinite variety of fraudulent methods the will of the majority is defeated and the will of a small entrenched minority made to rule. It is common to hear the remark, "What's the use of voting? They will steal the election anyway."

And after the election has been stolen what can anybody do about it in a local or State court controlled by the very outfit that did the stealing? Any attempt to bring the criminals to justice becomes a farce—which still further impairs the strength, dignity and standing of democracy.

The ballot in this country is largely becoming a mockery and therein our democracy faces its greatest single danger. Let the ballot be corrupted and the government is corrupted. Let a government become sufficiently corrupted and it falls and is replaced by some other government.

We Americans who love our kind of government should take alarm, for it is in jeopardy. If we wish to preserve it, we shall have to fight to reestablish it, and hereafter guard it. Democracy will not work by itself; if it works we must make it work.

The men who corrupt our elections are enemies to our democracy for greater than the most radical of Communists and Fascists; for they frustrate the working of democracy and discourage the people with democracy. **Let us** up and at them!

DEMOCRATS MAY VOTE TO GIVE VOTE TO COLORED SOUTH

By MONROE MASON

If political-minded colored Americans want to get a real thrill, just read the statement below, written by one of the nation's leading commentators. That a 70-year-old dream may come true sooner than we expect will be an evolutionary drama of profound interest. Will the present generation have the honor to witness such a tremendous political reformation? Mr. Sullivan's keen-minded analysis is not a hasty conclusion. Almost a decade of economic demoralization has changed the thought of men, women and children east, west, north and south.

Bourbonism below the "Dixie" line was never known to change over-night but the business depression since 1929 has hit the "white" as well as the "blacks" just as hard in that sector. If human misery has taught the dominant race of that area a lesson that all men are "free and equal" to vote, then, Mr. Sullivan's conclusion should not be considered a bolt out of a clear sky.

Democrats may Confer Suffrage on Colored Southerners

By MARK SULLIVAN

"In the Georgia Democratic primary the issue on the surface has been whether Senator George should be defeated because President Roosevelt wants him defeated. But beneath that, strong in the minds of many voters, has been the issue of states' rights. And in Georgia, as in all the South, states' rights means mainly one right, the right to control elections.

"In application, the principal use the South has for the right to control elections is to exclude, practically or wholly, colored people from participating in Democratic primaries. In the South, the Democratic primary is the actual election—whoever wins the primary gets the office. By preventing colored people from voting in the Democratic primary, the South achieves what is formally proclaimed on some southern official Democratic ballots as "white supremacy".

"Now, somewhat vaguely as yet, the South feels that "white supremacy" and the system by which it is maintained is threatened. The South feels that somewhere in the background of Mr. Roosevelt's intervention in southern primaries, or as an aftermath from it, may be a result which will bring about colored voting in southern primaries as generally as in nothern ones.

"This thought has figured in the Georgia primary. It figured strongly in the South Carolina primary last week. In the South Carolina campaign, as described by Mr. Turner Catledge in the New York Times: "Fully half of Senator Smith's final radio speech was on the 'white supremacy' issue. In one county a group started over the week-end to revive Gen. Wade Hampton's old 'red shirts' to fight again any outside interference with South Carolina's affairs and to protect white supremacy".

"There is no definite relation between President Roosevelt's intervention in two southern primaries and colored participation in southern primaries. Nevertheless, the southern feeling is supported by facts. The Democratic Party as a whole, in the nation including the South, is face to face with decision on the question whether colored citizens shall vote in the South as generally as in the North. This decision is more or less forced on the party as a result of events during the past six years. The South is now obliged to see that what the Republican Party vainly promised for 70 year, the Democratic Party is now, apparently, about to do.

"For six years Mr. Roosevelt as head of the Democratic Party, Mr. Farley as the next head, and other leaders who dominate the national party organization, have been in a position of carrying water on both shoulders with respect to colored voting. In the North they sought and got the colored vote away from the Republicans. The vote is extremely valuable to the Democrats, for it is the balance of power in several northern states. At the same time, the alliance of the northern wing of the Democrats with the colored vote was concealed from the southern part of the party. In the 1936 Presidential election the Democrats staged a colored mass-meeting in New York. From an account by Dr. Stanley High, who was associated with the Roosevelt campaign, I quote a sentence—the point is in the closing words: "A half hour of the high spot of the New York meeting was broadcast over a Coast-to-coast radio network, with all southern states carefully omitted from the hook-up".

"While the practical politicians of the Democratic Party quietly annexed the northern colored vote, the other wing of the New Deal, the idealists, set about with equal quietness to get the southern colored vote. One method is a movement to get rid of the poll-tax which in nine southern states works to limit the voting not only of blacks but of whites of low economic status. An account of this New Deal effort is in a well-informed article in the Washington Post by Mr. Sydney Olson:

Quiet Drive to End the Poll-Tax

"The quietest of all New Deal movements, the one least traceable to Washington, and yet the one that carries most implications in the future, is unquestionaly . . . the present South-wide drive to repeal the poll-tax. . . . The battle is secret now. But those days of secrecy and of quiet are numbered.

"The purpose of the New Dealers is to tap a mine of several million potential voters, hitherto deterred from voting, every one of whom in 1940, if they vote at all, will vote for the New Deal and for Mr. Roosevelt if he is a candidate.

It would be one of the strongest episodes in history if the thing for which in part the Republican North fought a civil war, which the Republicans tried to accomplish by three amendments to the Constitution, which they tried to carry out by ten years of carpet-bag government in the South, which they tried to enforce by presence of federal troops at the polls —if this attempt in which the Republicans failed should now be carried to fulfillment by the Democratic Party, or at least in the name of the Democratic Party, which for 70 years unsuccessfully resisted the attempt."

Indians May Get Citizens Rights

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—The Interior Department sought this week to remove the ban against the exercise of the franchise by Indians living in seven states.

The Office of Indian Affairs, a branch of the department, contends that many of the original Americans are denied the ballot unconstitutionally. If persuasion fails, the department probably will institute legal proceedings to set aside statutory provisions which specifically or by interpretation deprive Indians of the vote. Such a step would set a precedent that may well have a bearing on the disfranchisement of the Race in southern states.

SEEKING BALLOT FOR INDIANS

It is understood that the officials of the Interior Department are seeking to remove the ban against the exercise of the Indians franchise in certain states. This is as it should be. The Indians are the original citizens of this country. Most of them understand the responsibility of citizenship and should be permitted to vote the same as any other full fledged citizen. These officials of the Interior Department are to be commended in their endeavors to give full justice to the Indians in this direction. The pity it is that this was not done years ago. By constitutional enactment, the Negroes were given the right to vote soon after the act of emancipation. This was never received with good grace by a number of the states, where subterfuges were used to keep them from the polls. This is flagrantly known and to this date thousands of them are denied the franchise privileges. As in the case of the Indians, there should be some friends in some of the national departments who are willing to use influence to remove this illegal franchise barrier against the Negro. There is some indication that the President is so inclined. More power to him.

BALLOTING IN SOUTH IS MERE FORMALITY

Democrats Hold Lead Also in Maryland and Kentucky Races.

The deep south preserved its traditional Democratic solidarity yesterday in a perfunctory election which saw the party's major candidates leading also in the less predictable border states of Maryland and Kentucky.

In Maryland, Senator Millard F. Tydings, who won renomination in the Democratic primary after President Roosevelt labelled him a conservative and marked him for political liquidation, led his Republican opponent, Oscar Lester, by more than two to one in early returns, and Republican Governor Harry W. Nice trailed his Democratic adversary, Herbert R. O'Conor.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democratic majority leader for whom the President spoke a good word in the primary in Kentucky had an almost two to one advantage over Republican John P. Haswell.

In Tennessee, A. Tom Stewart Democratic New Deal friend, led two opponents, one a Republican and the other an independent Democrat, comfortably in the senatorial race. Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina, was well ahead of Republican Charles R. Jonas.

In Virginia, Democratic Representative John W. Flannagan of the ninth district, the only 100 per cent New Dealer in the Virginia delegation, was re-elected over Republican E. L. Guilliford. The eight other Virginia Democratic congressional candidates also won.

There wasn't even a contest in Mississippi and Louisiana and Democratic nominees there were elected unopposed. Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina, where opposition to the Democrats was barely nominal, unspectacularly swept the party nominees into office.

Speaker of the House William B. Bankhead had an easy victory over his Republican opponent, E. M. Reed, in the routine Alabama vote.

Georgia's Senator Walter F. George and South Carolina's Senator Ellison D. Smith, like Tydings, politically blackballed by President Roosevelt in the primary as New Deal obstructionists, smothered their opponents with intra-party differences outwardly composed.

Columbia S. C. State
November 8, 1938

THIS MORNING

John Temple Graves, II.

The freeman, casting with unpurchased hand
The vote that shakes the turrets of the land."

Southern votes this Tuesday will shake no turrets. Their dye is Democratic, and already cast. General election day here is one when too many of us are content to stand on the sidelines and watch the rest of the nation vote. But even if there were no local issues calling for choice we would need to change our habit on this particular election day and go to the polls. In future national conventions of the only party in which the South counts it has been ordered that representation be based in part on party strength in different districts and states rather than solely on representation in congress as heretofore. Since there is more Democratic strength in the South than anywhere else this ought to mean an increase in Southern representation, but it is in danger of meaning just the opposite because of the fact that general elections in the South fail to bring out the full strength of the party. That is why it is important for Southern Democrats to go to the polls today. They may not be needed to elect their nominees but they are needed to protect the South's place in the party.

Many will be looking to the election returns as somehow determining whether President Roosevelt will be a candidate for a third term. This column hopes and believes, however that nothing of either good or evil in the returns as he sees them will persuade the president to such a course. Short of war or a visit from Mars there is nothing in the present scene which would justify the great departure from wise precedent—and there is much which would make departure from it especially unwise at this time.

Vote as they may and should in today's elections, Southerners cannot hope to equal the rest of the country in percentage of total population voting. That is in part because of the Negroes who are not permitted to vote and in perhaps equal part because of the white people whom the poll tax includes in most Southern states.

To argue for abolition of these poll taxes is not necessarily, as some honest and thoughtful citizens fear, to open the polls to all manner of dangerously incompetent people. If it meant that, we for one, would favor keeping the poll taxes, for in some parts of the South the incompetent outnumber the competent. But it is perfectly possible to restrict voting to those qualified in intelligence and stability by means of an educational restriction fairly and thoroughly administered. The right to vote in the South today, it seems to us, should not depend upon whether a man has two dollars or whatever the poll tax or tax arrears may be. It should depend upon his possession of the minimum of education without which voting can be a blind and vicious thing.

The voting test in the South should be not dollars but sense! The pun is atrocious but the point is as sound as it is American. Educational tests as now applied are unsatisfactory and often absurd. But in a land where public education is a part of the democratic process, it would seem quite simple to make the possession of some school's certificate of education the sole and absolute requirement for voting. Such a system works in certain Northern states and there is no reason why it shouldn't work here.

POLITICAL - 1938
SUFFRAGE

GENERAL

Taken In Stride

ROBERT W. BAGNALL, LL.D.

ALL GOD'S CHILDREN MUST VOTE

There are days when every agency is being used to convince John Citizen that he should vote this or that way. Some of these methods are rotten and dangerous.

If we believed the spokesmen and the press of the opposite parties, we would have to think all candidates of both parties to be a bunch of scoundrels and crooks who ought to be jailed.

It is both an insult to the voter and a menace to democracy when dirty accusations and rotten charges are made which are without proof and which will be dropped as soon as election is over. Both parties in this campaign are guilty of this.

For a politician to say after election—"that was merely politics when I said you were a thief and a crook and I didn't mean it," is for him to proclaim himself a liar and a slanderer who ought to be voted out of public life. He who tries to destroy another's good name is the worst of robbers and assassins. Further, this is dangerous in that the unthinking masses believe what is said and so lose all respect for law and office holders.

BAGNALL

The truth of it all is that candidates for office are just ordinary men, very few of whom have any unusual ability. Their election promises are usually hooey. They are neither saints nor devils—but run-of-the-mind human beings. If elected, they will make the usual blunders with which we are familiar, and will do some good and some ill.

Whether they are Republicans or Democrats doesn't make much difference; but their attitudes and records are the things that count.

Wise men will vote for friends and against enemies. If they believe that we can come to better things by going forward, they will vote for supporters of the New Deal. If they believe "the good old days" are the best, they will support the Republicans.

Meanwhile the Negro voters should remember that he counts only when there are two strong parties. He will not want Pennsylvania to go back to the days of the one-party (Republican) system, nor does he want it to become one-party (Democratic). As long as there are two strong parties, he will count; for only then will he furnish the balance of power.

The Negro, too, will realize that it will be a step forward to send a Negro woman to the Legislature. Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset is able and personable, and her election will help the group in that she has the ability to represent them ably.

He will also realize that his race will be advantaged by sending "Ed" Henry to Congress, in that a representative there will increase the consciousness that the Negro should have part in the government and again few will deny that "Ed" is an able politician who can give a good account of himself.

All this means that the Negro who is able to do so will vote for his own advantage rather than a straight party ticket.

But by all means—it is most important that Negroes cast a large vote in this election.

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General

Negroes Should Be More Interested In Political Affairs

Virginia Congressman Declares They Are Entirely Too Indifferent As To Their Civic Rights

Norfolk, Va., March 7 (By James H. Boykin for ANP) — Delcaring that less than 30.000 of the 300,000 people of his district vote, Congressman Norman R. Hamilton, representative of the Second Congressional District of Virginia, urged the 100.000 Negroes of the district to register and vote at the Men's Day program at St. John AME church here Sunday. He said that we are not taking sufficient interest in our civic and public affairs. If we do not prepare ourselves to vote, he asked, how can we criticize the work of congressmen?

Representative Hamilton was introduced on the stage by Dr. A. A. Burke, who said we hear of southern senators scolding our race, but he did not believe Congressman Hamilton would do it. Congressman Hamilton praised Drs. W. D. Byrd and A. A. Burke and their work here, bringing with him a statement from the surgeon general of the United States Department of Health. He quoted the surgeon general as having said that he knew of no section of the South where there is being done more tain to be announced and to be followed up in the spring and fall.

Some hint of the attitude of the association may be secured from the comments of Walter Winchell, widely syndicated columnist, who declared in his column of February 8: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is taking the defeat of the anti-lynching bill grimly, but patiently. The abrogation of the two-thirds rule (for nomination in the Democratic National Convention) breaks the hold of the Solid South. The Negro vote they believe controls the destiny of 17 states."

For the present, the association is urging a heavy registration of colored voters throughout the North and West and in all those southern states where they have the least chance of voting. The letter sent today to NAACP branches by Walter White, secretary, in urging registration states:

"Stress that the NAACP is not interested in what party ticket or candidates are voted for, but in the registration of every qualified Negro. Get ministers, civic groups, women's organizations, labor groups and others to stress unceasingly this important matter. Particularly important is this in states where the Negro vote potentially holds the balance of power, and in southern states. There are several of the latter like Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee where many more Negroes could register and vote if they would only do so. It will mean a sacrifice for some to pay accumulated poll taxes but that sacrifice should be urged. We have important tasks ahead of us in the 1938, 1940 and later elections and we cannot perform these tasks unless Negroes are qualified to vote. Obtain from the secretary of state of your state election laws and a statement of qualifications required and the procedure to be followed in registaring."

The association also issued a statement pointing out that as a result of the publicity on the anti-lynching bill fight "it is certain that efforts will be made to suppress news of lynchings. In a great many instances the subterfuge will be used of declaring that persons lynched were 'killed by posses'." Secretary White asked all branches of the association and other individuals and organizations to keep sharp watch for lynchings in their localities and to report same to the national office of the association at 69 Fifth avenue. Persons are asked also, whenever possible, to secure photographs of the lynching, or the body of the victim, or a portion of the crowd, and forward same to the NAACP in New York.

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald
February 16, 1938

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"The freeman, casting with unpurchased hand
The vote that shakes the turrets of the land."

* * *

"THE DISFRANCHISED SOUTH" is the title of an article by Alabama's Carroll Kilpatrick, published recently in The Washington Post and reproduced in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. In this article Mr. Kilpatrick makes interesting and pertinent comparisons between voting percentages in states which have poll taxes and those which do not. In West Virginia, where there is no tax, 88 per cent of the population over 21 years of age voted in the 1936 general election, while in South Carolina, where a poll tax is levied, only 13 per cent voted. North Carolina, with no poll tax but a literary requirement, gets 50 per cent of her adult population to the polls, but in poll-taxed Alabama and Georgia only 19 per cent vote, in Virginia only 24 per cent, Arkansas, 17 per cent; Mississippi, 16 per cent; Texas, 25 per cent, and Tennessee, 31 per cent.

* * *

In the matter of voting requirements (as in many other matters) North Carolina leads the South with a system at once progressive and practical. It has abolished poll taxes but it has literacy measures to prevent the over-running of its polls by voters who have not qualified in intelligence and responsibility. Nobody in his senses wants to risk the doubtful and perhaps deadly electoral decisions that might result from throwing the polls open to the great numbers of utterly unqualified people the South's population includes. But neither should anybody with a sense of democracy want to deny the vote to citizens merely because they will not or cannot produce money to pay a poll tax.

* * *

The test for voting privileges in the South (if an unpardonable pun may ask pardon) should be not dollars but sense.

* * *

The comparative disfranchisement which poll taxes produce in so many Southern states does not mean quality as against quantity in voting. It is safe to say that as many good voters are excluded as bad ones. Many people of education and intelligence but without political interests are kept away from the polls. They can afford the tax, all right, but voting is something they look upon as a duty rather than a right and the tax makes it too complicated or expensive for them to feel the duty worth doing. In addition there are plenty of perfectly qualified people who really cannot afford to pay the tax, people who are poor and who, by that very token, deserve to have their needs and wishes voiced in elections.

* * *

At the same time a great many of those who do pay poll taxes and vote are likely to be people with a special interest or people backed by a special interest. And the smaller the electorate the easier it is for special interests to control it.

* * *

Still another something for the South to consider with the disfranchisement its poll taxes cause is the reapportionment system ordered by the Democratic national convention for its next assemblage. Under this new system, as ordered, representation in future national conventions of the party will be based in important part upon the party vote in each state or district. Unless the South can muster a greater per cent of its real number of possible voters at elections it stands to lose weight tragically in the national decisions of the only political party in which it counts.

* * *

For many years poll taxes have been defended as a means of keeping Negroes from the polls. In recent years they have been defended additionally as a means of avoiding a heavy labor vote. Insofar as the Negro vote or the labor vote means or meant an ignorant vote, the poll tax apologists have a case. But the case is served as well, and the principle of democracy infinitely better, if literacy is substituted for dollars. As between an educated laboring man and an educated employer of laboring man, who can in decency say that the one is more entitled to a vote than the other? And as between educated Negro and white who either?

* * *

Charles Young, of the University of Virginia, would have us know that it wasn't the Virginia Legislature which was guilty of the bad taste of discarding Mr. Jefferson's own design for a marker over his grave in favor of a more pretentious and infinitely less precious one. It was the Congress of the United States.

* * *

If Sam Clabaugh were the congressman from this district we can picture ourself disagreeing with him time and time again, lambasting him on this issue or that, calling him a radical here, a reactionary there. But we can't picture ourself not respecting him as a man, a citizen and a public official. He is too exceptionally able, honest, experienced, finely imaginative and public-minded a citizen to be missed if he can be interested in the job.

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SUFFRAGE

GEORGIA

"Enfranchisement of Negro Wont' Work" Says Georgia Candidate For Legislature

Thinks Blacks Can Get Square Deal Without Ballot in Deep South

"White Primary" Gets Endorsement

By JAMES H. BOYKIN

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP)—Enfranchisement of the Negro just won't work here, Attorney R. B. Giles, candidate for the Georgia State senate, said in an interview here Tuesday. When asked what his attitude is toward Negro disfranchisement in the South, the lawyer said:

"I have to be perfectly frank, since you ask me. I was raised in the South; that ought to answer it. As for my attitude toward Negroes, I am as fair as possible, but enfranchisement just won't work in Georgia at the present time.

"My attitude, being a Southerner, raised in Georgia and knowing the conditions, is for the white primary, but so far as giving them a fair deal, I am for them."

When he was asked how they could get a fair deal without the ballot, he ignored the question. Then he said that if he were in the East, he would be in favor of Negro enfranchisement.

Lawyer R. H. Peters, native of Missouri and partner to Atty. Giles, upheld the lawyer's statement, but added, "I do not see any objection to Negroes' voting in Missouri,' 'although he admitted that there are people there who oppose Negro enfranchisement. "There you have a Republican primary and a Democratic primary, but you do not have a white primary."

The Negro people are "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps," he said, but they need more industrial schools so that they will not have to work at one place one week and look for a job the next week.

Sandersville, Ga., Progress
December 8, 1938

A movement will be made to provide a method of abolishing the poll tax in Georgia, according to Senator-elect J. H. McCranie, Sr., of the fourth district, composed of Crisp, Dodge and Wilcox counties. The poll tax was instituted as a check on the voting privileges of the Negroes. Very few pay any poll tax, but if it should be abolished they will again become a factor in deciding elections in this state. This tax now goes to the support of the schools, and if abolished some other form of taxation must be substituted, as the schools are now poorly financed.

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Chester, S. C., Reporter
May 9, 1938

HOT STUFF FROM GEORGIA.

Georgia has a Citizen's Fact Finding Movement, and from time to time the Georgians associated with that enterprise issue reports. These quotations are from the latest pamphlet, prepared by Judge Orville A. Park:

"Georgia's governmental system is organized on the basis of inefficiency. It is the embodiment of local self-government gone to seed, of democracy run riot. Its two outstanding characteristics are the multitude of independent self-governing principalities, denominated counties, and the almost complete absence of any central executive authority. Its political machinery is controlled not by parties or principles, but by [illegible]ely personal ambitions and [illegible] considerations. . . . This was [illegible]e opening paragraph of an address delivered . . . in 1929. . . . Still I see no occasion to modify the statement quoted, for the great fundamental defects in our political system have not been corrected."

(In the meantime Georgia has, however, adopted an executive budget system, the executive department has been re-organized, many boards and commissions have been consolidated or abolished, the higher educational institutions have been combined under a university system headed by a board of regents, and the constitution has been amended to permit a better tax system.)

The judge continues: "The small county as a rule is dominated by what is usually called the 'Court House Ring'. This consists of the county officers, the two or three, perhaps a half-dozen lawyers and maybe a few other politically minded citizens. With so small an electorate the members of the 'Ring' are generally related to most of the voters by blood, or marriage or business ties. The group drawn together by the 'cohesive power of public pap' can easily control an election. . . ."

"Georgia's Negro population is a little more than 36 per cent of the whole. Through the operation of the white primary this large proportion of the population is disfranchised . . . This disfranchisement of the Negro is thoroughly undemocratic and is more hurtful to the whites than it is to the Negro. . . . There is no more reason why an ignorant and venal white man should vote than that his brother in black should do so. . . .

"The state has no control of the counties worth speaking of. There is no system of state audits. No requirements that reports be made of county indebtedness. No standards which the counties observe. No restrictions on their purchases or dealings. The law enforcement officers are practically immune from state investigation or state control. . . .

"In a recent primary in Fulton county where important county offices were to be filled and a policy of far reaching consequence was to be decided, only 62 per cent of the 37,000 registered votes cast their ballots. . . .There were many thousand other citizens who were eligible but did not register. This is typical of the whole state and seems particularly characteristic of business men who are disgusted with politics and therefore allow the biggest business in the state, the state government itself, to be controlled and operated, in many instances, by officers whom they would not trust with responsible positions in their own corporations or for the handling of any of their important personal affairs. . ."—The State.

Macon, Ga., News
May 4, 1938

EDITORIAL

Up to Georgians

The report of Orville A. Park to the citizens' fact-finding committee, outlining Georgia's political system, was so clear, so correct and so meaningful that at first glance one might fail to see why his preachings have not been adopted long ago.

For years Mr. Park has been conducting a one-man campaign for elimination of some of the state's 159 counties—useless, needless, shameful wasters of taxpayers' money. Mr. Park's report restated that 153 of the 159 counties receive more money from the state treasury than they pay into it.

He criticized the form of representation of Georgia counties in the general assembly, pointing out that Fulton county, with 335,220 population, has three representatives while Echols county, with 2,744 citizens, has one. The difference there is one representative per 111,740 persons in Fulton—one per 2,744 in Echols.

That simply is not fair.

Because of this quirk of Georgia law promulgated in the first place to protect the country counties, political candidates devote most of their campaign efforts toward country counties. In them, a few controlled votes will give the candidate an election.

Astutely, Mr. Park charged that "the small county as a rule, is dominated by what is usually called the "courthouse ring."

Mr. Park, a traditional Southerner, added that disfranchisement of the Negro is "thoroughly undemocratic."

There is good sense in everything Mr. Park says in this report. But, unfortunately, nothing will be done about it—now. Later, perhaps, when enough Georgians understand the government scene in which they live as Mr. Park does, they will take the simple steps necessary to correct these maladjustments.

But the very fact that what Mr. Park refers to as the "courthouse crowds" control county politics in Georgia precludes the possibility that these same courthouse crowd members will campaign for county consolidations that might mean the end of their jobs.

The country counties that now control the state legislature will continue to control it because they will not relinquish any of the authority in state government that they now hold.

To effect the changes Mr. Park suggests by implication would require a determined populace, willing to go ahead on its own, without the help or advice of courthouse crowds.

It may be that Georgia is not ready for county consolidations, for a new system of representation and for the Negro franchise. But the News believes that such a time will come. When it does it will be due in no small measure to the indefatigable campaign that Mr. Park has maneuvered for many years.

It is up to the fact-finding committee to show what is wrong and good in Georgia. But it is up to Georgians to do something about it.

"DEFEAT GEORGE—DAMN THE COST"

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Georgia is destined for a wave of prosperity in the coming weeks of the primary campaign that will almost equal that of the lush days of 1917 and 1918 when cotton went to 40c per pound and better.

Telegraph 6-7-38

And where is all of this golden flow to come from? That is a proper question, and one easy to answer.

It will come from PWA and WPA, and it will come in a rush, because the New Deal powers-that-be must beat Walter George, and damn the cost—besides, it will be the taxpayers' money that is being spent and the funds of the New Dealers.

It is to be sincerely hoped that Georgia will be immune to this legal bribery and return George to the senate, instead of sending some Farley-chosen rubber-stamp.

In a recent broadcast a newspaper columnist and commentator made the statement that a certain U. S. supreme court justice had remarked to a close friend, "I would like to think my private telephone line in Washington is not tapped." To date the New Dealers have not challenged that comment.

The recent primary fight in Pennsylvania, the present one in Kentucky, and the above quoted remark clearly indicate there is nothing the present administration won't do to gain votes, therefore it will be well for Georgia to be careful in this primary, otherwise they will trade their birthright for a mess of New Deal pottage.

Also, it will be well to remember that Farley made the boast that his party had done more for the Negroes in the way of patronage in twelve months than had the Republicans in the previous twelve years. And to perpetuate themselves in power through getting any and every vote, by any and every means, Georgia and the South can look forward to heavy Negro registration in the future years if the New Deal machine isn't stopped, because the New Deal machine fully plans to "crack down" with the 13th and 14th amendments, and of course the South will feel the "crack down" the hardest.

Senator George is a statesman. It is to be hoped Georgia appreciates that fact and returns him, resisting the bribery that is to come in an effort to put over some New Deal rubber-stamp.

Washington. McL. SMITH.
(Formerly of Williamson, Ga.)

Atlanta, Ga., Georgian
June 26, 1938

42,937 Eligible Primary Voters

A total of 42,937 Fulton County citizens are eligible to vote in the September 14 primary, and 44,814 are eligible to vote in the November 8 general election, the board of registrars announced Saturday.

The number registered for the primary is about 2,000 less than in the special election for Sheriff.

Negroes will participate in the general election.

Registrars' figures showed 26,495 white persons registered in the city and 16,442 in the county.

POLL TAX ABOLITION URGED BY MANGHAM

Candidate for Governor Also Favors Two-Cent Cut in Gasoline Levy

7-20-38

GRAY, Ga., July 19.—(AP)—John J. Mangham, candidate for Governor, advocated abolition of the poll tax in an address here today.

"At present a large number of our people cannot vote because of their inability to pay the poll tax now required," he said. "We must eradicate this cancer, which is in fact destroying the self-respect and right of independent thought and action of thousands of our people, and restore to other thousands their right to exercise the only thing a poor man or woman has left—the right to vote."

Mangham said he also favored a cut of 2 cents a gallon from the gasoline tax.

The Bremen banker said he believed registration laws should be amended so as to provide for the issuance of an identification number of certificate "so that election managers can satisfy themselves that the person who offers to vote is the actual person he or she claims to be."

TEACHING NEEDED TO MAKE VOTERS

Editor, Constitution: Your editorial "Why Don't Southern People Vote," should be pondered, and the people of the south should try to induce those who do not vote to vote and help to elect men to office who are the best qualified to hold the office, in the cities, state and nation. The writer submits the following plan to get people to vote.

First: Abolish the poll tax. Second, the public schools must teach children in school the principles on which the United States government is founded, and not teach them just a little smattering about the United States government, as is being done now in the public schools, remove the public schools from politics. Third, make a full knowledge of the principles on which the United States government is founded a prerequisite to entering any and all colleges in the United States. The mere smattering of knowledge about the United States government is all that college students ever know until they graduate and go out into the world and really learn something about the principles on which the United States government is founded. Most college professors know very little about the principles on which the United States government is founded, outside the statement in the histories, which are often all too meager and confusing.

E. S. FULLER.

Savannah, Ga.

NEGROES FIGHT TO VOTE IN GEORGIA

Judge Tells Democratic Chairman that U. S. Supreme Court Decision Gives Us Right of Ballot

ATHENS, Ga., Sept. 1—(Special)—A sharp and direct clash of opinion as to whether Negroes are legally entitled to vote in Democratic primary elections in the State of Georgia, has developed between Chairman H. J. Rowe of the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee and Judge Walter G. Cornett, chairman of the Republican Club of the Tenth District, it has been revealed, through the making public of a recent exchange of letters on the subject between the two.

Stating that he had been requested by a number of Negroes to obtain a ruling for them as to whether they could participate in the Sept. 14, Democratic primary in which they wish to cast their votes for the New Deal Candidate for United States Senator, Judge Cornett wrote to Chairman Rowe asking if they could.

SHARP DISAGREEMENT

Citing hat rules for the holding of Party primaries require that only white Democrats who will vote in subsequent general elections may cast their ballots in such primaries, Rowe answered in the negative.

Judge Cornett holds to the view, however, and so advised the chairman, that under decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, Negroes are legally entitled to vote in the primaries and that to prevent them, legally, from doing so, will require the adoption of a constitutional amendment barring them from participation in such elections.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Sentinel
August 25, 1938

Negro Group Denied Votes

Atlanta, Ga. (UP).—Georgia's bitterly contested Democratic primary campaign was cast in a reconstruction day atmosphere today as various Republican issues were threshed out in the camps of the candidates.

Headquarters of Senator Walter F. George, who is running for reelection in the face of new deal disapproval, made public a decision by Hugh J. Rowe, Clarke county Democratic chairman, refusing to allow a group of Negroes to ballot in the September 14 primary.

Permission for the Negro vote had been asked by Walter S. Cornett, member of the state Republican executive committee, who said the Negroes "wished to vote for the new deal candidate for senator," Lawrence S. Camp.

Rowe pointed out that primary rules and regulations limited the voting to "white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections and who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices."

Negroes were barred from voting in the Georgia Democratic primary back in the days when the state was still bitter over reconstruction and the "black Republican" ballot.

The George action was construed as an answer to his unsolicited endorsement by James W. Arnold, Republican national committeeman for Georgia. Arnold in a better to members of his party, asked support of George, who often has opposed new deal policies, in order to effect an eventual split in the Democratic party.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
August 25, 1938

Argue Status Of Negro Vote

Judge Cornett and H. J. Rowe in Dispute

ATHENS, Ga., Aug. 25.—(AP)—Judge Walter G. Cornett, chairman of the Tenth District Republican Club, and former professor of constitutional law at the University of Georgia, was on record Thursday with an opinion that negroes may legally vote in the white primary.

Cornett's contention was opuosed, however, by H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke County Democratic committee, who asserted the committee had ruled negroes would be ineligible to vote in the September 14 primary.

An exchange of letters between Cornett and Rowe was made public in Atlanta by campaign headquarters of Senator Walter F. George.

Cornett asked Rowe for a ruling after a request had come to him from "certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic party primary election on September 14. They wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator."

Rowe replied that primary rules adopted by the state democratic executive committee allowed voting privilege to "all white electors who are Democrats and are to vote in the general elections."

"My interpretation," wrote Cornett, "is that negroes can vote in Georgia under the Supreme Court decision of the United States and that it will be necessary for us to have a constitutional amendment to prevent colored people from voting in our primaries."

He added he was not taking a personal stand in the primary, "because I hold that the white Republicans cannot participate in the Democratic primary."

PARIS R. PRYOR,
Chairman of the colored citizens committee.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 30, 1938

Negro Citizens Organize To Back Auditorium Bonds

Paris R. Pryor, Newly-Elected Chairman of Committee Urges Colored Citizens to Support and Vote For Proposed Bond Issue

Paris R. Pryor, prominent Negro civic leader and underwriter of 1444 Mills street, was named yesterday as chairman of the colored citizens committee to seek passage of the proposed municipal auditorium bond issue Sept. 9.

Pointing out the need for such a structure that would benefit not only the white citizenry of Augusta but the colored people, also, Chairman Pryor urged the colored voters to "turn out in full strength and vote passage of this project that will be of great benefit to all Augusta."

A special section of 500 seats will be provided for colored citizens to be used for any type of meeting, entertainment or show, he said.

Following is a statement issued by Chairman Pryor urging a vote of approval by the colored voting list:

"Fellow citizens, it is now time that we should wake up to the duties of our citizenship in regard to the sponsoring of a municipal auditorium for the benefit of the city.

"This auditorium will be for the use of every citizen of the city. A special 500-seat section is planned for the colored citizens of Augusta for any type of gathering they see fit.

"I have been to Macon, Columbia, S. C., Anderson, S. C., and other cities, smaller than Augusta, and I find that we are lagging far behind in progress of this nature. We don't have an auditorium but these other smaller cities do have one.

"I want all the colored voters to make up their minds and work together and put the issue over.

"Let us all come down to the polls on Sept. 9, full-pledged toward putting this issue through and vote for the auditorium bonds."

I thank you,

Atlanta, Ga. Georgian
June 26, 1938

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TEACHING NEEDED TO MAKE VOTERS

Editor, Constitution: Your editorial "Why Don't Southern People Vote," should be pondered, and the people of the south should try to induce those who do not vote to vote and help to elect men to office who are the best qualified to hold the office, in the cities, state and nation. The writer submits the following plan to get people to vote.

First: Abolish the poll tax. Second, the public schools must teach children in school the principles on which the United States government is founded, and not teach them just a little smattering about the United States government, as is being done now in the public schools, remove the public schools from politics. Third, make a full knowledge of the principles on which the United States government is founded a prerequisite to entering any and all colleges in the United States. The mere smattering of knowledge about the United States government is all that college students ever know until they graduate and go out into the world and really learn something about the principles on which the United States government is founded. Most college professors know very little about the principles on which the United States government is founded, outside the statement in the histories, which are often all too meager and confusing.

E. S. FULLER.

Savannah, Ga.

NEGROES FIGHT TO VOTE IN GEORGIA

Judge Tells Democratic Chairman that U. S. Supreme Court Decision Gives Us Right of Ballot

ATHENS, Ga., Sept. 1—(Special)—A sharp and direct clash of opinion as to whether Negroes are legally entitled to vote in Democratic primary elections in the State of Georgia, has developed between Chairman H. J. Rowe of the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee and Judge Walter G. Cornett, chairman of the Republican Club of the Tenth District, it has been revealed, through the making public of a recent exchange of letters on the subject between the two.

Stating that he had been requested by a number of Negroes to obtain a ruling for them as to whether they could participate in the Sept. 14, Democratic primary in which they wish to cast their votes for the New Deal Candidate for United States Senator, Judge Cornett wrote to Chairman Rowe asking if they could.

SHARP DISAGREEMENT

Citing hat rules for the holding of Party primaries require that only white Democrats who will vote in subsequent general elections may cast their ballots in such primaries, Rowe answered in the negative.

Judge Cornett holds to the view, however, and so advised the chairman, that under decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, Negroes are legally entitled to vote in the primaries and that to prevent them, legally, from doing so, will require the adoption of a constitutional amendment barring them from participation in such elections.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Sentinel
August 25, 1938

Negro Group Denied Votes

Atlanta, Ga. (UP). — Georgia's bitterly contested Democratic primary campaign was cast in a reconstruction day atmosphere today as various Republican issues were threshed out in the camps of the candidates.

Headquarters of Senator Walter F. George, who is running for reelection in the face of new deal disapproval, made public a decision by Hugh J. Rowe, Clarke county Democratic chairman, refusing to allow a group of Negroes to ballot in the September 14 primary.

Permission for the Negro vote had been asked by Walter S. Cornett, member of the state Republican executive committee, who said the Negroes "wished to vote for the new deal candidate for senator," Lawrence S. Camp.

Rowe pointed out that primary rules and regulations limited the voting to "white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections and who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices."

Negroes were barred from voting in the Georgia Democratic primary back in the days when the state was still bitter over reconstruction and the "black Republican" ballot.

The George action was construed as an answer to his unsolicited endorsement by James W. Arnold, Republican national committeeman for Georgia. Arnold in a better to members of his party, asked support of George, who often has opposed new deal policies, in order to effect an eventual split in the Democratic party.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
August 25, 1938

Argue Status Of Negro Vote

Judge Cornett and H. J. Rowe in Dispute

ATHENS, Ga., Aug. 25.—(AP)—Judge Walter G. Cornett, chairman of the Tenth District Republican Club, and former professor of constitutional law at the University of Georgia, was on record Thursday with an opinion that negroes may legally vote in the white primary.

Cornett's contention was opuosed, however, by H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke County Democratic committee, who asserted the committee had ruled negroes would be ineligible to vote in the September 14 primary.

An exchange of letters between Cornett and Rowe was made public in Atlanta by campaign headquarters of Senator Walter F. George.

Cornett asked Rowe for a ruling after a request had come to him from "certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic party primary election on September 14. They wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator."

Rowe replied that primary rules adopted by the state democratic executive committee allowed voting privilege to "all white electors who are Democrats and are to vote in the general elections."

"My interpretation," wrote Cornett, "is that negroes can vote in Georgia under the Supreme Court decision of the United States and that it will be necessary for us to have a constitutional amendment to prevent colored people from voting in our primaries."

He added he was not taking a personal stand in the primary, "because I hold that the white Republicans cannot participate in the Democratic primary."

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 30, 1938

Negro Citizens Organize To Back Auditorium Bonds

Paris R. Pryor, Newly-Elected Chairman of Committee Urges Colored Citizens to Support and Vote For Proposed Bond Issue

Paris R. Pryor, prominent Negro civic leader and underwriter of 1444 Mills street, was named yesterday as chairman of the colored citizens committee to seek passage of the proposed municipal auditorium bond issue Sept. 9.

Pointing out the need for such a structure that would benefit not only the white citizenry of Augusta but the colored people, also, Chairman Pryor urged the colored voters to "turn out in full strength and vote passage of this project that will be of great benefit to all Augusta."

A special section of 500 seats will be provided for colored citizens to be used for any type of meeting, entertainment or show, he said.

Following is a statement issued by Chairman Pryor urging a vote of approval by the colored voting list:

"Fellow citizens, it is now time that we should wake up to the duties of our citizenship in regard to the sponsoring of a municipal auditorium for the benefit of the city.

"This auditorium will be for the use of every citizen of the city. A special 500-seat section is planned for the colored citizens of Augusta for any type of gathering they see fit.

"I have been to Macon, Columbia, S. C., Anderson, S. C., and other cities, smaller than Augusta, and I find that we are lagging far behind in progress of this nature. We don't have an auditorium but these other smaller cities do have one.

"I want all the colored voters to make up their minds and work together and put the issue over.

"Let us all come down to the polls on Sept. 9, full-pledged toward putting this issue through and vote for the auditorium bonds."

I thank you,

PARIS R. PRYOR,
Chairman of the colored citizens committee.

Political - 1938

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Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 25, 1938

GEORGE TO BATTLE G. O. P. ASSERTIONS

Negroes Ruled Out Of Sept. 14 Primary, Is Charge

ATLANTA, Aug. 24—(AP)—Senator Walter F. George's campaign aids Wednesday set against assertions of Republican support for him a report that Negroes had sought—and been denied—permission to vote against him in the Democratic primary.

George's headquarters made public an exchange of letters in which H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke County Democratic Committee at Athens, ruled Negroes could not vote in the Sept. 14 Democratic primary, in which George seeks renomination.

Rowe's letter was in response to one from Walter G. Cornett, member of the Republican state executive committee, who said he had been "requested by certain Negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary."

His letter added the unnamed Negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator." President Roosevelt recently called for George's defeat and endorsed Lawrence Camp.

George has been under fire of the camp forces lately because of a letter written by James W. Arnold, Republican State Committeeman, urging members of that party to enter the Democratic fight and support the senator with a view to furthering changes for a Democratic split in 1940.

Senator George criticized in a speech at Rome, Ga., Wednesday President Roosevelt's recent assertion the United States would defend Canada against attack.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
August 25, 1938

Ruling Bars Negro Votes In Primary

Effort To Enlist Them Against Senator George Is Disclosed.

By The Associated Press.

Senator George's campaign aides yesterday set against claims of Republican support for the senator a report that negroes had sought—and been denied—permission to vote against him in the Democratic primary.

This development shared attention with a full-blown program of political oratory which touched on such widely divergent topics as war in Canada, Republicans in Democratic primaries and sex appeal in general.

George's headquarters made public an exchange of letters in which H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee at Athens, ruled negroes could not vote in the September 14 primary.

"Vote for New Deal."

Rowe's letter was in response to one from Walter G. Cornett, member of the Republican state executive committee, who said he had been "requested by certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary."

His letter added the unnamed negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator." (Mr. Roosevelt recently called for George's defeat and indorsed Lawrence Camp.)

At Athens, Cornett, a former professor of constitutional law at the University of Georgia, disagreed with Rowe's interpretation that negroes are barred from primary voting.

George has been under fire of the Camp forces lately because of a letter written by James W. Arnold, Republican state committeeman, urging members of that party to enter the Democratic fight and support the senator with a view to furthering chances for a Democratic split in 1940.

Senator George brought the question of foreign war into the long list of campaign topics when he took a crack at President Roosevelt's recent assertion that the United States would defend Canada against attack.

The senator said at Rome he would see his "right arm severed from my body" before he would vote for a war he thought unjustified.

Camp struck at the appeal of Republican National Committeeman Arnold for support of George, said at Monroe and Louisville that reduced the race to the question "shall the Democrats control our primary or shall the Republicans?"

The New Dealer also added a light touch when he referred to a statement by a Washington columnist, Raymond Clapper, that Camp "has no sex appeal" for the voters.

"I'll concede that to Mr. Talmadge," Camp laughed.

Governor Rivers, John J. Mangham and Hugh Howell kept the gubernatorial fires burning briskly with oral broadsides at a half dozen cities in south and southwest Georgia.

Listeners at Bainbridge and Quitman heard the Governor defend his administration with the claim it "has furnished more services and lifted more taxes off more people than any administration in the history of Georgia." Also coming in for praise was the state highway patrol, which he estimated has saved 126 lives along Georgia highways since it was established 34 weeks ago.

Mangham and his quartet stirred things up at Lumpkin and Preston, where the Bremen businessman assailed in particular the Governor's handling of the old-age pensions. He said Rivers had not paid as much as he promised to pay to old persons. He said also the Governor was trying to keep the pensioners and those seeking pensions behind him by making them think his defeat would endanger the whole program.

Nashville and Moultrie heard Howell's claim that only "Capitol Hill farmers" attended a "farmers' rally" for the Governor at an Atlanta hotel last Monday.

CAMP? 3 COUNTIES, HARDWICK DECLARES

AUGUSTA, Ga., Aug. 24.—(AP)—A prediction that Roosevelt-indorsed Lawrence S. Camp will not "carry more than three counties" in the four-man senate race September 14 was made here today by Thomas W. Hardwick, former Georgia Governor, congressman and United States senator.

In Augusta with his bride of five weeks for a one-day visit, Hardwick said "it looks like George in a walk."

"I've talked with people all over the state," he said, and added "all the people I hear from are for George."

Senator George, opposed by Camp, ex-Governor Talmadge and William G. McRae, "will carry way over 100 counties," the Sandersville resident predicted, and said he believed Talmadge would take between 25 and 30 counties.

Ballot Our Salvation, Speaker Tells Hearers

9-8-38 Atlanta, Ga

Native Georgian, Now Member Of Pennsylvania Legislature, Returns for Visit in Augusta

By WILLIAM FOWLKES, Jr.

AUGUSTA, Ga.—(SNS)—The Negro must learn to use the ballot as an effective means of getting his share of rights, respect, equal salaries in school and public systems and regular division of government expenditures if our democracy is to live and thrive, Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, of Philadelphia, representative in the Pennsylvania legislature and former Georgian, advised Sunday.

Dr. Thompson, an outstanding dentist in the Quaker City, was on a vacation trip home as the guest of his brothers, Harold and Charles Thompson, owners and managers of a 2,000-acre farm near here. He lived here several years ago before moving to Pennsylvania where he has met tremendous success in dental practice and as a public official.

SIX REPRESENTATIVES

The Philadelphian is one of six colored representatives in the Pennsylvania house, he revealed. The others are: Rev. Marshall Shepard, William Almond, Samuel Holmes, John Brigeman, all representatives of Philadelphia county in which the metropolis is located; and Homer Brown, of Allegheny county, of which Pittsburgh is the county seat and principal city.

Since being in the legislature, Pennsylvania representatives have secured for the first time in the state's history, a large appropriation to Lincoln University, Chester, Pa.; scholarships to higher institutions of learning for colored students and a large number of grants in colored districts from general appropriation funds and other benefits for race citizens, it was revealed.

SERVED TWO SESSIONS

The former Augustan has been representative for a period of two years. During this time he has served in one regular and two special sessions. He is up for reelection in the November general election. He says he is confident of victory over his white opponent.

It was stated that that attention of politics in Pennsylvania now is focused upon the extra-ordinary legislative session in which a grand jury investigating alleged corruption in the administration of Governor George H. Earle. He will attend that special session upon his return north.

UNWRITTEN HISTORY

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

It was election day in the town of Sparta, Hancock county, Ga.—The first election that was held after the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution giving the franchise to Negroes.

By sunrise in the morning of that memorable day Negroes began to flock into town from all directions and by 10 o'clock there was a great throng! A multitude of ignorant black men, who had never had to think or plan for themselves in any way and now bewildered by their recent freedom they being shoved out into a stormy sea, without chart or compass and left to the mercy of the waves. Through the influence of Northern Carpetbaggers and their counterpart, Southern scalawags, their minds were stuffed with the most malicious lies and false promises until they were influenced beyond all reason.

To add to their confusion, they had had thrust into their hands the most dangerous weapon that could be placed into the hands of the ignorant, viz: the ballot. They had no adequate conception of what this meant. In their ignorance they could not realize that through its use they were liable to bring disaster upon the entire South, themselves as well.

All business had been suspended and the atmosphere was tense with anxiety and suppressed excitement; for it had been rumored that the Negroes would be armed.

Anticipating possible trouble, the whites had stored in an upper room of the hotel a number of guns.

The election was proceeding under the management of Republicans—the chief manager being Judge James Gonder, a citizen of this county, who for reasons of his own had allied himself with the North.

About 11 o'clock Judge Linton Stephens appears on the scene—takes in the situation—sees all the dangers to the South which it threatens and immediately goes into action.

Without the authority of any law, save the law of self preservation and armed with no weapon save the sword of righteousness and the courage and skill to wield it, with the bearing of a king he entered the court house, confronted the managers and in scathing terms denounced them for the manner in which they were conducting the election and ordered the sheriff to arrest the manager and put him in jail.

At this point, a white Republican sympathizer who was present, approached Mr. Stephens and made some insulting remarks as to his action.

Like a flash of lightning Mr. Stephens' right arm flew out and landed in the fellow's face and brought him to the floor.

Amid great excitement the sheriff seized the manager and surrounded by a wild mob of protesting Negroes started for the jail—the mob following.

At a given signal about 20 men rushed up into the hotel room and came down on the street with guns at present arms and started towards the mob surrounding the sheriff and his prisoner.

The panic which this caused can best be imagined than described. Those of the Negroes who had horses mounted and put whip and those that were on foot jerked off their hats and showed their heels and in less time than it takes to relate the story, the town was swept clean of Negroes and all was as serene and peaceful as a Sabbath day.

In the twinkling of an eye, with one bold stroke and courage which partook of moral grandeur, Linton Stephens, backed up by the gallant men of Hancock county—All of whom were old Confederate soldiers—had wrenched from the hands of the North the means by which they intended to hold the South in subjection—re-established white supremacy, just as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end: Eliminated the Negroes as a political factor, restored social order and revived hopes that were all but dead.

Immediately there was a rift in the clouds which overhung the South and the sun came out.

Adjoining states, North and South Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee caught the vision. Fresh hope and courage was inspired in them and through them the glad tidings of a new day went ringing into the remaining Southern states.

'Twas through this happening, that the South was drawn closer together in the bonds of sympathy and co-operation and hand in hand, in a solid phalanx went marching on.

This was not the end but it was the beginning and it was the first decisive step in the entire South towards the accomplishment of this end and it is to the honor and glory of Linton Stephens an the men of Hancock that it was taken here on Georgia soil and the scene of it was in and around the old court house in Sparta.

The writer—now a tottering remnant of the Old South—as a 14-year-old boy was an eye witness to the scenes described.

This happened 70 years ago when the feeling between the North and South was very bitter and it is not the purpose of the writer to arouse any of those animosities, but it is only fair that the records of those times be kept straight.

Neither is it my purpose to cast any reflections upon the courage of the Negroes for skidadling as they did.

The manner in which they reacted to that scene, proves that at heart they knew Mr. Stephens was right and that the people of the South were their best friends.

The spot of Georgia soil whereon this first step in the South's redemption was taken, to me is sacred, holy ground. It marks the birth of a new era and the formation of the Solid South.

May we not then from this lingering spark, yet smouldering in the ashes of the past, rekindle the flame of hope and glory which this first step betokened . . . fan it into a blazing torch whose radiant light will penetrate into every corner of our Southland and make of this hallowed spot a shrine to which future generations of the South may come to pay their tributes and offer up their prayers of thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Sparta, Ga. R. C. WILSON.

P.S.: Let those who would take the bridle off and abolish the poll-tax as a pre-requisite to voting take heed lest they play h-h-havoc. The passage of such a law could have but one purpose and would be as obnoxious to the South, as were the reconstruction measures of 70 years ago. It might be less simple and more painful to nullify such a law than it was then, but there is enough daring and courage in the blood of the sons and daughters of the Old South to compass it. R. C. W.

Political – 1938

Suffrage

Georgia.

WHITE SLIPS FOR RACE VOTERS

Daily Word

3-2-38

Qualified Colored Voters To Ballot For Sheriff

FIVE IN RACE

Atlanta

Today voters of Fulton County will go to the polls and choose one of five candidates for sheriff. The Fulton County primary will be held at the same time resulting in the selection of two county commissioners and the nomination of a judge of the Municipal Court.

Several hundred colored voters will vote for their favorite in the sheriff's race. They will not vote in the primary, however, or indicate their opinion on the proper time for holding future primaries—spring or fall.

Polls in Atlanta will be open from 7 A. M. to 6 P. M. in most cases for those who wish to vote for sheriff of the county. Exceptions may exist in some cases and voters are urged to consult the county ordinary as to the hours of their respective polling places. Eleven small rural precincts polls will be open from eight A. M. to three P. M.

Colored voters will use the white ballots that will be given them by a special corps of officials and workers who will have charge of the sheriff's election in the polling places. Primary voters will use pink ballots.

Candidates for Sheriff are: Acting Sheriff James D. Bazemore, J. C. "Mott" Aldredge, runner-up in the last election; T. O. Sturdivant, former Atlanta police chief; H. J. Foster, salesman, and Grover Clark, former candidate for the county commission.

Candidates for other offices whom colored voters will not ballot for are: (For County Commissioner) Dr. Charles R. Adams, incumbent; Alderman I. Gloer Hailey, J. H. Ewing, real estate man, and Hugh C. Couch, automobile dealer of College Park; Ed L. Almand, incumbent; Alderman G. Dan Bridges and Frank F. Smith, county tax investigator; (Commissioner Troy G. Chastain is unopposed.) (For Municipal Court Judge) Luther Z. Rosser, incumbent, and Dwight T. Minhinnett, Buckhead Justice of the Peace. Judges A. L. Etheridge and Ralph McClelland are not opposed.

The candidates put on their last blasts of oratory from public platform and microphone Tuesday. They indicated their platforms and qualifications for the respective offices.

REGISTRATI'N LARGE IN COUNTY

Colored Citizens In Majority Move To Vote Referendum

TEST VALIDITY

Daily Word

More than 37,000 persons are now qualified to vote in the March 30 Fulton county referendum.

Approximately 12,000 persons in Fulton county have registered for the special purpose of voting in the local option liquor referendum March 30, T. Earl Suttles, tax collector, announced Thursday. Colored citizens were more largely represented in the registration list than has been the case in many years, it was learned.

WETS UPHELD

Elections in liquor referenda have been set for Muscogee county today and in Pierce and Coffee counties tomorrow.

Judge C. F. McLaughlin refused to bar liquor taxation referendum set for today in Muscogee county. Judge M. D. Dickerson at Waycross, upheld the constitutionality of the new law and declined to enjoin Pierce and Coffee county referenda.

LAW HANGS IN BALANCE

Prohibitionists started their appeal to the state supreme court before Judge B. C. Gardner, who ruled the law constitutional in the Dougherty injunction plea last week.

The ultimate fate of Georgia's liquor tax law hangs in the balance of the supreme court, where prohibitionists yesterday started the Dougherty decision by presentation of a bill of exceptions to Judge Gardner.

If the bill of exceptions is expedited, supreme court attaches said, the high court will probably include the case in its April call. Should the supreme court reverse the rulings given by Judge Gardner and Judge McLaughlin the liquor tax law would be null and void.

Near 45,000 Voters Eye Polls Mar. 30

Daily Worker

3-11-38

Atlanta

Approximately 42,330 persons are qualified to vote in Wednesday's Fulton referendum on the wet-dry question. Last minute efforts were being made by leaders of both factions Saturday in support of their sides.

W. W. Gaines, chairman of the Consolidated Forces for Prohibition, declared Saturday that no effort will be made by drys to enjoin the scheduled election. He said his group will fight the issue at the polls and in the supreme court, where one or more cases will be carried on constitutional grounds.

Stuart P. Murray, white, chairman of the county repeal committee, urged residents of the Atlanta and Fulton County to cast ballots. He declared that a heavy vote is highly important in the county.

All arrangements for the election have been made by County Ordinary Thomas H. Jefferies and other officials.

Approximately 1,626 Colored Atlantans are eligible to vote in the referendum, according to records, 155 in the county.

Most polls will be open from 7 o'clock Wednesday morning to 6 o'clock Wednesday night.

League Meets At W. Hunter St. Tuesday

Politically - Minded Groups Slated To Make Appearance

Daily Worker

3-29-38

Atlanta

The Atlanta Civic - Political League will hold its regular monthly meeting Tuesday night, May 3, at the West Hunter Street Baptist church, corner of West Hunter and Chestnut streets at 8:30 p. m.

Rev. Samuel Pettagrue, pastor of the church, has invited the league to meet at his church. Rev. Pettagrue has organized a strong group of men who call themselves "Minute Men." They will turn out in a body next Tuesday night to let the league know that they are co-operating with the movement.

John C. Long of Booker Street is also active on the West side getting both men and women to become registered voters. Mr. Long promises to bring his crowd with him to the meeting.

H. M. Ivey, prominent undertaker of the West side, and W. S. Hollomon, who operates the West side Tavern on West Hunter street, are bringing another strong organized group.

President John Wesley Dobbs states that he will have some new matters of vital interest to all citizens to bring before the league at this meeting.

The registration books will be open for prospective voters until May 8.

All Atlanta citizens are cordially invited to attend the League's meeting Tuesday night.

LEAGUE WILL SEEK YOUNG VOTERS

Fair - Sized Crowd Attends Tuesday Night Meeting

TALKS MADE

The Atlanta Civic and Political League invaded the West Side in a meeting at the West Hunter Street Baptist church Tuesday night, beginning its neighborhood spread of the gospel that the Atlanta Negro group must become vote-conscious.

A fair-sized group was present during the meeting which featured enthusiastic addresses and reports of working committees of the organization.

C. A. Scott, chairman of the committee on the contacting of business men in the vote - influence drive, reported that the luncheon held at the Top Hat, Friday, April 29, was a success, in that most of the employers pledged to have their employes become registered as a matter of requirement for securing and holding their jobs. Approximately forty employers were present, it was disclosed.

A report was made concerning the effort to secure a WPA musicians project in Atlanta. The effort will be continued.

That the League must concentrate its efforts on securing the vote-mindedness of leaders such as ministers, doctors and teachers was the concensus of opinion of those present. It was also brought out that due to the accumulated tax penalty in registering and qualifying to vote, the main emphasis in the vote drive must be confined to the registration of young men, between the ages of 21 and 25, and women.

Reference was made by John Wesley Dobbs, League president, to the Georgia Central Planning Body, which meets in Macon the latter part of this month to ferret the needs of the group in the state.

Forrester B. Washington, head of the Atlanta School of Social Work, and president of the Atlanta Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., informed those present that his group was 100 per cent behind the efforts of the League to put over the vote program. Dr. M. L. King, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist church, stressed the importance of urging ministers to cooperate in the League program and urged pressure to make them respond to full participation in the duties of citizenship. He invited the League to his church at the next meeting and the June community session will be held at the Auburn Avenue institution. Ministers' and teachers' groups will be called to meet soon.

A resolution was passed regretting the death of Mrs. Willie Daniels, treasurer of the League, who was one of the best known and loved Atlantans.

TALK VOTE, BUSINESS FRIDAY

Approximately 65 business men and women attended a luncheon Friday afternoon held in the Top Hat ballroom. The affair was sponsored jointly by the Atlanta Negro Chamber of Commerce and the Atlanta Civic and Political League.

C. A. Scott, chairman of the Business Committee of the League, pointed out that the luncheon was being held for the purpose of discussing colored businesses in Atlanta and the question of more colored people registering and becoming qualified voters.

After Mr. Scott revealed that all but three of the 55 Atlanta Daily World employes had qualified themselves to vote, two other business men readily agreed to arrange for their employes to register at Fulton County Courthouse.

As a method of getting acquainted, J. W. Dobbs, president of the Civic and Political League, introduced each person present to the entire group.

J. B. Blayton, of the Chamber of Commerce, told the group he had written a letter to President Roosevelt urging that at least one colored business man be included in the council of businessmen the President is considering creating.

Charles Shaw, former Atlantan who is now working in an executive capacity in Houston, Texas, left some timely advice with the group.

The entire gathering expressed a desire to make the luncheon a monthly affair.

Macon, Ga., News
May 6, 1938

ABOMINABLE POLITICS

From The Sandersville Progress.

In a recent speech delivered by Senator Walter F. George in Augusta he calls attention to the abominable practice of attempting to buy elections, which has been the curse of politics since the formation of governments, and should meet with the censure of all honorable citizens.

In the years of the past, before the former slaves were given the right to cast a ballot, there were "floaters," purchasable by crafty politicians, who would stoop to any expediency in order to be elected to office. After the franchise was given the freed men chaos reigned in some of the Southern communities, as the colored vote outnumbered the white, and some of the descendants of Africans were elevated to office.

In 1877 Georgia adopted a new constitution, requiring each voter to pay a poll tax of one dollar annually in order to qualify for voting. The Negroes failed to pay poll taxes, and thus they became delinquents for a number of years, and today comparatively few are qualified voters. Such votes were purchasable in squads and droves while they were qualified, but that is now past history.

Since the Negroes have permitted themselves to be disqualified the "floaters" have again become a menace in politics, as many of them claim that they get nothing out of politics unless they accept bribes from candidates, and droves of them besiege candidates for the various offices with the hope of selling their "influence" in favor of the one who planks down the most money. In some instances they sell their influence to opposing candidates, as they are willing to do almost anything in order to gather in as many shekels as possible during political campaigns. If a candidate has no opposition they work industriously in order to induce opposition, the object being to create an opportunity for graft.

And thus it goes. Pity the poor politician who becomes the victim of the grafter.

Sandersville, Ga., Progress
May 5, 1938

Abominable Politics

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Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
August 25, 1938

Whether Negroes Eligible To Vote In Primary Affords New Senatorial Controversy

Test Of Letter From Cornett To Rowe Published In Story Below

By The Associated Preses

Judge Walter G. Cornett, Athens, chairman of the Tenth District Republican club and former professor of constitutional law at the University of Georgia, was on record today with an opinion that negroes may legally vote in the white primary.

Cornett's contention was opposed, however, by H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee, who asserted the committee had ruled negroes would be ineligible to vote in the September 14 primary.

An exchange of letters between Cornett and Rowe was made public in Atlanta yesterday by campaign headquarters of Senator Walter F. George.

Cornett asked Rowe for a ruling after a request had come to him, he said, from "certain negfoes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic party primary election on September 14th. They wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator."

Rowe replied that primary rules adopted by the state Democratic executive committee allowed voting privileges to "all white electors who are Democrats and are to vote in the general elections."

"My interpretation," wrote Cornett, "s that negroes can vote in Georgia under the Supreme Court decision of the United States and that it will be necessary for us to have a constitutional amendment to prevent colored people from voting in our primaries."

He added he was not taking a personal stand in the primary "because I hold that the white Republicans cannot participate in the Democratic primary."

District Attorney Lawrence S. Camp, backed by President Roosebelt for the senate nomination termed the controversy "one of the campaign tricks."

"The people may expect anything from that crowd in its effort to elect Senator George," he said.

August 22, 1938.

Hon. H. J. Rowe, Chairman,
Clarke County Democratic
Party, City.

Dear Sir:

I have been requested by certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic party primary election on September 14. They wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator.

The Constitution and statutes of this state fixing the qualifications of electors and Code Sections 34-3201, ets seq., provide as to primary elections. It seems to me that under the latter sections, if they are qualified under the Constitution of this state, they may vote in the Democratic primaries, but under Code Section 34-3202, the party authorities may formulate additional rules. What are these rules?

In this connection permit me to call your attention to the following decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States: In Nixon vs. Herndon, 273 U. S., p. 536, 47 S. Ct., p. 346, a statute which enacted that "in no event shall a negro be elgiible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the state of Texas" was pronounced offensive to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In Nixon vs. Condon, 286 U. S., p. 73, 52 S. Ct., 484, a statute which provided that "every political party in this state (Texas) through its state executive committee shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and shall in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such political party," was a delegation of state power, and, therefore the committee's action barring negroes from the party primary was state action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment.

In Grovey vs. Townsend, 55 S. Ct., p. 622, 295 U. S., p. 45, Mr. Justice Roberts, distinguished these cases, cited above, from the Grovey case because the Texas Constitution guarantees "to citizens of that state liberty to organize political parties and to determine qualifications of members thereof, free from legislative interference."

The Grovey case holds that these provisions of the Teras Constitution, "by reason of their failure to forbid political organizations from making racial or color qualifications for membership," do not violate the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments. Please note that this decision was written by Mr. Justice Roberts and that it was concurred in by a full bench. We have no such provision in our State Constitution.

This is not an academic matter. The negroes are the balance of political power in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and I believe that most of them here in Georgia voted the Democratic ticket in 1936. We know that in the close states mentioned above they voted for what was called the Democratic ticket, at least our knowledge is based upon common report and it has never been denied. The results of the 1932 and 1936 elections are conclusive evidences of the fact that the colored people no longer vote the Republican ticket. Therefore, the colored voters of this state want to vote in the coming Democratic primary.

With personal regards, I am,
Yours very truly,
W. G. CORNETT.

August 23, 1938.

Judge Walter G. Cornett,
Athens, Georgia.

Dear Judge Cornett:

I am in receipt of your letter of August 22nd, in which you request a ruling as to the eligibility of negroes voting in the white Democratic primary to be held on September 14th.

I want to call your attention to the fact that paragraph two of the primary rules and regulations adopted by the State Democratic Executive Committee on April 23, 1938, provides as follows:

"The primary election shall be conducted in accordance with the laws of this state and the customs of the party insofar as those customs do not conflict with existing laws. All white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices, to be voted on this year are hereby declared qualified to vote in said primary."

This rule is conclusive and in reply to your request that these certain negroes be allowed to vote in the Democratic white primary because they wish to vote for the "New Deal" candidate for senator is refused.

Yours very truly,
H J. ROWE, Chairman.

Columbia S. C. State
August 25, 1938

Georgia Halts Negro Request To Aid George

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 24.—(UP)—The issue of Negro participation in Georgia's September 14 Democratic primary was injected into the United State senate race today as campaign workers for Senator Walter F. George sought to offset reports that Republicans will enter the primary to help him.

George headquarters made public a decision by Hugh J. Rowe, Clarke county Democratic chairman, in which Rowe "definitely refused the request of a group of Negroes" who wanted to vote in the primary.

The request, George headquarters said, came from Walter S. Cornett of Athens, member of the state Republican executive committee. Cornett said the unidentified Negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator."

Rowe pointed out, however, that primary rules and regulations open the election only to "white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general elections" and "who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices."

Publication of the letters between Rowe and Cornett was in obvious retaliatoin for an attack on George by Lawrence S. Camp, New Deal senate candidate, after a recent indorsement of George by James W. Arnold, Republican national committeeman from Georgia.

Camp, in a stump speech at Louisville today, described "economic royalists, Senator George and Republican cohorts" as "birds of a feather."

Camp, who was indorsed by President Roosevelt as the administration's candidate in the bitter four-man campaign, asserted that George has Republican indorsement "because of the senator's proven Republican ability."

George, meantime, predicted at Rome that he would have a "complete victory on September 14."

Referring to the presidential indorsement of Camp, he added:

"You can never delegate to our chief executive the power to choose your servants for the whole struggle of human liberty has been the fight by free men to elect and choose their own servants."

Eugene Talmadge, former governor and avowed anti-administration senate candidate, continued to label Camp as a "yes man" and attacked George as a senator "who is 100 per cent, for the power trust and the railroads."

William G. McRae, Townsend plan advocate, spoke at Newnan, advancing the $200-per-month pension scheme as a method of preserving peace and economic security.

Greensboro, N. C., News
August 25, 1938

NEGROES ARE DENIED VOTE, GEORGIANS SAY

George Aides Charge Privilege of Voting In Democratic Primary Refused.

← Other side.

ATLANTA, Aug. 24. —(AP)—Senator Walter F. George's campaign aides today set against assertions of Republican support for him a report that negroes had sought—and been denied—permission to vote against him in the Democratic primary.

George's headquarters made public an exchange of letters in which H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee at Athens, ruled negroes could not vote in the September 14 Democratic primary, in which George seeks renomination.

Rowe's letter was in response to one from Walter G. Cornett, member of the Republican state executive committee, who said he had been "requested by certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary."

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
August 25, 1938

NEGROES IN GA. DENIED BALLOT

Colored Republicans Sought to Enter Democratic Primary to Support Camp.

ATLANTA, Aug. 24—(AP)—Senator Walter F. George's campaign aides today set against assertions of Republican support for him a report that negroes had sought—and been denied—permission to vote against him in the Democratic primary.

George's headquarters made public an exchange of letters in which H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee at Athens, ruled negroes could not vote in the September 14 Democratic primary, in which George seeks renomination.

ASKED RULING.

Towe's letter was in response to one from Walter G. Cornett, member of the Republican State executive committee, who said he had been "requested by certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary."

His letter added the unnamed negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for Senator." President Roosevelt recently called for George's defeat and indorsed Lawrence Camp.

George has been under fire of the Camp forces lately because of a letter written by James W. Arnold, Republican State committeeman, urging members of that party to enter the Democratic fight and support the senator with a view to furthering charges for a Democratic split in 1940.

CRITICIZES PRESIDENT.

Senator George criticized in a speech at Rome, Ga., today President Roosevelt's recent assertion the United States would defend Canada against attack.

He told a campaign audience he would permit "that good right arm to be severed from my body" before he would vote to place the nation in a foreign war merely at the behest of "any President."

The senator pointed out the Senate must approve any declaration of war. The President, George said, is without authority to commit the country to any warlike course.

Camp, commenting on the negro vote incident, said, "I understand the Republicans had a meeting in Athens yesterday, and that was one of the campaign tricks coming out of that meeting. The people may expect anything from that crowd in its effort to elect Senator George."

Former Governor Eugene Talmadge and W. G. McRae, Atlanta lawyer, also seek George's seat. 7

It Is Up To Us

Just now Atlanta Negroes are in the midst of a campaign to register some of the thousands of potential voters among us. This is the only hope we have to check the spirit of lynching. WE MUST VOTE! Do you think that if we had ten thousand registered voters in Atlanta today that lynching would be as easy as it is? Finley Peter Dunne, known twenty or more years ago to the American public as "Mr. Dooley," makes one of his characters in his book "Mr. Dooley" say, "Negroes are good natured and easily lynched." We would like to remind our readers that Smyrna is only about fifteen miles from Atlanta's "Five Points", and as long as we take mob violence so easily, we may reasonably expect it to come closer or actually into Five Points. It will be remembered that another type of streamlining the lynching evil is to accuse a prisoner of some form of violence against the officer in charge who leaves the prisoner too dead to tell any tales of what happened. This has been done in Atlanta.

It is up to us, and for our own morale, it is good that it is up to us. We must exert every means possible to let the people know that the vote is the only means of permanent relief from this national scourge.

Only today, a young minister who had come THROUGH Marietta, described to us how his safety, perhaps his life, had been threatened by the mob bent on public vengeance for a private crime.

Nothing effective can be done, as a rule, when a mob is already on a rampage. It is up to us to DO SOMETHING BEFORE a mob arises and there is no appeal to reason possible.

That something is the VOTE! IT IS UP TO US!

Go to the county clerk at the courthouse today and register. Registration for voting in the special bond election will be open until the day before the election which is on November 2.

The ballot is the best defense against mob violence.

CANDIDATE FOR GEORGIA SENATE UPHOLDS "WHITE" PRIMARY

By JAMES H. BOYKIN

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 17—(ANP)—Enfranchisement of the Negro just won't work here, Atty. R. B. Giles, candidate for the Georgia state senate, said in an interview here Tuesday. When asked what his attitude is toward Negro disfranchisement in the South, the lawyer said,

"I have to be perfectly frank, since you ask me. I was raised in the South; that ought to answer it. As for my attitude towards Negroes, I am as fair as possible, but enfranchisement just won't work here in Georgia at the present time.

"My attitude, being a southerner, raised in Georgia and knowing the conditions, is for the white primary, but so far as giving them a fair deal, I am for them."

When he was asked how they could get a fair deal without the ballot, he ignored the question. Then he said that if he were in the East, he would be in favor of Negro enfranchisement.

Lawyer R. H. Peters, native of of Missouri and partner to Atty. Giles, upheld the lawyer's statement, but added, "I do not see any objection to Negroes voting in Missouri," although he admitted that there are people who oppose Negro enfranchisement. "There you have a republican primary and a democratic primary, but you do not have a WHITE primary."

The Negro people are "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps," he said, but they need more industrial schools so that they will not have to work at one place one week and look for a job the next week.

Political — 1938

Suffrage

Georgia

Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
August 28, 1938

CORNETT REPEATS PLEA NEGROES BALLOT IN CLARKE

Democratic Committee Head Reaffirms Stand He Can't Change Rule

W. G. Cornett, local attorney Saturday renewed a demand in a written communication to H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county democratic committee, that negroes of the county be allowed to vote in the primary of September 14.

Attorney Cornett in his letter said, "My clients earnestly submit that they are democrats, desiring to follow the leadership of the gentlemen they voted for as democratic nominee in 1936."

Mr. Cornett also said, " I pointed out to you that a similar primary rule had been held constitutional," in replying to the original answer of Committee Chairman Rowe, which contained the ruling that negroes are ineligible to vote here September 14.

In his reply to Mr. Cornett Chairman Rowe pointed out that "It is obligatory upon me as county chairman to follow the rules laid down by the state democratic executive committee .... and my decision that none may participate in the forthcoming primary except white democrats is based upon rules promulgated by the state committee for the preservation of the white democratic primary system in Georgia."

Closes Discussion

"As it would be impossible for me, as county chairman, to change those rules, even if I wanted to do so, I see no occasion for further discussion of this matter between you and myself."

At one point in hi letter, Mr. Cornett said: "If you and your committee will examine the constitution and statutes you will see that a democrat, whatever his race or religion may be, cannot be disfranchised by you if he is otherwise qualified to vote."

Mr. Cornett also called attention to the fact that more negro delegates attended the democrat vonvention than attended the republican convention in 1936, and said that not a delegate was unseated because of his race.

Mr. Cornett pointed out a negro democrat "was honored by the party when he was called upon to open the second day's session with prayer, causing a U. S. senator to withdraw from the convention. This senator has since been read out of the democratic party." (Reference evidently means Senator Ellison D. "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, whose defeat is one of the objectives of President Roosevelt's party purge.)

At another point in his letter Attorney Cornett said, "If the white democrats continue to deny to the negro democrat his right to participate in the democratic primary it is not unlikely that the negro democorats in the seventeen doubtful states, will go to the communistic party and thus change the national administration in 1940."

Cites President

Mr. Cornett also declares, "The average negro loves the south and wishes to remain here and he believes that since he is recognized by the national democratic party the state organizations should not deprive him of his right to vote for one whom the head of the democratic party says should be sent to the senate."

Following recent comments by President Roosevelt on political morals Mr. Cornett adds his comment as follows:

"I agree with President Roosevelt that it is politically immoral for a republican to vote in a democratic primary. I hope to hear his fluent, discriptive words on the political morality of democrats who refuse to allow brother democrats to vote in a democratic primary for his favored candidate."

Mr. Cornett's letter to Chairman Rowe follows:

CORNETT'S LETTER

August 26, 1938.

Hon. H. J. Rowe, Chairman,
Democratic Executive
Committee,
Athens, Ga.
Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd. My letter to you was written in the capacity of a lawyer seeking information upon which to base a legal opinion. My relationship with the Republican party should not be considered by your committee. As a lawyer I am entitled to as much consideration at your hands as if I were a member of your party. You and I did not make our constitutions. It is my duty as a lawyer to give my best opinion when called upon for it. I pointed out to you that a similar primary rule had been held unconstitutional and I suggested an amendment to our State Constitution to meet this decision.

You and the committee take the position that it is a white primary only. Were this true all white Republicans should vote in it and white Republicans could use your machinery to run for political office. If you and your committee will examine the constitutions and statutes you will see that a Democrat, whatever his race or religion may be, can not be disfranchised by you if he is otherwise qualified to vote. According to your rules you can disqualify a voter if he is redheaded, a member of the Klan, a Catholic, a Baptist, a Methodist or a Holy-Roller, if he is a Democrat.

My clients earnestly submit that they are Democrats, desiring to follow the leadership of the gentleman they voted for as Democratic nominee in 1936. They respectfully urge you and the committee to consider the following facts as proof that they have the right to vote in the Democratic primary:

1. More negro delegates attended the Democratic convention than attended the Republican convention in 1936. Not a delegate was unseated because of his race;

2. A negro Democrat, member of a state legislature, was honored by the party when he was called upon to open the second day's session with prayer, causing a United States senator to withdraw from the convention; this senator has since been read out of the Democratic party;

3. A negro Democrat, the owner of a large newspaper, was honored by the party when he was called upon to second the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt, and other negro Democrats were honored by the convention when they were appointed and served on many important committees at the convention;

4. Immediately after the convention the Natioanl Democratic Campaign Committee organized the negroes and at one of their meetings they had over 16,000 negro Democrats, said to be the largest negro political rally ever held. This campaign committee was able to get 90 percent of the negro votes, thus assuring the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt;

5. The negro vote in 17 doubtful states is sufficient to control in 1940, as in 1936, 281 electoral votes out of a possible 531. The eleven states in the Solid South can muster only 124 electoral votes;

6. If the white Democrats continue to deny to the negro Democrat his right to participate in the Democratic primaries it is not unlikely that the negro Democrats in the 17 doubtful states will go to the Communistic party and thus change the national administration in 1940;

7. The official figures of the government show that four times as much money has been spent by it in Pennsylvania than has been spent in all the Southern States combined. It is believed that this discrimination against the people in the territory termed the nation's Number One economic problem came about because the negroes in Pennsylvania voted the Democratic ticket in 1936;

8. The average negro loves the South and wishes to remain here and he believes that since he is recognized by the national Democratic party the state organizations should not deprive him of his right to vote for one whom the head of the Democratic party says should be sent to the senate;

9. There are several negro civic organizations in this state whose members are pledged to good citizenship, the payment of taxes and registration and voting whenever permitted. They seek no leadership in the Democratic party in this state;

10. If the negro is permitted his right to vote in the Democratic primaries the members of these organizations pledge themselves to join with the whites to secure the passage of laws which will deprive a person of his franchise if he buys or sells a vote;

11. There are several negroes from this state, four from Athens, holding important key positions with the government;

12. The Gallup polls show that the negro continues in his loyalty to Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic party, and the July Fortune "Quarterly Survey" shows that the negro "is wholeheratedly for Roosevelt, for whatever he wants to do, and for whatever way he wants to do it."

The foregoing is merely a brief summary of the many reasons why the negro feels that he is entitled to follow the leadership of the present Democratic party. They are not arguments but mere statement of some of the numerous facts which have caused the negro to vote the Democratic ticket. Any negro in the South will tell you that he is behind the New Deal 100 percent, and he will tell you that he is opposed to the passage of the anti-lynching bill, believing that it is solely for the purpose of securing the negro vote in the doubtful states.

I agree with President Roosevelt that it is politically immoral for a Republican to vote in a Democratic primary. I hope to hear his fluent descriptive words on the political morailty of Democrats who refuse to allow brother Democrats to vote in a Democratic primary for his favored candidate.

The threats of reprisal upon

me and my family by members of the three factions of the Democratic party and the condemnation of me by the leaders of the Republican can not change the law of this state. The only remedy I see is to follow Texas and have a constitutional amendment as I suggested in my former letter.

Respectfully,

W. G. CORNETT.

ROWE'S REPLY

Chairman Rowe's reply follows:

August 27, 1938.

Judge W. G. Cornett,
City.

Dear Judge Cornett:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 26th, in further pursuance of your request that negroes of this county be permitted to participate in the Democratic white primary of September 14th.

The candidate for whom your clients wish to vote cannot, of course, be regarded as a factor in determining their eligibliity; and as chairman of the Clarke County Democratic Executive Committee that point is no concern of mine. It is obligatory upon me as county chairman to follow the rules as laid down by the State Democratic Executive Committee, to whirh I referred you in my letter of August 23rd, and my decision that none may participate in the forthcoming primary except white Democrats is based upon rules promulgated by the state committee for the preservation of the white Democratic primary system in Georgia.

As it would be impossible for me, as county chairman, to change those rules, even if I wanted to do so, I see no occasion for further discussion of this matter between you and myself.

H. J. ROWE, Chairman,
Clarke County Democratic
Executive Committee.

POLL TAX SURVEY SHOWS 3 STATES MAY MAKE CHANGE

Movement Under Way in Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee To Revise Law.

Poll taxes, frowned upon by President Roosevelt as an unfair restriction on suffrage, are in jeopardy in at least three of the eight southern states in which they survive, an Associated Press survey disclosed yesterday.

Due to complicated systems of collections and the controversial element in some states, it was difficult to obtain figures on the number who might be added to voting polls by wholesale removal of poll taxing but conservative estimates indicated the total would run into the hundreds of thousands.

Well-defined movements for modification or abolition of this type of levy were found in Arkansas, Tennessee and Alabama, while Mississippi and South Carolina reported their systems firmly entrenched with no audible opposition.

An early decision was assured in Arkansas where a constitutional amendment abolishing the tax and authorizing a registration system will be submitted to voters in the November general elections. The tax of $1 levied on adults without age limit was paid by 338,000 this year and proponents of the constitutional amendment estimate its passage would increase the voting rolls by one third.

E. H. Crump, head of the powerful Memphis political organization, is a leading opponent of the Tennessee laws which provide a $1 state tax and an additional $1 county levy on persons between 21 and 50.

Governor Nominate F. M. Dixon has said he would recommend a vote on a constitutional amendment to change Alabama's $1.50 tax after he takes office next January. Persons over 45 and war veterans are exempt from this impost, which was paid by about 150,000 last year.

Mississippi reported a tendency to tighten, rather than relax, voting requirements in the past few years. The $2 poll tax never has been a state-wide issue largely because the funds (about $400,000 last year) are retained by the counties for school use.

Georgia's levy of $1 was returned against 437,000 adults between the ages of 21 and 60 last year but capitol officials said they had no way of knowing how much was collected. John J. Mangham and Robert F. Wood are the gubernatorial candidates who have called for abolition of the tax, charging it keeps tens of thousands of poor citizens from the polls.

Macon, Ga., News
November 24, 1938

EDITORIAL

Facts For Open Minds

Often when favorable discussion of abolition of the Georgia poll tax reaches the point of suggesting specific action, someone says, "Sure, but the money goes to support the public schools and you can't take that away."

And there the discussion ends.

At the just-closed Southern Conference on Human Welfare a young man named Stanton Smith, a Tennessee college professor, told findings of his recent survey of the poll tax.

He wrote a letter to the state school superintendent in each of the eight states (all are Southern states) which still have a poll tax. In the letter he inquired the state's total annual expenditures for public schools, and the total amount derived from poll taxes.

The information was supplied from seven of these states. It follows:

Texas, 34 million dollars appropriated to schools with $730,000 or 2.13 per cent derived from poll taxes; Alabama, 25.5 million with $375,000 or 1.7 per cent derived from poll taxes; Georgia, 21.9 million with $105,000 or one-half of one per cent derived from poll taxes; Arkansas, 13.3 million with $330,000 or 2.4 per cent derived from poll taxes; Virginia, 26.5 million with $532,000 or 2 per cent derived from poll taxes; Mississippi, 12.7 million with $461,000 or 3.6 per cent derived from poll taxes; and Tennessee, 24.4 million with $216,000 or 2.7 per cent derived from poll taxes.

In Georgia the percentage of school funds derived from poll taxes is smaller than in any other state reporting—probably smaller than in any other state at all. Elimination of the poll tax would subtract a half of one per cent from the public school funds even if it were not replaced.

To confuse the poll tax with the school fund seems to be a general trick to keep this form of disfranchisement saddled on a few of the Southern states. For in every poll tax state the assessment is paid to the education department. There can be no question that the schools would be supported through some form of tax, even if the poll tax income were so large proportionately that its elimination would materially affect the state fund for public education.

If the poll tax is vicious it is not rendered less so by being paid to a good cause. And the poll tax is vicious if it was vicious formerly to restrict the franchise to persons who owned property. More than that, it is vicious if it provides political machines with a handy device for corralling a voting block sufficient to swing elections.

While there is enough evidence of that sort of thing right here in Bibb county to suggest it to anyone without abstract explanation, it is easy to see that when a small percentage of potential voters actually voting, anyone with the money and the inclination can pay poll taxes for several hundred of persons who otherwise would not vote, and by simple favors manage to have these voters cast ballots to any given candidate.

There is another familiar argument for retention of the poll tax—that anybody with sufficient interest to vote is willing to pay a dollar a year to do so. Facts do not bear that out. In cases of adjoining states, one of which has a poll tax and the other of which does not, the untaxed state invariably votes vastly more of its qualified voters than the taxed state.

There is yet another bugaboo to abolition of the poll tax—that it would give the Negro the vote.

Why not?

There already is a series of laws of doubtful legality and doubtful fairness designed to keep Negroes from voting, yet the Negro occupies the technical status of a citizen—one who is taxed but not represented. The stock retort to questions of Negro voting is that the race is not ready yet to participate in government.

It is true that many Negroes are unequipped to take part in affairs of government. Others are. And who will deny that many whites are swayed by prejudice and passions rather than by sense and reason in their politics?

There is no ground for thinking that all Negroes would vote the same way. They have differences of opinion and differences of allegiance just as members of the white race do. If all who can read and write were voting, they would compose not any sinister and solid force, but simply a greater cross-section of the people who work for their living.

Anyway, elimination of the poll tax in Georgia would do nothing, sad to say, to change the curious system of a white primary or the requirements that Negroes must be able to interpret the constitution before they may vote.

So if one faces the school subject with information, and the Negro vote subject with an open mind, there seems little justification for retaining the undemocratic archaic and unfair system of charging citizens to discharge their obligation of voting.

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Georgia.

THE NOBLE SIX HUNDRED

FIGURES issued by the Board of Elections disclose that there are only six hundred registered Negro voters in Chatham County. This with an approximate colored population of 75,000. We should very much like to have eligible, but unregistered voters tell us why they have not become full fledged American citizens? We are going to conduct a poll along these lines and we prematurely ask people not to mention the $1 a year poll tax when they are questioned. We also will not listen to much talk about the jim-crow primaries because the only way to break that up would be to build up a formidable body of colored "November" voters and make our presence felt in national politics. We also notice that the white list of voters does not exceed 12,000. Will Negroes in Chatham County ponder awhile what could be done with 20,000 registered colored voters grouped under one banner?

It is all very well for us to sit back and holler about injustice and oppression but it rings false when we sit on the grave where we have buried the very weapons that can be fought with. We take our hats off to these noble Six Hundred intelligent and self respecting Negroes who have placed themselves on the voting lists. Their shining example should be followed by thousands, and the chief object in the minds of our ministers and other leaders should be to lead a long line down to City Hall in October so that the next staement issued by the Election Board will be at least 6,000 instead of Six Hundred Negro voters. How can a man look at his reflection in the mirror without a feeling of shame when he knows that he has failed to act like a thinking human being? How can we look our children in the eye, knowing that some day they will curse us or our memory for passing on to them this heavy yoke without lifting a finger to make it lighter? Men and women of Chatham County let us think on these things and then do something about them.

Savannah Morning News 8-30-38

Ruling Bars Negro Votes In Primary

Effort To Enlist Them Against Senator George Is Disclosed.

PAGE ONE—

By The Associated Press.

Senator George's campaign aides yesterday set against claims of Republican support for the senator a report that negroes had sought—and been denied—permission to vote against him in the Democratic primary.

This development shared attention with a full-blown program of political oratory which touched on such widely divergent topics as war in Canada, Republicans in Democratic primaries and sex appeal in general.

George's headquarters made public an exchange of letters in which H. J. Rowe, chairman of the Clarke county Democratic committee at Athens, ruled negroes could not vote in the September 14 primary.

"Vote for New Deal."

Rowe's letter was in response to one from Walter G. Cornett, member of the Republican state executive committee, who said he had been "requested by certain negroes to get a ruling as to their qualifications to vote in the Democratic primary."

His letter added the unnamed negroes "wish to vote for the New Deal candidate for senator." (Mr. Roosevelt recently called for George's defeat and indorsed Lawrence Camp.)

At Athens, Cornett, a former professor of constitutional law at the University of Georgia, disagreed with Rowe's interpretation that negroes are barred from primary voting.

George has been under fire of the Camp forces lately because of a letter written by James W. Arnold, Republican state committeeman, urging members of that party to enter the Democratic fight and support the senator with a view to furthering chances for a Democratic split in 1940.

Senator George brought the question of foreign war into the long list of campaign topics when he took a crack at President Roosevelt's recent assertion that the United States would defend Canada against attack.

The senator said at Rome he would see his "right arm severed from my body" before he would air attacks—in contrast to the vulnerability of British plants.

Considerations of a like nature have moved the British to explore vote for a war he thought unjustified.

Camp struck at the appeal of Republican National Committeeman Arnold for support of George, said at Monroe and Louisville that reduced the race to the question "shall the Democrats control our primary or shall the Republicans?"

The New Dealer also added a light touch when he referred to a statement by a Washington columnist, Raymond Clapper, that Camp "has no sex appeal" for the voters.

"I'll concede that to Mr. Talmadge," Camp laughed.

Governor Rivers, John J. Mangham and Hugh Howell kept the gubernatorial fires burning briskly with oral broadsides at a half dozen cities in south and southwest Georgia.

Listeners at Bainbridge and Quitman heard the Governor defend his administration with the claim it "has furnished more services and lifted more taxes off more people than any administration in the history of Georgia." Also coming in for praise was the state highway patrol, which he estimated has saved 126 lives along Georgia highways since it was established 34 weeks ago.

Mangham and his quartet stirred things up at Lumpkin and Preston, where the Bremen businessman assailed in particular the Governor's handling of the old-age pensions. He said Rivers had not paid as much as he promised to pay to old persons. He said also the Governor was trying to keep the pensioners and those seeking pensions behind him by making them think his defeat would endanger the whole program.

Nashville and Moultrie heard Howell's claim that only "Capitol Hill farmers" attended a "farmers' rally" for the Governor at an Atlanta hotel last Monday

CAMP? 3 COUNTIES, HARDWICK DECLARES

AUGUSTA, Ga., Aug. 24.—(AP)—A prediction that Roosevelt-indorsed Lawrence S. Camp will not "carry more than three counties" in the four-man senate race September 14 was made here today by Thomas W. Hardwick, former Georgia Governor, congressman and United States senator.

In Augusta with his bride of five weeks for a one-day visit, Hardwick said "it looks like George in a walk."

"I've talked with people all over the state," he said, and added "all the people I hear from are for George."

Senator George, opposed by Camp, ex-Governor Talmadge and William G. McRae, "will carry way over 100 counties," the Sandersville resident predicted, and said he believed Talmadge would take between 25 and 30 counties.

NEGRO PRIMARY VOTE IS BARRED

(Telegraph's Georgia News Service)

DAWSON, Aug. 27.—The question of Negroes voting in the white democratic primary to be held on Sept. 14, grew to controversy proportions this week in Georgia, local citizens called upon the Terrell County Democratic Executive committee to state that body's position in the matter.

According to R. R. Jones, prominent Dawson attorney, who is a member of the executive committee, Negroes cannot vote in the primary. Col. Jones stated that the rules of the State Democratic Executive Committee for Georgia provide: "All white electors who are Democrats and qualified to vote in the general election, who, in good faith, will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices to be voted on this year, are hereby declared qualified to vote in said primary."

So far as could be learned today none of the few Negroes who are said to be registered in Terrell county have expressed their desire to vote in the primary.

Macon, Ga., News
October 29, 1938

Bring Franchise Back

The Macon Federation of Trades has taken the initiative in launching a movement for repeal of the poll tax in Georgia.

Sooner or later the poll tax will be lifted. It is a relic of reconstruction, a legal requirement as hollow and brittle and as useless as a locust's shell. And when this regulation is abolished in Georgia, it will be to the great credit of the Macon Federation.

This association of labor unions went on record Thursday night as favoring repeal of the tax, and as requesting the Georgia Federation of Labor to seek passage of a bill at the next state legislative session repealing the tax.

There will be strong opposition to any movement for repeal.

Part of it will come in the form of opposition to abolition of a tax which is assigned to support of the state's schools. Part of it will come from persons who will contend that those who vote should pay a tax to entitle them to the privilege. Part of it will come from those, to speak plainly, who are afraid abolition of the poll tax will mean franchisement of the Negro.

The first ground for opposition—that of protecting the state schools—has the most valid appearance of the three. But it just

won't hold water. One by one, all the Southern states, which adopted poll taxes after the War Between the States frankly to disfranchise the freed Negroes, have abandoned the practice—except eight. Of these Georgia is one.

But those states which have abolished poll taxes have managed somehow to find revenue for the schools through other channels. If a tax is vicious and indefensible, the purpose for which it is used does little to justify it.

The second probable defense of poll taxes—that taxpayers only should be privileged to vote—is just as open to attack. In the first place, voting is no privilege; it is a duty as necessary to the safety of democracy as is answering the call to colors in time of war. Casting ballots is not so dramatic and not so dangerous as enlisting in a wartime army. But the army is created to defend the country and its form of government from external foes. Since a democracy is based on a foundation of the will of its majority, democracy is defeated unless a real majority expresses its will. Therefore voting is a duty absolutely necessary to the practical application of principles which must be effectuated if democracy is to be defended against forgery of its name.

Besides that, the same persons who argue that only taxpayers ought to be allowed to vote are the first to cite the truth that every man who buys a loaf of bread to eat, of a shirt to put upon his back pays taxes which go into preparation of those articles. You simply can't live—whether it's on WPA or the returns of gilt-edged securities—without paying taxes. So the argument that the poll tax is necessary just because it's a tax doesn't prove out.

The third probable objection, that concerning the Negro vote, amounts to obstructionism that is unwarranted and that will be unavailing. Georgia has a white primary now. Whether it is constitutional and legal The News does not undertake to say. But this primary works, and its nominees invariably are elected. If the poll tax were abolished, the white primary would be just as legal as it ever was.

When and if an enlightened day arrives and tolerance is real and true, then it will be possible to give to the Southern Negro the franchise that is rightfully his.

It is manifestly impossible for every Bibb county Negro to register and vote. Many of them don't yet want to vote. Many of them are unfamiliar with issues and candidates in elections. After many years more, the Southern Negro should be granted his franchise without bush-beating objection There is no legal reason why he should not vote now. But to force that issue would cause more disturbance, perhaps, than abrogation of the voting right for a few more generations is worth.

But regardless of that projected feature, the white primary still would remain as effective after abolition of the poll tax as it is today.

Payment of poll tax may seem a small thing. It might be assumed, if one did not know better, that anyone who wishes to vote would be willing to pay the small tax that is required.

But experience proves that it doesn't work that way.

In West Virginia, where there is no voter poll tax, and where there are two pretty healthy parties, 88 per cent of the population older than 21 years voted in the 1936 general election. But in South Carolina, which retains the poll tax, only 13 per cent voted; in Alabama only 19 per cent; Virginia 24 per cent; Arkansas, 17 per cent; Mississippi, 16 per cent; Texas, 25 per cent; Tennessee, 31 per cent and Georgia, 31 per cent.

Those last eight states are the only ones in the union which still cling to the poll tax.

As long as there is a poll tax it will be a simple matter for machine political leaders to engage in a peculiarly vicious form of racketeering—that of selling a promise for delivery of a certain number of votes to a candidate for the price of "registration money."

Abolition of the poll tax won't make politics lily-white over night, but it will contribute toward a cleanup by subtracting one of the many opportunities for corruption.

And more important, perhaps, than any other point, disfranchisement, whether through poll tax or anything else, is contrary to the spirit and the purpose and the foundation of democracy.

Says Inefficient Men Get Into Office By Color Issue

Director Of Southern White Woman Hits Disfranchisement

ATLANTA, Ga.—(By James H. Boykin for ANP)—White office seekers get votes by appealing to the people's prejudices. These inefficient men can not run on a clean ticket, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching said in an interview here Monday.

Use Pernicious 'Tool'

The rich white people of the south keep the poor white people so busy hating Negroes, Mrs. Ames said, that they cannot get up themselves.

"I think", continued Mrs Ames, "that disfranchisement of the Negroes in the south has contributed more to its economic retardation than any one single force."

The Negro papers play up lynch stories too much, she said, and declared that that was not really important.

"There are a lot of things," she warned, "that are infinitely more important than lynching. The matter of Negro disfranchisement in the south is more important than lynching."

She said that Negroes do not have the habit of citizenship and that the same was true when women were being enfranchised. Concerning disfranchisement she said:

Is Seen As Foolish

"There is no reason for Negroes being disfranchised. We do not have democracy. Of course you know having the ballot is not going to improve conditions of Negroes in the South to a great extent. Negroes for a while will be intimidated.

"I think the taking away of disfranchisement will move the psychological conditions and bring about better relationship between poor whites and Negroes, both of whom are disfranchised.

"It is not the actual use of the ballot that would change conditions but the reserve power of the use of the ballot. Of course the poll tax will eventually go."

The economic system of the south is wrong, Mrs. Ames said, and Negro disfranchisement has fitted into it quite well, but she said that she did not know what is wrong with it.

"It has been possible," she said, "and it will remain possible to get more votes by stirring up prejudice against Negroes than to run on a clean policy.

"A man wants a position for which he is not qualified, so to be elected, he has to appeal to people's prejudices.

"Disfranchisement has fitted quite well into our economic system. We do not know what is wrong with our economic system when nobody proposes to do anything about it."

Georgia

11-18-38

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Suffrage

Georgia

Registration Issue At League Meeting

President Dobbs Takes Twenty-Two Women to Court-House; Adds Names to Poll Book

With city-wide enthusiasm and interest manifested in the coming bond issue, the Atlanta Civic and Political League will hold an important meeting tonight at the Wheat Street Baptist church. The meeting will open promptly at 8 o'clock.

Few times before in the city's history has there been an equal manifestation of interest on the part of the group to know the real facts behind a bond issue. The League, under the leadership of John Wesley Dobbs, decided at its last meeting to hold weekly meetings during the month of October in order to acquaint the citizens with the facts about the bond issue vote which is scheduled November 2.

All religious organizations of every denomination, social clubs, civic groups and the like are expected to be heavily represented at the meeting tonight. Everyone is invited and scores of those who take an interest in the affairs of their city and welfare are expected to be in attendance.

Rev. W. H. Borders, pastor of Wheat Street church, will make an important announcement, it was learned.

One of the greatest indications of the interest that is being shown in the looming election is the fact that some twenty-two women registered almost as a body Thursday. It is being urged from all quarters that women and young men especially seize the opportunity of beginning the habit of voting while the time is ripe.

INEFFICIENT WHITE OFFICE SEEKERS CAN'T RUN ON CLEAN POLICY

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames Says Disfranchisement Keeps Poor Whites, Negroes Down.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 17—(By James H. Boykin for ANP)—White office seekers get votes by appealing to the people's prejudices. Thus inefficient men cannot run on a clean ticket, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching said in an interview here Monday.

The rich white people of the South keep the poor white people so busy hating Negroes, Mrs. Ames said, that they cannot see up themselves.

"I think," continued Mrs. Ames, "that disfranchisement of the Negroes in the South has contributed more to its economic retardation than any single force."

The Negro papers play up lynch stories too much, she said, and declared that that was not really important.

LOTS OF THINGS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LYNCHING

"There are a lot of things," she warned, "that are infinitely more important than lynching. The matter of Negro disfranchisement in the South is more important than lynching."

She said that Negroes do not have the habit of citizenship and that the same was true when the women were being enfranchised. Concerning disfranchisement she said:

"There is no reason for Negroes being disfranchised. We do not have democracy. Of course you know having the ballot is not going to improve conditions of Negroes in the South to a great extent. Negroes for a while will be intimidated.

WANTS DISFRANCISEMENT IN SOUTH DISCONTINUED

"I think the taking away of disfranchisement will move the psychological conditions and bring about better relationship between poor whites and Negroes, both of whom are disfranchised.

"It is not the actual use of the ballot that would change conditions but the reserve power of the use of the ballot that would change conditions. Of course the poll tax will eventually go."

The economic system of the South is wrong, Mrs. Ames said and Negro disfranchisement has fitted into it quite well, but she said that she did not know what is wrong with it.

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"A man wants a position for which he is not qualified, so to be elected, he has to appeal to people's prejudices.

"Disfranchisement has fitted quite well into our economic system. We do not know what is wrong with our economic system when nobody proposes to do anything about it."

SENATE CANDIDATE SAYS WE SHOULD BE BANNED FROM POLLS

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 17—(By James H. Boykin for ANP)—Enfranchisement of the Negro just won't work here, Atty. R. B. Giles, candidate for the Georgia state senate, said in an interview here Tuesday. When asked what his attitude is toward Negro disfranchisement in the South, the lawyer said.

"I have to be perfectly frank, since you ask me. I was raised in the South; that ought to answer it. As for my attitude toward Negroes, I am as fair as possible, but enfranchisement just won't work here in Georgia at the present time.

"My attitude being a Southerner, raised in Georgia and knowing the conditions is for the white primary but so far as giving them a fair deal, I am for them."

When he was asked how they could get a fair deal without the ballot, he ignored the question. Then he said that if he were in the East, he would be in favor of Negro enfranchisement.

Lawyer R. H. Peters, native of Missouri and partner to Attorney Giles, upheld the lawyer's statement, but added, "I do not see any objection to Negroes' voting in Missouri," although he admitted that there are people who oppose Negro enfranchisement. "Ther you have a republican primary and a democratic primary, but you do not have a WHITE primary."

The Negro people are "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps," he said, but they need more industrial schools so that they will not have to work at one place one week and look for a job the next week.

Prejudice Politicans' Tool

Mrs. Ames Insists That All Should Vote

By JAMES H. BOYKIN

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HITS RACE PAPERS

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DISFRANCHISEMENT [illegible]OL

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WHITE LAWYER IN GEORGIA UPHOLDS "WHITE" PRIMARY

Says it Would Dislocate Everything to Let Colored Race Vote "Down Thar"

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The Negro people are "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps," he said, but they need more industrial schools so that they will not have to work at one place one week and look for a job the next week.

Georgia Utility Head Says Economic Report Was Political

WEST POINT, GA., Nov. 30.—In discussing the National Emergency Council's report to the President on the economic conditions in the South, Preston Arkwright, president of the Georgia Power Company, told the members of the West Point Lions Club and their visitors, Wednesday, that the report was political and not economic in nature, and that its purpose was wholly political. Actions taken at the recent congress of social workers in Birmingham indicate clearly the aims of the council that made the report to the President, said the speaker.

"To change the existing order, the first thing necessary to be done is to create a grievance against the existing order," declared Mr. Arkwright. "The National Emergency Council's report charges that the greatest handicap the South suffers is that its industries, to a large extent, represent capital brought into the State. The report further claims that excessive sales taxes have put a burden upon those least able to bear it. It protests against the poll tax as being unjust in that it prevents those being imposed upon most from doing anything about it."

There is a scheme on foot, Mr. Arkwright said further, to abolish the poll tax, to abolish the Jim Crow laws in the South, to do away with the white Democratic primaries, to give the negro full rights with the whites, to confer the ballot on anyone who wishes it, to do away with county unit system, to put the control of the State in the hands of the large cities, and to remove restrictions on debt-making so that the States may go into debt unlimitedly. The speaker cited actions taken by the social workers' congress in Birmingham, recommending the abolition of the poll tax and the Jim Crow laws, as evidences of the scheme he referred to.

"Georgia's present bonded indebtedness is only four million dollars; it would probably be four billion dollars," said Mr. Arkwright, "did not the State Constitution restrict debt making. What industry would want to locate here with such an indebtedness as that? Not once has the government suggested an economic solution of the South's problems. The only way out, as I see it, is for us to do the best we can ourselves, then advertise the resources and advantages of our State so that capital will want to come in and thus give us the needed support for a balanced program so that we can make the most of being fundamentally a rural, agricultural territory."

The speaker expressed the opinion that the economic report was essentially erroneous and prejudicial to the South. "It was hastily drawn and not well considered; it makes no reference to the vast improvements that have been made in the South. It does not state, for instance, that since 1900 the South has had the largest increase in wealth of any other section of the country, larger than that of the United States as a whole; that the South has made greater progress in its roads, in its educational programs, in sanitary improvements, since 1900, than any other section of the country. Our lack of wealth," he explained, "is due largely to the fact that our earning power is limited by the fact that we are largely an agricultural section. Farming does well to take care of itself and hold its own; it cannot produce the wealth necessary to give us the resources we need for the development of our people as a whole."

"What we need now in the South is more industrial development. We don't want large cities. The cities are the places where Communism, Socialism, and all the other 'isms' originate and flourish. We need industrial development to give us a balanced program for our agricultural situation. Our greatest asset is that we are a rural state, a homogeneous people and that we are conservative in the sense that we are not radical; that we respect other people's rights and other people's properties. The federal government is trying to come in and to take away the advantages we enjoy and put us on a plane with communities inherently industrial. Originally the capital that developed the North and East came from foreign countries. Do we resent the West Point Manufacturing Company being in our midst, or any of the many other industries supported by capital in the North and East? These industries support the payrolls, promote the welfare of the people, support the State and national governments in large measures."

Political - 1938 Illinois.

Suffrage

IS VOTING A PLEASURE?

When you enter a polling place to perform your civic duty, are you not repelled and chilled by the barren, bleak atmosphere of your surroundings? Do you not feel that voting is a cold and characterless process, and that everyone present is your sworn enemy? Perhaps you have not stopped to think that the reason for this reaction is the lack of any cheerful, homey touch to break the drab monotony of barren walls, uncarpeted floors and no sign of an aesthetic touch to relieve the tense seriousness of the occasion. Subconsciously, you are depressed and repulsed and the emotion reflects in your face and voice and finds answer in those around you.

The solution to this problem, as any artist could tell you, is COLOR—vivid, living color, like flowers to please the eye and add fragrance to the ofttimes "musty" smell of a basement—the usual choice of a polling place. There is nothing like a bright-colored plant in the window—a vase of colorful blossoms on a table to warm the heart, gladden the spirit, lend peace and harmony to the atmosphere to make you remember that those present are your neighors and friends.

Voting should be a happy occasion. Are you not, by ballot, pledging your allegiance to some individual in whom you have confidence and for whom you have respect? Then, the occasion should be a pleasant one and made so by attractive, colorful surroundings and a happy "good morning" from your associates. Let's try it this year! Let's put flowers and palms and ferns in the polling places and give them a cheery atmosphere. We shall be more than repaid if the election is called "the quietest in years" and the clerks and judges go home from their work with a smile of content instead of the weary, drawn expression that tells a story of a day of wrangling.

Wanted—Voters

WE ARE again face to face with a primary election. Politicians, and those who are not politicians, are exerting every effort to corral voters. The candidates are making many speeches, promising many things, telling the people just what is needed here and what is needed there. Some are holding up the sins of their opponents to the gaze of a maudlin public. Others are giving recipes for the ushering in of a utopian state of affairs where now all is chaos. If you listen to some of the speakers long enough, you would probably be convinced that not only prosperity is just around the corner, but that even the millenium is very near at hand.

The sane and the sober man or woman knows, however, that what is really wanted at this time is voters. The politicians cannot get into office without being voted in—this is a democracy. And those who are already in, cannot remain there unless the voters say so by their ballots. It is just a game—and the voter is never the winner, say what you will, as a whole. For, after the election, the humble voter will be forgotten by the majority of candidates, and those few successful candidates who do remember some of their campaign promises, will be slow in fulfilling them. Service is not the aim of a majority of political office-seekers—power, money, is their goal. You go and vote for whom you please—that's your only sure consolation.

Political - 1938

Suffrage

Iowa

Voters' Group Backs Present City Council

By Tribune 3-24-38

The members of the present city council, whose seats appear to be in danger were greatly encouraged last week by the report of the consolidation of several groups of Negro voters into what is hereafter to be known as the Negro Municipal Voters league, recently launched with the following officers:

President, Rev. Jordan W. Tutt; vice president, Mrs. S. Joe Brown; secretary, Agnes Matthews; treasurer, B. F. Bell; and an executive committee comprising in addition to these, Owen Watkins, W. M. Rhodes, Mrs. Gertrude McCann, Rev. O. R. Ellis, Mrs. I. A. Shelton and Roosevelt Carter.

Other committees appointed were: S. Joe Brown, Mrs. Mabel Mason and Mrs. Mabel Watkins compose the speakers' committee. Captains in precincts which carry a considerable Negro vote were selected. The precincts are: 26, 27, 33, 39, 50, 52, 53, 56, 64 and 59.

Membership committee: H. Dudley Hortense Gray, Fannie Tomlin, Adeline Martin, F. B. Warrick, Della Chapman, Henry Turner, Pocahontas Ware, Mrs. Sam Walker, Mrs. John Burke, Saphronia Bates and Louisa Ellis.

The slogan of the organization is "Re-elect the old council. They reduced the poor man's taxes."

Political — 1938

Suffrage

Louisiana

Dixie Paper Wages Campaign For Voters

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 6 —(ANP)— The infant Capital City Gazette of this city, is waging a determined fight to have two thousand Negro voters registered by the end of the current year in the Louisiana capital. The paper for five weeks, has editorialized and front-paged material urging Negroes to register. It is expected, however, that Baton Rouge will have the largest Negro registration in recent history of the State.

New Orleans Colored Group Lags In Manifestation Of Political Initiative

NEW ORLEANS, La.—(By Leon Lewis for ANP)—A comparative check-up on civic advantages and improvements among Negroes in New Orleans, reveals a situation in health, housing and generally civic conditions far below that of many Southern metropolies with less population. Requests to authorities for improvement of these conditions by individuals and organizations have been repeatedly pigeon holed. This is accounted for in a general laxity of interest and participation in the political life of the city.

Most discouraging to a general desire among Negroes to seek fair political activity, is the special instituted "vote registration bar."

The general air taken on by these requests, since no efforts are political leaders and civic officials of other nationalities is to ingore forthcoming in elections from Negro votes. The Negro vote in New Orleans is very negligible. Although the Negro population comprises more than 25 per cent of the total, his voting strength is less than 2 per cent.

Awakening to the fact that special methods are used to keep Negroes from voting by barring them from registration, local organizations, led by the NAACP, are making special investigation preparatory to launching a strenuous fight against the ill practice.

This practice having been in vogue over a period of years a complete determination of interest in politics is evidenced in Negro circles. A program is also on foot to stimulate general interest.

Political - 1938

Suffrage.

Maryland

52,165 Are Registered

Afro-American

Enrollment Exceeds All Past Records

10-22-38

Baltimore Md.

BALTIMORE

Although colored registration in Baltimore reached the all-time high of 52,165 in Tuesday's supplemental registration, the ratio is still behind that of whites, who now have on the books 331,626 voters.

The figures are also far below the estimated 90,000 which political leaders say should be on the books with a population of more than 142,000.

8,059 Increase

But with the 3,848 registrants placed on the books Tuesday and the 4,211 registered September 27, the net increase is 8,059, the largest increase made in any previous year except 1928, when 8,096 were added.

Both Republican and Democratic leaders here expressed disappointment in that they expected at least 10,000 to be placed on the books Tuesday.

Recalls Drive

Qualified colored voters in Baltimore first reached the 50,000 mark in 1924, when the AFRO-AMERICAN headed a registration campaign in which 7,516 names were added, in a two-day registration. Before that date the highest registration figure in the city was 42,610.

The following year, however, the registration decreased, and with two supplemental registration days on April 2 and 8, the number of voters on the books was 49,783. The 1936 tabulation showed that the colored registration had fallen to 44,353.

From 1894 to 1916 colored registration fluctuated between 13,174 and 16,733. In 1920, it jumped to 35,497. There was a drop to 23,782 by 1926, but it reached 36,749 in 1930. In 1932, it reached 42,610.

Cumulative Registration By Years

Year	White	Colored
1894	84,166	13,174
1895	98,439	15,779
1896	95,045	17,379
1897	94,434	17,225
1898	90,858	17,855
1899	95,569	17,650
1900	100,778	18,739
1901	87,806	16,838
1902	84,346	15,791
1903	90,865	16,715
1904	101,394	17,880
1905	102,005	17,686
1906	89,689	16,494
1907	99,583	17,012
1908	98,821	17,165
1909	101,612	17,330
1910	90,310	16,127
1911	100,804	16,460
1912	96,374	15,664
1916	105,847	16,733
1920	217,822	35,497
1923	197,668	28,277
1924	217,787	30,996
1926	174,223	23,782
1927	190,914	25,051
1928	276,815	33,147
1930	250,390	36,749
1932	296,807	42,610
1934	317,647	50,126
1935	323,977	49,783
1936	298,133	44,353
1938	331,626	52,165

Below Population Ratio

According to both the 1930 U.S. Census Bureau and the 1938 Baltimore health department population figures, the present registration is below the ratio of whites.

While one in every six of Baltimore's population is colored, about one in every seven is registered. To bring the ratio up to that of the whites there should be 66,325 colored registrants on the books.

In the last two registration days colored led in five wards: the Fifth, Tenth, Fourteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth.

In the Fifth, and mainly in the Third Congressional District, there were 200 whites and 411 colored; in the Tenth, 385 whites and 431 colored; in the Fourteenth, 350 whites and 1162 colored;

In the Seventeenth, 40 were whites and 959 colored, and in the Eighteenth, 214 whites and 531 colored.

There is also some indication that the Republican influence dominated in the colored wards. In the Fourteenth, for instance, there were 236 Democrats and 474 Republicans registered Tuesday.

Women Neck and Neck

The women are also paying almost as much attention to things political as the men. In the Fourteenth ward, 365 women registered as against 345 men and in Seventeenth there were 237 women and 238 men registered.

The registration figures also show interesting population and ward boundary shifts. In 1934, when the registration first reached 50,000, there were eight wards in which colored registration exceeded that of whites.

They were the Fourth, Fifth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth.

At that time, according to U.S. Census figures, the Sixteenth ward, with 17,387 colored population, had the largest number of colored citizens.

In the registration on Tuesday, this ward had 809 white and 483 colored registrants.

The present lineup in the Fourth ward gave the whites 209 and the colored 100 registrants. This strongly indicates that the Fourth district gerrymander has effectively cut up the colored vote in such a way that its influence is more scattered and cannot be as fully concentrated as before.

The preponderance of Republican registration on Tuesday also is believed due to the lack of recognition given by the Democratic party to colored candidates in the recent campaign, especially to the fact that no legislative candidates were placed on its ticket.

Massachusetts.

Political - 1938

Suffrage

Colored Voters Do Not Be Mis-Led

In last week's issues of the Boston Guardian and Boston Chronicle appeared a political advertisement: "What Do You Know About Governor Hurley's Attitude Toward The Colored People." The sole intent was to mislead the colored voters of the Commonwealth.

DO YOU KNOW

That Governor Hurley's attitude toward colored citizens has been less friendly than that of any other Governor in the history of Massachusetts?

That Governor Hurley has appointed 35 judges to the Massachusetts bench and not a single colored man has ever been considered?

That when a delegation of colored lawyers headed by Hon. William H. Lewis went to the State House to ask the Governor to consider a colored man for that position, Governor Hurley absolutely refused to see them?

That Governor Hurley has NOT made "more additional appointments of colored persons than any other Governor in the past ten years?"

That although Cyril F. Butler of the Parole Board died more than four months ago, no other colored man has been named to fill the vacancy?

That Governor Hurley has never visited nor reviewed the 372nd Infantry of the Massachusetts National Guard whose brilliant war record as Company L of the Old Sixth Massachusetts Company was second to none? This is the first time since 1877 that a Governor has failed to personally review this organization. On the other hand, former Governor Curley honored this organization by selecting it for his official escort.

That although Governor Hurley refused to extradite Eugene Wilson, a colored man sentenced to 70 years on a Georgia Chain Gang for the theft of $12 worth of clothing, the Governor backed down under criticism by the Southern press and made haste to extradite Forest Hill, another colored man, without granting him a personal hearing?

DO YOU KNOW

That former Governor James M. Curley has made more appointments of colored men to high positions and given more outstanding recognitions to the race than any other public official?

That former Governor James M. Curley appointed Julian D. Rainey as a lawyer for the closed banks of Massachusetts, the first colored man ever to be appointed in such a capacity, and that Rainey was ousted by Governor Hurley?

That when the Hon. William L. Reed, Executive Secretary to the Governor's Council, reached the retirement age he was re-appointed FOR LIFE by James M. Curley?

That under former Governor James M. Curley, John T. Lane was re-appointed as Clerk of the Juvenile Court and the position was made a life time job by James M. Curley?

That former Governor James M. Curley appointed George Gordon as a guard in the Public Works Building and that he was one of the first guards fired by Governor Hurley and that no other colored guard has been appointed in his place?

That former Governor James M. Curley appointed Stephen Peters of Mashpee to the Department of Agriculture and that Governor Hurley dismissed him as soon as he came into office and that no other colored man holds that position?

That 26,000 more men and women were employed in Massachusetts under former Governor James M. Curley than are now employed at the present time under Governor Charles F. Hurley?

There is a primary on Tuesday, September 20 for the Nomination of Governor. When you vote in that Primary, recall the aforementioned acts of friendly interest together with former Governor Curley's well-known battles for human rights and equal opportunities which stamp him as the greatest Governor-friend the colored people have ever had and that by his humanitarian record and his recognition of colored people by appointment to public office he THOROUGHLY deserves your vote.

Let's Get Back to Work with CURLEY!!

(SIGNED) Silas F. Taylor, Pres. Mass. Colored Democratic League, 922 Tremont St., Boston, Mass; Joseph A. Dorsey, Dr. J. T. Rosser, Rev. Charles Crawford, Rev. Frederick A. Hinds, David D. Kenny, Pres. Colored Men's Dem. Club; J. Morris Robinson, Chr. Colored Dem. Club, Cambridge, Mass.

LET'S GO AMERICAN

The number of unregistered colored residents of Ward 9 runs up into the thousands. Leading political workers estimate the number of colored eligibles not registered at more than 4,000. This is a very large percentage. In several respects it reflects decided discredit upon the Race in Boston, where education is free to young and adults and offered in ways that are convenient to accept. Daily through the newspapers, radio and other agencies the public is advised of the civic and patriotic duties of citizenship which include registering and voting. The fact is known and bitterly commented upon that among the large group of the unregistered are hundreds of aliens who though residents here for several years, have failed to become naturalized.

Events in Europe and the recently exposed machinations of subversive cliques in the United States glaringly reveal the continuing threat to a democratic form of government. In undemocratized countries it is always the weakest minority who are made the "goats" for local and national evils. In Germany and Italy it is the Jews. Should democracy fail here in the United States, can anyone doubt that it will be the colored strugglers who will be tossed to the wolves? This is not alarmist chatter but the plain lesson of recent European history.

The remedy for anti-democracy is more democracy. Let's go American! Get registered! And vote regularly at all elections! And get friends and neighbors to do likewise! A statewide registration is in progress and will continue until October 19. Each of us can do something to help in getting new voters. A large registration is an index of increased interest in government, and the interest of each voting citizen multiplied by that of millions of other voters constitutes the strongest defense of our beloved democracy. Of all citizens the colored group has the gravest reasons for wanting democracy to succeed.

CAMBRIDGE LEAGUE OF COLORED VOTERS

pledges its support to:

JAMES M. CURLEY for Governor
FRANCIS J. ROCHE for Gov. Council
THOMAS H. ELIOT for Congress

Rev. F. Havis Davis, President
Dr. Alexander Cox, Vice-President
Luwaugh J. Holmes, Secretary-Treasurer

Signed: J. Morris Robinson, 120 Fayerweather St., Cambridge

Political – 1938

Suffrage.

Michigan

OPINION

The Tydings Purge

President Roosevelt will come to Maryland next Sunday to inspect the proposed Morgantown bridge site and make a Labor Day speech at Denton on the Eastern Shore on Monday.

Baltimore News-Post 9-3-38

It is likely that the 70,000 colored voters in Maryland will not only listen attentively to what he says, but will be inclined to give him what he asks for here.

The President gave his support to the Wagner-Van Nuys Antilynching Bill when it was before the Senate. One of the persons who stood in the way of that measure was Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland.

The colored voters cannot depend upon Senator Tydings to support this measure. They can depend upon President Roosevelt and Davey Lewis.

Political — 1938

Suffrage

Michigan.

Detroiters Forget Party Lines In Registration Drive In Motor City

By ROBERT A. CRUMP (for ANP)

DETROIT—Political parties and partisan politics have gone with the wind for the time being, while Democrats, Republicans and other political affiliates unite in what is perhaps the most assiduously concentrated effort ever put forth here by colored leaders to register the group preparatory to voting in coming elections. A "Committee on Negro Registration and Voting," comprised of political, civic and religious leaders, is sponsoring the movement.

4-8-38

Classes in citizenship are being formed with he slogan, "Good citizenship demands you take part in your government, you can only do so if you vote." A door-to-door canvas, with the city divided into wards and districts, is in progress. Sound cars are in evidence trumpeting the right, the necessity, and the value of the vote. The youth on the corner is being contacted, a student committee has been formed which will deal with students over 21 years of age.

Mass meetings are being held, outdoor speakers will soon mount the soap box, clubs and organizations of all kind have been instructed to see to their respective membership registration. Every known method of bringing the 31,000 Negroes in Greater Detroit of voting age to the registration centers and voting booths will be exhausted. The leaders have awakened to the full realization that the race has not received its due respects nor has its demands been granted because of a lack of voting strength.

Taking the cue from another minority group with a smaller population than that of the Negro, but who through its solidifed votes have been able to place men in the United States Congress, in the seat of the lieutenant governor of the state, as county treasurer and many other important position have led leaders who are heading up this mass registration movement to believe that a great and lasting good can be accomplished through this effort. Thus far the results of this Herculean task have proved gratifying.

Mississippi.

Political - 1938
Suffrage
6

HOUSE IN MISSISSIPPI BEATS POLL TAX BILL

Commercial Appeal

Double Payment Defeated, Thereby Upholding Corrupt Practices Act

1-22-38

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 21.—Abrogation of the Corrupt Practices Act was rejected by the House today in the indefinite postponement of a Senate Bill permitting double payments of poll taxes in election years.

Memphis, Tenn.

Administration forces under direction of Representative Thomas L. Bailey of Lauderdale County led the fight against the measure which proponents explained was designed to permit approximately 100,000 voters, now disfranchised through failure to pay 1937 poll taxes last February, to participate in the Summer congressional elections.

Administration Fights Bill

Although Representative Bailey, former speaker of the House and potential candidate for governor in 1939, denied the fight had any "factional alignments," administration supporters took the lead in seeking its defeat after it had received unanimous approval of a House Committee.

"This act was passed by the last administration in an effort to stamp out corrupt elections, and I call on this House to leave it intact," Representative Bailey said. "It is not an administration or anti-administration matter—it is one of fair and honest elections.

"I supported the Corrupt Practices Act during the last administration, and I can't surrender my conviction in this matter even though it would help me," he said. "You know the poll tax is the bulwark in elections in Mississippi—well, it means white supremacy."

Mandatory Poll Tax

Under the present law, which would have been virtually repealed since the poll tax requirement is the "heart" of the measure, persons are required to pay poll taxes annually and must present two receipts in order to vote. The change would have permitted the payment of two poll taxes in any February preceding an election, which opponents charged was opening the way to "purchasing of votes by politicians in election years."

Representative Bailey said a member of the Senate told him that the bill "got by while most of the members were busy on other matters."

"This senator told me he didn't know the damn thing had passed," Representative Bailey said.

Following indefinite postponement being voted, 77 to 30, Senator W. B. Roberts of Rosedale, veteran of 20 years, said:

"I repeat what I said during the Bilbo Administration when the House stopped some of his measures—thank God for the House of Representatives."

Motion to Reconsider

Representative Ludy C. Bellamy of Tishomingo County asserted that passage of the bill "will mean nullification of the Corrupt Practices Act."

Proponents of the measure were led by Representative Sam Lumpkin of Lee-Itawamba Counties, candidate for Congress from the First District; Representative Ira L. Morgan of Lafayette County, Representative Heber Ladner of Pearl River County, home of Senator Bilbo, and Representative L. P. Brown of Leake-Winston Counties.

Representative Brown entered a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was indefinitely postponed, and next week will seek a reversal of the action.

Declaring that defeat of the bill will mean restriction of voting, Representative Lumpkin charged that "more votes were purchased in the last primary election than ever before."

More Revenue Claimed

"Looking at it from the standpoint of the schools, which will benefit through payment of the poll taxes," Representative Lumpkin said, "they will stand to lose around $200,000 (poll tax is $2 a year)."

Asserting that he is "an administration man," Representative Morgan said the only question involved is "whether we will disfranchise voters or restrict this privilege to the few who had money last year to pay their poll taxes."

Representative Tom Reed of Adams County, mentioned as a likely congressional candidate from the Seventh District, speaking for the bill, said he had "bucked a ring, and I have no fear of wholesale purchasing of votes by the politicians."

Prior to the roll call, both sides said the outcome would indicate the strength of the White Administration against that of Senator Bilbo and Judge Paul B. Johnson, likely candidate for governor in the 1939 primary. Factional lines were divided, however, when the count was taken. Spokesmen of Senator Bilbo have announced that he will support Judge Johnson. Representative Bailey is expected to receive the backing of Governor White.

Senate Boosts Figure

After disposing of the bill, the House tabled a motion to reconsider the vote by which it had on yesterday passed the Rebinson-Perry Bill eliminating causes of action in alienation of affection and breach of promise suits. The bill now goes to the Senate.

Continuing its liberal policy, the Senate approved 13 appropriation bills at figures higher than those previously voted by the House. Refusal of the House to accept the increases would result in conference.

Senator W. G. Burgin of Starkville handled the appropriation bills for Chairman Roberts of the Finance Committee. He explained that each carried the figure recommended by Governor White and the Budget Commission, and despite opposition, steered them to passage.

After accepting the Budget Commission figures, which if carried out in all the measures will represent an increase of $6,000,000 over present biennial expenditures, the Senate debated an hour on the appropriation for the commission itself, $15,000.

Adjourn Until Monday

The Budget Commission appropriation was defeated yesterday by one vote, but was reconsidered during the morning session. A final vote was postponed, however, when its second defeat was feared by proponents. Action on the bill, which carries only a $600 increase over present two-year operating funds, is due Tuesday.

Opponents said the commission was unnecessary since the Legislature was the final authority on expenditures.

"Are we going to sit here and vote appropriations as outlined by the Budget Commission and then go back to our people and tell them we just followed the commission?" Senator Arthur Shook of Corinth asked. "If that is to be our procedure, I can't see why all the expense of legislative sessions: why not let the Budget Commission run the state."

Senator John Kyle of Sardis explained that other functions of the commission made it one of the most important departments of the state government. He explained that it was called on to check all expenditures and to prevent deficits.

The House and Senate, after the usual Friday morning sessions, adjourned until Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Tupelo, Miss. News
October 8, 1938

THE POLL TAX FIGHT

Here is what the editor of the Commercial Dispatch, of Columbus, has to say concerning the recent statement made by Senator Pat Harrison concerning the payment of the poll taxes in Mississippi:

Senator Pat Harrison came out flat-footedly and solidly against abolition of the the poll tax as prequisite to voting in Mississippi.

Senator Harrison is right.

There has been a determined drive from the North to abolish the poll tax, and to make voting free of any tax obligations whatsoever.

Northern politicians are making the drive.

They see a vast throng of negro votes coming into voting power if the bars are let down.

In the North the negro vote in many states is the balance of party power.

The ballot placed indiscriminately in the hands of irresponsible people would be unwise and would result in no end of trouble.

One of the effects would be to impair and disturb the peaceful relations between the races.

And no one wants this.

The politicians of the North who are advocating abolition of the poll tax care nothing for the welfare of the negro; all they are interested in is exploiting him politically.

The best friends the negroes have on earth are the Southern white people, and it would be extremely unfortunate if these friendly relations are disturbed by exploiting politicians.

Furthermore, the poll tax furnishes a substantial revenue for the public school of the state, black and white, and it is a legitimate source of revenue.

Certainly a citizen who places any value on his vote at alll should be willing to pay two dollars a year for the privilege—the cost of one tank of gasoline for the automobile.

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Suffrage.

Mississippi.

POLL TAX LAWS

To The Commercial Appeal:

In this era of political and economic complexities with war clouds overshadowing all of Europe and part of Asia, threatening to hurl freedom of our democracy and world civilization to the edge of the abyss, is no time for the enforcement merely of the Mississippi poll-tax laws tending to shrink the voting power of our state into oblivion.

Such polltax laws reveal a mirage of plutocracy and betrayal of the Mississippi ballots to an oligarchy of ruthless politicians who are placing a premium on the $2.00 tax over the sacred ballots of Mississippi by worshipping the golden calf.

We should not penalize our voters for being poor and not able to pay polltax promptly. If we must tolerate such golden calf vote-eliminating laws, let us at least modify them to a more liberal interpretation to extricate the lethargy from the functions of our ballots and educate the people to take interest in governmental affairs instead to force on them a mediocrity which is dominating dictatorial nations.

If life is to have dignity and richness in democracy, the principle of liberty and reasonable individualism can only be sacredly preserved by the enhancing instead of decreasing the sanctity of the Mississippi ballots.

MAURICE HENRY KOPPEL.
Vazoo City, Miss.

POLL TAX ANGLES

To The Commercial Appeal:

Much is said and written these days about abolition of the poll tax because of supposed injustice done to poor but deserving voters. However, there is another side to the question which should give every thinking man and woman pause. I quote from leading publications and columnists:

Said Ken on Aug. 11: "Poor whites will get a break at the Southern polls. Due to abolition of the two-thirds rule, Mason-Dixon politicians must increase state votes or lose power in Democratic national conventions. Result: Poll taxes are vanishing right and left; even negroes may win ballots in some districts."

Says the noted columnist, Mark Sullivan: "While the practical politicians of the Democratic Party quietly courted the Northern negro vote, the other wing of the New Deal set about with equal quietness to get the Southern negro vote. One method is a movement to get rid of poll taxes. . . . The purpose of the New Dealers is to tap a mine of several million potential voters hitherto deterred from voting, every one of whom in 1940, if they vote at all, will vote for the New Deal, and for Mr. Roosevelt if he is a candidate."

From the Washington Post: "The quietest of all New Deal movements, the one least traceable to Washington, and yet the one that carries most implications in the future, is unquestionably the present Southwide drive to repeal the poll tax. . . . The battle is secret now. But those days of secrecy and quiet are numbered. For when the full implications are revealed, when the Southerners learn, as they inevitably must, that they even face the possibility of negro legislatures as in the gall-and-wormwood carpetbagging days, then a struggle will begin which may be as important in history as Runnymede, Gettysburg, or the fateful 10 days in October in the Russian revolution."

The poll tax requirements were made a part of Mississippi's Constitution by wise and farseeing men. Let us not now for any minor consideration weaken the very foundations of our social structure, and undo the work of our patriots and statesmen, to our ultimate destruction.

MRS. THOMAS ST. V. WARD.
Way, Miss.

HARRISON WILL FIGHT FOR STATE'S POLL TAX

Constitutional Rights Are At Stake, Senator Charges In Hazlehurst Address

Special to The Commercial Appeal

HAZLEHURST, Miss., Sept. 24.—In an address dedicating the new postoffice building here today, Senator Pat Harrison said that he would always oppose with every power I command in the Senate the enactment of any Federal law that will deprive my state or any other state of its Constitutional and guaranteed right and privilege to impose a poll tax as one of the prerequisites to the right to vote in this country."

"Of course, there are some people who scrutinize the acts and utterances of their public servants so zealously, and sometimes so jealously that any difference of opinion with the President or others is heralded as disloyalty to the party or to the Administration," the senior senator said.

Believes in Co-operation

"Such accusations are no hobgoblins to me. I am that kind of a Democrat who believes in co-operation and common understanding, but I must not be deprived—and it is not best for the country that any public servant be deprived—of voicing and voting conscientious convictions upon Government questions and policies. Public men charged with high responsibility and who are desirous of serving the public well, may honestly differ as to the methods employed to attain the desired end," Senator Harrison said.

"I have no apologies to make to this or any other audience for differing with my President as to the right of the Federal Government to dictate to the states that the poll tax should be abolished as a prerequisite to the right to vote. That is a Constitutional right guaranteed to the states. If the authorities of a state believe it a wise public policy, in order to protect the purity of the ballot box and raise money to educate the children of the state, then state authorities should exercise that Constitutional right and the Federal Government not interfere or undertake to abrogate it.

Great Public Service

"Personally, I believe that those great Mississippians of 1890, when they wrote the Constitution of that year, performed a great public service to the civilization of our state, when they placed the poll tax requirement upon those seeking the right to vote."

Senator Harrison said that "as a Mississippian I am opposed to our state Legislature, either by Constitutional amendment or legislative subterfuge, removing the poll tax as one of the prerequisities for voting in Mississippi."

The American people and their public servants should keep their feet on the ground, think along straight lines, and courageously move forward to promote the happiness and welfare of our people," he said.

Administration Praised

Praising the Roosevelt Administration Senator Harrison said, "Under the leadership of our beloved President, Congress has written many humanitarian and necessary laws for the uplift of humanity and assistance to those in distress.

"In the very beginning, it lifted the American people out of the mire of an economic depression, uncertainty and confusion. In doing so many experimental laws were passed and experimental policies employed, most of them wise and necessary and most of them have proved very helpful and beneficial but in carrying out the whole program no one could have expected all of them, either in their enactment or in their administration, to be perfect.

"Mistakes were made and, no doubt, mistakes will be made in the future, but I believe in that order of statecraft which, when a law or governmental policy has proved either ineffective or harmful, steps would be taken to right the situation by repealing or modifying it.

Political – 1938

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Missouri.

MISSING PAGES FROM HISTORY

by HENRY WINFIELD WHEELER

OUR FRANCHISE

The United States of America, the most unique experiment in government by any people prior to the launching of "the Ship of State," began its voyage with a compromise on chattel slavery. "The sage of Monticello," Thomas Jefferson, was apprehensive of this error and said of it: "I tremble when I think of the future of my country."

The antagonists of slavery in the North and the defenders of it in the South finally grappled in the great fratricidal struggle which was decided, by the surrender of General Robert E. Lee to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, in favor of human freedom. Next, Congress passed the thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, the fourteenth amendment which raised the Negro to the rank of citizen and the fifteenth amendment which provided "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, nor by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." These amendments were passed over the veto of Andrew Johnson who was then the President of the United States. There are those who would malign the names of the philanthropic statesmen in Congress who, led by the Honorable Charles Sumner in the Senate and the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives, attempted to erase by liberal enactments the infamy of a nation to a part of its people.

Only a fraction of the voters, black or white, understood the national issues in 1866. The legislature of Missouri approved the fifteenth amendment in 1870, and in St. Louis, its largest city, began the political activity of Charlton Tandy and James Milton Turner, who had campaigned for the right of suffrage for black men.

There were eight thousand voters in the state and two thousand and five hundred in the city of St. Louis who were as travelers on a sandy desert who saw a mirage in which was brought to their vision a bubbling spring, a grove of shade trees and rest and comfort from the rays of the sun. It was no wonder that these simple folk, liberated after two hundred and forty-six years of unrequited toil, were easily deluded and defrauded in the cotton states by the "Carpet-baggers'" promises of "forty acres and a mule."

The Republican party had given the newly-made citizens the ballot, and they gratefully gave that party their unanimous support. Negroes in this city became the agents for their race for the Grand Old Party. Its virtues were extolled. Frederick Douglass' statement, "the Republican party is the ship and all else the sea." was a religious finality. Charles Turner, the father of Ralph A. Turner, well-known insurance man of 4255 W. Cook avenue, played a conspicuous part in the politics of sixty years ago. He organized the Forum Club, the first Republican club for colored voters in St. Louis and he urged the postmaster, Chauncey I. Filley, to appoint colored men in the Post Office, and it was done; he helped in placing Negro teachers in the public schools: he fought valiantly for the rights of his people for fifty years and should be remembered with gratitude by this generation.

Charles Turpin was elected constable in 1910, which was the first elective office to be held by a Negro in St. Louis. Then there was J. Milton Turner, Minister to Liberia, and colored men were appointed to Custom service and in the Post Office. All these opportunities led us far and now we have Walthall Moore and Attorneys Frank Clegg and John Davis elected to the state legislature as well as Attorneys G. M. Allen and L. A. Knox. Attorney Crittenden E. Clark was elected Justice of the Peace, and Jeff Covington, Langston Harrison and William Morant were all elected on the Republican ticket.

In a recent article the writer told of the organization of the colored Democrats by the late George B. Vashon, whose motto was: "You get only what you can take." A young man, Attorney Joseph L. McLemore, was nominated for Congress with the guidance of Mr. Vashon and Mr. John Hollerman of the Democratic party. Mr. McLemore made a spectacular race against the veteran Republican, Congressman L. C. Dyer, and thus began a new era for the colored voters of St. Louis.

The New Deal was greeted by a progressive group of men who aligned themselves with the Democratic party; Doctors O. S. McClellan and J. E. Hurt; Attorneys David Grant, Wm. Parker and Frank S. Bledsoe. The Negro Democrats under the dynamic and intelligent leadership of these men and laymen such as C. B. Broussard, T. Robinson, Oliver Thornton and others, changed St. Louis from a conservative Republican city to a Democratic stronghold. Attorney Frank S. Bledsoe was elected Justice of the Peace and Jordan Chambers, constable. The death of Charles Turpin, who was a Justice of the Peace left a vacancy which was filled by the appointment of Atty. Geo. L. Vaughn. Judge Vaughn is the most colorful of the present day Negro Democrats. He was once a dauntless Republican and ran for Congress under that banner, but above all he is a fearless race man, and it is the opinion of this writer that he deserted the Republican party because it deserted his people.

This man, who is a student of Negro history and an orator of no mean ability, led the fight for the Nat'l Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in their battle against segregation and was the attorney for the civic organizations in the recent Vashon site controversy.

The Negro voter in St. Louis can, with the intelligent use of his ballot, do away with discriminatory conditions in the city and also with the two discriminatory state laws of Missouri.

Next week—"ROMANCE AND TRAGEDY."

Claim Ballot Box Stuffed To Win Issue

Argus 12-21-38

Missouri Mass

Five Citizens File Petition For A Recount

Negro Residents of the Fireworks Station, a suburb of East St. Louis, "struck back" Saturday to action of citizens in the community which have resulted in denying them school facilities to which they feel they are entitled. Five residents filed a petition in circuit court at Belleville Saturday charging that more than 300 non-residents were permitted to vote last September 17 in a special referendum on a proposition to issue bonds for a $70,000 additi[illegible] to the white school of the district.

GROUP OPPOSED BILL

The case goes back to the action of the Board of Education in Fireworks Station when it proposed to allocate only $8500 for repairs to the Negro school and $72,500 for additional rooms, an auditorium, and repairs to the white school. The proposal was defeated by the Negro voters on August 13. The whites then drew up a new petition to have all the funds diverted to the white school with not one cent for the Negroes. This was carried by a large majority on September 17 when, it is alleged, carloads of non-resident voters were brought in, due to the extremely lax registration system existing in Fireworks Station.

ASK RECOUNT

The petition filed Saturday asks for a recount. It also alleges that clerks and judges of the election "failed to count more than 200 ballots cast against the proposition."

In contrast the petition continues "clerks in charge of the registry in the colored precinct did everything they could to intimidate colored voters, but did not challenge white voters."

After the votes were counted, the petition alleges, the president of the school board, who was one of the election judges "appeared with a handful of ballots which he said should have been locked in the ballot box, but as the ballot box was locked, he would carry them."

The petition was filed by Brooks Boyd, Pete Williams, Grant Taylor, Joseph Harris and James Ward, all residents of the district.

Political - 1938

Suffrage

New York.

ANOTHER HARD PRIMARY FIGHT LOOMS IN 17TH

Negro Voters' Group Supports Herzka Over Morrit

Blasting the present incumbent, Fred G. Morrit for breaking faith with them in aligning himself with the Midtown Civic League, the United Action Democratic Association, militant political organization of the colored voters of Brooklyn's 17th assembly district threw down the gauntlet in the opening of what promises to be another bitter primary fight this week when it pledged its support to Morrit's opponent for the democratic assembly nomination, Lloyd I. Herzka.

Morrit is seeking renomination on a ticket put up by the Mid-town League which is headed by Sumner Sirtl, who, early this year, faced charges before the Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population of race prejudice intimidation by means of vigilante methods and anti-Negro activities in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of the borough. Several times shortly after his election last year, Morrit is reported to have publicly declared: "I owe my election to the colored voters of the district."

Herzka, said to have been approved by the regular democratic organization of the county, is seeking the nomination on the ticket of the present district leader, Stephen J. Carney, who is also seeking reelection. Carney, at a recent meeting publicly acknowledged the strength of the United Action group and placed his stamp of approval upon it.

Bertram L. Baker, executive chairman of the United Action Association, in making the announcement, scored Morrit for breaking faith with the organization. Morrit's running mate in the coming primaries is Martin J. Kelly, Jr., member of the executive board of the Midtown League, who is seeking the leadership of the district.

"Morrit gave me his word that he would not run with Mr. Kelly because of his (Kelly's) connection with the Midtown Civic League," declared Baker. "He has broken faith with those who supported him last year and has proven himself unworthy of the confidence we placed in him.

"His candidacy on the same ticket with Mr. Kelly definitely associates him with the program of the Midtown Civic League. We are not alone in our determination to defeat the Kelly-Morrit ticket. The large majority of white voters of the district have condemned the program of the league as one which incites race hatred, and one which is un-American and violates all the principles of democracy," Baker further said.

The Midtown Civic League has long been the focal point of whole-hearted opposition on the part of the strong Negro citizenry in Brooklyn, its president, Sumner Sirtl, being regarded as the prime mover in numerous operations aimed at driving Negroes out of the community.

THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

ONE REASON WHY the efforts to create another Congressional District in Harlem failed was because an analysis of the last vote for Governor showed that the Negro vote is not a majority in the present 21st Congressional District, which includes Harlem. The prevailing opinion is that because there are more Negroes living in the District, they naturally represented the bulk of the voters.

But on the contrary, it was found that the Negro population of Harlem, variously estimated as in the neighborhood of 300,000, had a voting population of something like 60,000 while the 23rd Assembly District, largely white, has almost as many voters, and there are 3 other Assembly Districts. The 21st Congressional District has a population of nearly half a million, which makes it one of the largest in the country.

The Republicans have nominated a Negro candidate to oppose representative Gavagan and as we see it his only chance of success is in a big increase in registration on the part of Negroes eligible to vote. For more than a generation the people of Harlem have agitated for representation at Washington but have done little to make this objective a reality.

If we really want to put over the candidacy of Dr. King, let the Negroes who live in this district see to it that every member of the race eligible to vote register and do so. Let's make our slogan "100,000 voters in Harlem" and begin now to bring this about.

BROOKLYNITES DID BETTER

IT LOOKS LIKE the Negro voters of Brooklyn did better than those in Harlem. They, too, started a fight but carried it through to a successful fruition.

We refer to the fight in the Democratic primaries of the 17th Assembly District where Assemblyman Fred Morritt and his sponsor, Martin J. Kelly, Jr., leadership aspirant, were defeated. They were charged by Bertram L. Baker, head of the United Action Democrats, with having the endorsement of the hated and race-baiting Mid-Town Civic League.

They went even further than their Harlem brothers, however, for they managed to nominate a Negro, Rev. Theophilus J. Alcantara, on the American Labor party ticket as candidate for the Assembly over his opponent Assemblyman Morrit. It was a two-fold victory for Negroes.

Assemblyman Morrit made the mistake, it seems, of having forgotten his Negro friends who last year went to bat and fought for his nomination as the candidate, beating the regular organization. At that time Morrit openly acknowledged through the columns of this paper that the Negro vote did the trick for him. He made the mistake of forgetting that even mention of the name of Mid-Town Civic League causes Negroes in Brooklyn to see red. But despite the fact that he owed a deep debt of gratitude to Negroes he allowed himself, directly or indirectly, to be linked to that race-baiting organization. The inevitable happened: he was defeated.

Political - 1938

Suffrage

North Carolina

N. C. WHITES SEEK NEGROES' AID IN KILLING PROJECT

RALEIGH, N. C.—(ANP) —Prominent white Raleigh citizens, opposing a plan to establish an airport here are bidding for the aid of Negro voters in "killing" the measure at the forthcoming election.

In a quarter-page ad, appearing in a local Negro weekly, they sounded off: "Warning! Negro Voter! You are about to be taxed for an airport you will not be allowed to use! Register now, if you expect to vote against 'Taxation without Representation.' "

Thus southern whites use the Jim Crow bugaboo to swing elections, when it suits their purpose. The ad also carried a reprint from a recent issue of Business Week, explaining the cost of airport operation.

Excerpt: "The American Municipal Association has revealed a study ... which demonstrates the generally accepted fact that airport operation is an expensive business. Also that municipalities feel that the interstate and defense factors make it a 'national rather than local' problem, which is another way of saying they hope that Uncle Sam will come through with more money."

the university. He anticipates receiving his Master of Science degree in mathematics during the summer school session.

He is a graduate of Lincoln university, Jefferson City, Mo., and is a native of St. Joseph, Mo.

Race Durhamites Aid In Beating Airport Issue

Contend Schools Needed Worse Than Airplanes

(Staff Correspondence)

DURHAM, N. C.—Taking the position that the city needs schools and better lighted streets worse than it does a municipal airport, more than 2,000 colored registered voters, by staying away from the polls, aided in bringing about the defeat of the $300,000 airport bond issue here last week.

Hundreds of circulars were distributed to local citizens by the Committee of Negro Affairs, calling attention to the fact that though "the cost of the air port and its maintenance must be borne by Negroes in such proportion as their properties bear to all the properties in the city, Negroes would be denied the use of the facility they provide."

STAY AWAY FROM POLLS

Had the issue been passed an ad valorem tax not greater than two cents on $100 valuation of taxable property would have been levied and collected.

Pointing out that under the referendum, an uncast vote was actually a vote against the measure, R. N. Harris, who signed the mimeographed circular, urged the race voters to stay home on Monday, the voting day.

The issue was defeated by a greater than 4,000 majority.

Discounting a rumor that had been widely circulated throughout the city to the effect that if colored voters defeated the airport issue, white voters would retaliate by defeating the proposed school bond

Circulars Are Distributed To Registered Voters

issue, the circular read:

ALL NEED SCHOOLS

"Negroes will be told that if they oppose proponents of this measure, the school bonds will be opposed when presented, but we remind you that white children need schools too, and white parents will not reject a school issue simply because Negroes righteously objected to an airport issue."

Mr. Harris, who as chairman of the Committee of Negro Affairs, led the right on the airport bond issue is active in business, civic and religious affairs of the city. He is an executive of the Bankers' Fire Insurance Company, and an active lay leader in the famed White Rock Baptist Church of this city.

Charlotte, N. C., News
May 15, 1938

Colored Voters Alliance To Meet

The Colored Voters Alliance will hold the second in a series of mass meetings at the Little Rock A. M. E. Zion Church 401 North Myers Street today at 4 o'clock. The purpose of the meeting is to stimulate interest in the coming election.

Attorney J. S. Bowser will be the chief speaker. His subject will be "The Negro's Political Goal."

Elizabeth Rawlin, a member of the Women Federation of Clubs will speak on the need of a state supported school for Negro delinquent girls, a project in which the organization is interested.

There will be a five-minute talk by Prof. Ned Davis and remarks by the pastor, Rev. Wilson.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
June 3, 1938

NEGROES PICK CHOICES IN STATE-WIDE RACES

Following a two-hour session of nearly 100 Negroes from seven of the State's 11 congressional districts last night, it was indicated that the North Carolina Committee on Negro Affairs would probably endorse the incumbents in the two State-wide primary races.

Forming the political committee of the State-wide Negro organization, the delegates meeting at the Arcade Hotel left up to a sub-committee selection of the candidates to be endorsed.

The N. C. C. N. A., claims control of about 70,000 Negro votes. Dr. W. H. Bruce, of Winston-Salem, chairman of the political committee, presided at the meeting.

Greensboro, N. C., News
May 14, 1938

YOUNG NEGROES HEAR PRIMARY CANDIDATES

County and Congressional Aspirants Appear At Meeting Sponsored By Club.

Approximately 300 negro residents of the city were present for the political program sponsored by the Young Negro Democratic Club of Guilford county at the Y. M. C. A. center on East Market street Thursday night.

A large number of candidates in the forthcoming primary were present or represented at the meeting which was presided over by Waldo Faulkner. An address of welcome was extended by J. Archie Hargraves, chairman of the committee on police, after the opening remarks of W. F. Frazier, president of the club.

Accepted as a new note in race relations in this section was the declaration of several of the candidates for equality of opportunity for all under the constitution.

Democratic candidates for Congress from the sixth district present were George T. Penny, Maj. Edney Ridge and J. O. Atkinson, Jr., of Greensboro. Judge Lewis H. Teague, of High Point, was represented by Shelley B. Cavaness.

Beverly C. Moore appeared for Judge H. Hoyle Sink, candidate for re-election from the 12th judicial district.

Other candidates present were Roger Jennings, candidate for the state senate; Sheriff Joe S. Phipps, who is seeking re-election, and Cliff R. Sutton, who is opposing him; John W. Caffey and Joseph T. Caruthers, Jr., of Greensboro, and Keith Harrison and Rupert T. Pickens, of High Point, candidates for the state house of representatives; George L. Stansbury, of Greensboro, and J. W. Burke, of Gibsonville, seeking re-election to the board of county commissioners; James M. Simpson, running for re-election as coroner, and Dr. H. C. Stellings, who is opposing him.

The majority of the candidates spoke briefly.

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
May 24, 1938

Number Of Negroes On New Hanover County Registration Books Doubled

During the registration period that ended Saturday, the number of negroes on New Hanover county's registration books was more than doubled, according to figures compiled yesterday by H. G. Carney, chairman of the board of elections.

The increase over the 1936 colored registration was from 381 to 773.

The total registration jumped from 13,857 to 15,647, an increase over the 1936 total by 1,790.

A majority of the new registrations were recorded Saturday, the last day of the three week registration period for the June primaries. Practically normal registrations marked the period until the last day, when a number of the county's 18 registrars said, there was a rush of voters that necessitated much waiting.

The totals compiled by Chairman Carney show there are 15,270 democrats, 366 republicans, 8 independents and 3 socialists registered in New Hanover county for the coming primaries. These figures compare with 13,504 democrats, 333 republicans, 16 independents and 4 socialists registered for the 1936 election.

The democratic party, therefore, gained 1,766 voters, the republican party gained 3, while the independents lost 8 and the socialists lost 1.

Of the 773 negroes now on the books, 638 are registered as democrats and 135 are registered as republicans. The 1936 total of 381 was divided 341 democrats and 40 republicans. The negroes, therefore, contributed 297 voters to the 1,790 gained by the democrats this year.

N. C. Voters Hold Key To Election

Journal and Guide

Balance of Power Held In Guilford

6-11-38

By J. ARCHIE HARGRAVES
Staff Correspondent

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Making a significant bid for political recognition, 9,000 Negro voters of Guilford County, out of a total of 15,293 voters participating last week in the June Democratic primary, successfully proved to the congressional, state and county candidates that they hold the balance of power. Not only in Greensboro was this an accepted fact, but throughout the state, as evidenced by 4,500 Negro votes cast in Durham and 6,000 Negro votes in Charlotte.

In the contest for the senatorial post, Robert R. Reynolds was renominated for his seat in the United States Senate with a lead of approximately 70,000 votes over his opponent, Representative Frank W. Hancock, Jr., of the fifth district.

TO SEEK RACE VOTES

In the sixth district congressional race, a second primary will be run off on July 2, between Judge Lewis E. Teague, of High Point, and Oscar Barker, Durham attorney, to determine the Democratic nominee for the district. Both candidates are expected to make a strong bid for 10,000 Negro votes.

Judge Teague commanded a field of eight candidates in 115 precincts with 10,245 votes, followed by Barker whose total ran to 8,580. The two candidates, J. Oscar Atkinson, Jr., Greensboro attorney and instrumental in organizing the Young Negro Democratic Club of Guilford County, and Major Edney Ridge, owner of WBIG radio station, Greensboro, were in third and fourth places, respectively. Both were supported in the main by Negro voters assisted by progressive elements of white labor.

FOR FULL OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Atkinson had earlier expressed the conviction that he believed in "racial equality in all respects and in full opportunity in all endeavors for the Negro."

Major Ridge, who had made an out-and-out issue of his support of the New Deal, had repeatedly said "I am against reaction in all forms and favor the passage of all progressive measures granting Negroes more opportunities and rights." His Negro campaign manager was Hugh Thompson of Durham.

James T. Taylor, dean of men at North Carolina College, Durham, and Negro campaign manager for Oscar Barker, is expected to make an intensive campaign to get the Negro voters to cast their ballots for Barker in the second primary, his basis being the remarkable record of Barker in the state legislature with regard to Negro educational appropriations.

From what can be ascertained, none of the sixth district congressional candidates are rabid on the Negro question or the New Deal.

NEW DEAL LOSING

The defeat of Ridge, 100 per center for Roosevelt and the New Deal, however, may indicate waning popularity for the President.

In the twelfth judicial district, Judge H. Hoyle Sink, Greensboro, was renominated resident judge over Thomas Turner, Jr., High Point attorney and former legislator. Judge Sink has the record of being a fair and impartial legal referee and always instructs the jury that he will reverse the verdict if any form of racial prejudice is used in reaching it.

Fifty-two precincts reporting for Guilford county proper placed Sheriff Joe S. Phipps well in front of his opponent, C. R. Sutton, these figures showing the incumbent, seeking renomination, with 10,558 votes and Sutton with 7,030, a majority of 3,528 for Phipps.

INCUMBENTS WIN

For state senator, Thomas J. Gold, the incumbent, of High Point, received 10,431 votes or 6,290 more than the total of his opponents, Roger A. Jennings, of Greensboro.

Returns from the same precincts in the race for the North Carolina House of Representatives indicated the renomination of all three incumbents over their their adversaries, the totals being as follows:

John W. Caffey, of Greensboro, 10,426; Rupert T. Pickens, of High Point, 9,840; Joseph T. Carruthers, Jr., of Greensboro, 8,259; J. Keith Harrison, of High Point, 5,464; Roy L. Bowman, of Greene township, 3,949; W. E. Apple, of Greensboro, 2,953; L. Roy Herbin, of Greensboro, 2,283; John A. Suits, of route 3, Greensboro, 1,448.

The primary elections in North Carolina, and especially in Guilford County, show the marked increase of Negroes who are eligible to perform the duties of citizenship. By manifesting interest in political affairs, the Negroes of Guilford County will soon build a political wedge that will be an entrance into national, state, and county affairs.

CLUB BAROMETER

The Young Negro Democratic club is the one possible medium for aforementioned successes.

In the second primary on July 2, the issues that have been studied by the policy committee may be the basis of either Mr. Barker's or Judge Teague's success for nomination as Democratic candidate for United States House of Representatives from the sixth district.

Selma, N. C. Johnstonian
November 3, 1938

LOCAL NEGROES ARE REGISTERED

The 2,857 voters registered in Smithfield township during the period of new registration include 54 Negroes, registration books of the three Smithfield precincts reveal.

The registration of Negroes here came about through organized efforts of a group called the Negro Civic League. Negroes, who cannot legally be denied the right to vote on account of race, have for many years been denied the right by practice, and leading Negro citizens here formed the league to insist upon a recognition of their rights.

Thirty-three Negroes registered in East Smithfield, 20 in North Smithfield and one in West Smithfield.

Accurate information on Negro registration in other precincts could not be obtained yesterday, but it was reported that one or two Negroes were registered in Selma and Ingroms townships.—Smithfield Herald

COLLEGE GRADS BUSINESS MEN 'NOT QUALIFIED'

Start Suit Against Election Officials

DURHAM, N. C., Nov. 23—(ANP)—Denied ballots in the general elections of Nov. 8, although duly qualified and registered, several of the most prominent Negro residents of Clinton, N. C., in Sampson county, are starting suit in federal district court against election officials and announced through their attorneys, C. Jerry Gates and E. R. Avant of Durham that they may carry the matter to the United States supreme court.

Those who were barred at the polls include college graduates, school teachers, dentists and physicians. Election judges declared they were "not legally qualified." At the same time, members of the Cro Indian tribe, who could neither read nor write, voted without difficulty.

Teachers Denied Ballot

Dr. W. E. Merritt, Jr., a graduate of Shaw and Howard universities; John M. Holmes, Shaw graduate and school teacher; F. D. Ashford, alumnus of Brick college; W. E. Merritt, Sr., a teacher in Sampson county for 40 years; Dr. D. J. Sammons, graduate of Johnson C. Smith and Meharry, and Mrs. A. G. Battle, Hampton graduate, were among those denied ballots.

All these persons registered at Clinton on Oct. 22 and 29. On the morning of Nov. 7, day before election they received challenges from Registrars R. F. Royal and A. W. Marshburn, along with orders to appear at the county courthouse that morning for challenges by J. M. Hobbs, Democratic judge, and Paul Moore, Republican judge, on their voting qualifications.

When they arrived at the courthouse, they were told to return at six p. m. They returned at the appointed time, but the challenge again failed to materialize. Next day when they went to their polling places to vote, they were ordered away.

Lawyers Maltreated

Attys. Gates and Avant had been retained Nov. 7 and went to Clinton. The state Democratic chairman, Gregg Cherry, was contacted on the matter but failed to take action. Then the chairman of the county committee, Howard Hubbard, was also approached but he said he was "sorry" he could not use his influence to permit colored voters use of the ballot.

The lawyers declare that in their efforts to obtain the vote for the Clinton citizens, they were maltreated, handled roughly and subjected to vile language by election officials.

Not only Clinton but the entire state is behind the legal attempt to insure qualified colored voters the use of the ballot, it was learned here last week.

Even The Indians Can Vote

Carolinians May Take Case To Supreme Court

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NOTABLES BARRED

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COMMITTEE SILENT

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Group Seeks To Strenghten Negro Vote

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.—(A N P)—Strengthening of the Negro vote throughout the state will be the major program for next year of the North Carolina Committee of Negro Affairs, which held its fourth annual meeting in Scotland Baptist church Sunday night.

Three hundred delegates representing 5,000 members of various organizations and units of the committee were in attendance. The group was organized for the express purpose of registering 10,000 colored voters in the state C. C. Spaulding, president of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, told the conference the progress of the committee in adding voters to registration books.

Dr. Frank Horne, of the U. S. Housing authority, also addressed the meeting and told the procedure to be followed in securing the maximum benefits available under the Housing Act.

TWO NAMED TO CITY COUNCIL IN NORTHERN INDIANA

GARY, Ind.—(A N P)—Gary and East Chicago, Ind., will have Negro alderman, results of last Tuesday's elections show.

Wilbur J. Hardeway, formerly alderman for two years, but who lost in 1934 to William Anderson, Democrat, was elected from the Fifth district on the Republican ticket, beating out Benjamin Cresswell, local undertaker and Democrat.

In East Chicago the victor was James Dent, Jr., also a Republican. He is a steel mill worker, a graduate of Washington High School and a bachelor. Young Dent is the first Negro ever elected to the council in East Chicago.

N. C. VOTE BAN HITS GRADS; TO PUSH CASE

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The lawyers declared that in their efforts to obtain the votes for the Clinton citizens they were maltreated, handled roughly and subjected to vile language by election officials.

Not only Clinton, but the entire state is behind the last attempt to insure qualified colored voters the use of the ballot, it was learned here last week.

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
December 6, 1938

NEGRO VOTERS DENY REPORTS

Resolution Expresses Regret That Statement Made That Negro Votes Were Bought.

A resolution expressing regret of a statement reportedly made by a representative-elect regarding alleged "buying up" of negro votes in the city during the recent election was passed at a meeting of the Colored Voters league last night. Woods Morgan, president of the league, presided. The report, according to the resolution, is erroneous and misleading.

Endorsement of the slum clearance movement in the city, particularly in the negro secitons, was also given by the Colored Voters league. It was pointed out that such a campaign has long been a necessity in the Queen City.

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Suffrage

Ohio

Negro Vote Shows Big Swing To The Democratic Ranks

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—(ANP)—The Ohio primaries held last Tuesday were the best test of the strength of the Negro in the state known in years, because most of the colored population was supporting Martin L. Davey for the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination. The Negro vote was not solidly for Davey, however, as there were several outstanding colored persons working for Charles Sawyer, who opposed and beat Davey. It is believed that many Negro Republican voters went over into the Democratic ranks to help put Davey over, since there was no Republican gubernatorial opposition to John W. Bricker.

The Negro vote was great as is shown by the close race Atty. Joseph E. Bowman, Democratic Negro candidate for the short term of the Ohio State Supreme Court. Bowman was known to have been backed by the Davey Democrats and polled more than 170,000 votes. 150,000 of which were supposed to be Negro votes. Bowman was nosed out by a slim margin of 2,000 by his opponent.

There was no campaign issue that arose before the election which shook the Negro confidence in Martin L. Davey. Even the public letter sent out by Atty. Elsie Austin, colored woman attorney, assistant to Attorney General of Ohio Herbert Duffy made no impression whatever. A national weekly had inferred that Atty. Austin had been appointed by Governor Davey when she really had been appointed by the Attorney General. She corrected the mistake through an open letter which invoked little or no comment on the part of the Ohio public.

It is known that Democratic Nominee Sawyer will need all the Negro vote that went to Davey to win the November election, and probably will try to win the colored man's confidence. There is no indication, thus far how he will treat the Davey Democrats, although some leaders conjecture that he will be tolerant. It has been shown that the total Negro vote can be a deciding factor in an election.

There are few colored persons who can feel assured of their political positions no matter what the gubernatorial developments may be. Bishop Reverdy Ransom will remain on the Parole Board. Dr. Eugene Clarke will remain on the State Health Board, and a few others will hold their jobs, but the vast majority of the state employes will be at the mercy of the administrative policies of the next governor, observers declare.

It is significant that there was such a large Democratic vote among colored citizens which is a contrast to the situation ten years ago There was such a wholesale movement over to Democratic ranks that the Republicans of Columbus could not gain enough power to nominate a colored candidate for the state legislature.

Jesse G. Dickinson, a leader in the civic circles of Ohio and an active NAACP officer, was the foremost figure in developing interest in support of Charles Sawyer among Negroes. Dickinson resigned his post in the Attorney General's office to organize the Ohio Sawyer for Governor Sponsors committee. A cross section of the committee clearly indicates that the great bulk of independent thought was in support of Sawyer, and his platform of good government, designed to include the Negro as a citizen.

There are more than 125,000 colored voters in Ohio. Approximately 60 per cent of them vote the Republican primaries This percentage has been on the decline for a period of 6 or 8 years, beginning with the "Parker Fight" of 1932. It is generally felt that Robert Taft, son of the late William Howard Taft, pulled a fair percentage of the colored votes. There seems to have been no sharp racial cleavage between Justice Day and Robert Taft for the Republican senatorial nomination.

Senator Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio's champion of the Anti-lynch Bill, won the Democratic Senatorial nomination against former Governor White by an overwhelming majorty of more than 300,000.

Negro Democratic Vote Daily Growing Greater!

Union
8-18-38

THE LEAGUE FOUGHT NOBLY!

Its clubs worked together all over the State, and stuck to their guns most strongly in this county. Davey was their man! Under him, colored citizens got more positions, more recognition, than ever before, even when they were the slaves and beasts of burden of the Republican party.

They had nothing against Sawyer, but they owed Davey a debt of gratitude, and to their honor, be it said, they paid it! Now Sawyer is the candidate! He is too much of a gentleman, too good a politician, not to want their support, not to get their support! He is too great a man to be less to them than Davey was. 'Tis most regrettable that a few persons used him as a target for mud-slinging, and most malicious misrepresentation. But he outlived it and won!

Quite a number of our people were in the Sawyer band wagon from the beginning. A few of them openly worked hard for his success, despite opposition.

If the big Democratic factions have sense enough to get together, the next governor should be Sawyer! Unless he has changed from "the Sawyer of earlier days," colored citizens will have naught to fear, naught to regret, but much to be thankful for.

Dabney.

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Suffrage

Oklahoma

Election Irregularities

Those who seek a recount and probe of alleged primary election irregularities turned immediately to ward 2, precinct 2, this week, because, on its face, the returns showed an obvious violation of law. This is a Negro precinct manned entirely by Negro officials.

The reason for calling in the election officials and demanding the poll book developed out of the fact that more than 700 Negroes voted in this precinct last Tuesday. The election laws provide that there shall not be more than 25 electors in a precinct. Black Dispatch

The truth is that precinct 2, ward 2, has been more sinned against than sinning. This writer has protested for several years that this large precinct should be cut into three parts. We do not blame the probers for looking askantly at superficial obtrusions, and immediately assuming that some unlawful act had been committeed, when the Negro precinct shows voting strength of such unreasonable size. 7-23-38

The records showed that additional ballots had been furnished and some of them were missing. The truth is that voting had to cease in precinct 2 of ward 2 for quite some time Tuesday because of ballot shortage.

But when they called in the election officials and dug into the vote boxes everything was found regular to the nth degree. The only thing not regular rested in the fact that Oklahoma City has a voting precinct in the Negro district where fully 1500 electors reside. Everyone of these electors have a constitutional right to vote, but when a considerable portion of them do vote, the obvious fact of their voting appears as an election fraud. Oklahoma City

Election officials in the precinct say that fully 200 voters were turned away from the polls Tuesday because of the physical impossibility to offer these rejected electors voting facilities under the intolerable conditions existing. This is equivalent to disfranchisement. It makes no difference what the reason is for a citizen's not getting the chance to vote, if he wants to vote and cannot, that citizen has been disfranchised.

Immediate steps should be taken to remedy this situation. The Black Dispatch is not charging anyone with wilful attempt to prevent Negroes from voting, but we do feel that enough organized representation as to voting conditions on the Eastside have not been made. A complete revamping of the entire area would create at least five new precincts. Too many are now voting in precincts 6, 8, and 12. Nothing will straighten this tangle but a complete overhauling of all of the precincts causing them to conform to statutory law.

We are pleased to note that under these trying conditions the election officials in precinct 2, ward 2 were able to show their record were clean and above reproach. We believe that a minimum of irregularity and unlawful practice will be found in the Negro precincts. The officials are intelligent, law-abiding citizens. We found only one irregular proceeding during the period. The return sheets which under the law are required to be tacked up in front of the polling places, were not be found at the polling place in precinct 7, ward 2, Wednesday morning when the Black Dispatch representative arrived there to prepare information for our approaching deadline. Precinct election officials should be advised as to the law on this subject.

Oklahoma

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Suffrage

Fight Disfranchisement in Oklahoma

For thirty years R. W. Lane, Wagoner county Negro farmer, has been fighting for the right to vote. He represents one of more than 1700 Negroes denied the right of suffrage in this North Oklahoma county.

In the picture above Lane can be seen to the left with his attorney, Charles A. Chandler, Muskogee, employed by the N. A. A. C. P. to defend Lane's suit in the United States Circuit Court, where the case was heard last Friday.

Disfranchisement Of Negro Voters Halted In Nowata

NOWATA, Okla. — Nowatans, unwilling to accept a decision handed down by Mack Williamson, state attorney general, stating that Negroes were not eligible to vote in local school board elections, were immediately called in a mass meeting by D. A. Williams, principal of Lincoln high school to formulate plans to fight for the right of franchise.

The Nowata county election board had been recently questioned as to the eligibility of Negroes to vote in school board elections. The board asked for an opinion from the attorney general who interpreted the law that Negroes had no right to vote.

A large number of the representative Negroes answered the call of Mr. Williams and appointed a committee consisting of Dr. Edward Jones, chairman; D. A. Williams, Joe Pierce, and George Hubbard. The committee immediately filed a suit in their name in the district court asking for an injunction to prohibit the election board from carrying out the decision of the attorney general. Before a packed courtroom of interested people, a great majority of whom were Negroes.

High Court Grants Writ Of Certiorari In Wagoner Co. Disfranchisement Case

31-Year-Old Battle for Justice to Finally Have Day in Tribunal of Last Resort

Echoes of Grandfather Clause To Be Heard

MUSKOGEE, Okla.—"Petition for certiorari Lane against Wilson granted today." This telegram was received by Attorney Charles A. Chandler, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People counsel from Charles Elmore Cropley, clerk of the United States Supreme Court.

Lane, a large taxpayer in Wagoner County and a highly intelligent man, has been fighting for 31 years against the registration laws of the state, which, in their administration, gives Wagoner county officials a loophole to deny him ballot privileges. He is assisted in his fight by financial aid by the State Conference of Branches of the N. A. A. C. P.

The writ was granted Monday following the presentation of Attorney Chandler's brief and an oral statement by Charles H. Houston, senior legal counsel of the N. A. A. C. P., New York.

By its action the supreme court agreed to pass upon the constitutionality of the Oklahoma registration law of 1916, in a case involving the right to Negroes to vote.

The court will review a tenth circuit court of appeals decision affirming a lower court verdict against Lane who had unsuccessfully sought to register in 1934.

$10,000 Damages Sought

Lane instituted a $10,000 damage suit aganist Marion Parks, precinct registrar, County Registrar Jesse Wilson and County Judge John Moss, in the eastern district court of Oklahoma.

The registration law of 1916 provides for the registration of qualified electors who apply for registration "provided that it shall be the mandatory duty of every precinct registrar to issue registration certificates to every qualified elector who voted at the general election held in this state on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1914, without the application of said elector for registration."

Grandfather Clause Used

Contending that he has been denied the right to vote contrary to fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, Lane said he had voted in Oklahoma prior to 1914, but was barred from the 1914 election because of the operation of the "grandfather clause" of the Oklahoma constitution.

The "grandfather cluase" established a universal literacy test, but exempted those who could vote on January 1, 1866, and their lineal descendants. It was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. supreme court in 1915.

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Oklahoma

Are You Properly Registered?

Much argument is heard on street corners and in alleys these days as to who should be governor and from now until the 12th of July, when the primary voting will take place, the discussions will wax warmer and warmer.

In the judgment of the Black Dispatch, however, the big question right now should be qualification for voting. There is no use to dissipate time talking about the rating, availability or worthwhilness of candidates when you, yourself, through failure to register, are unable to vote in the coming primary. Black Dispatch

Election officials announce that a new registration period will open June 22. Electors should start now investigating whether or not their precinct lines have been changed since they last registered. If your precinct has been worked over it is probable that you live in another precinct from the one nominated on our certificate. You would not be able to vote with the old certificate July 12. The election laws provide that precincts shall not have over 200 electors and when congestion developes the election board arbitrarily rearranges these political sub-divisions to require with the law. Do you know whether this has been done in your precinct? It would not be a bad idea to find out.

6-18-38

Another thing: If you did not vote in the last three elections your certificate is invalidated. This is a wise provision in the law. Many times crooked election officials have been known to cast ballots for deceased electors. This fraud is, in a large measure, eliminated by voidance of registration vouchers, following the failure of the holder to vote in previous three elections. Are you certain you voted in the last three elections? Rural voters can be surer of this than citizens of municipalities. At any rate, if you are not sure of this it would not be a bad idea to consult your local precinct registrar regarding your eligibility and standing. Oklahoma City Okla

Beginning June 22 new voters—meaning those who have just reached their majority; those who have completed their first year in the state, and those who have moved from one precinct to another—are required to present themselves to the precinct registrar and qualify for ballot privileges. Unlike in many states, such as Texas, there is no monetary consideration involved. The requirement is that you have lived in the state one year, the county six months and the precinct thirty days.

Negro Democraic and Republican organizations over Oklahoma shoul concentrate in the next few weeks on registration. If your candidate is a good man and you want him nominated in the July primary and elected in November, you will give a large portion of your time to increasing registration. You should not only see that your old certificate is properly validated, but in addition, see to it that your neighbor across the fence prepares and qualifies for suffrage privileges.

How to Get Rid of "Ghost Voters"

Black Dispatch

Endorsement of a plan to revamp the Negro voting precincts of the city should meet with instant approval of all of the 20,000 Negroes of this city. If our readers will turn to page three of this edition there will be found an extended article in refutation of the charges that Negroes are voting illegally in Oklahoma City. The Black Dispatch has gone to a great deal of trouble to delve into this question to expose the truth. 10-1-38

The state law provides that there shall be not to exceed more than 250 electors in any voting precinct. When following a close election there develops that more than 700 Negroes have voted in a given precinct, it is but natural that disgruntled unsuccessful candidates would assume that something is wrong. Oklahoma City Okla.

Take, for example, Precinct 2 of Ward 2, the political sub-division discussed in our article entitled "Ghost Voters: **More than 1200 voters have been registered in this precinct. Green Smith, the registrar, placed more than 900 on the rolls in the last primary and over 700 actually voted.**

This indicates that Precinct 2 of Ward 2 instead of being one precinct should be five. In all of the five Negro precincts where Negro election officials serve this congested condition exists. It operates to disfranchise voters who, as in the last election, dic not get a chance to vote. It overworks the poorly paid workers in the polling places and finally ends in casting suspicion on the entire election machinery handled by Negroes on the theory that illegal voting has occurred. Black Dispatch

In the past seven years the Negro population has moved steadily northward. In a recent survey it was discovered that fully fifteen more blocks not included in what is called the Negro precincts have been enveloped by this northward trend. A revamping of the precincts should include these areas. So long as these Negroes in the enlarged area vote in white precincts there is no way to guage the voting strength of the Negro and it operates to exclude Negro election workers who should be given employment at election time.

The action of the Negro election officials in a recent meting, endorisng a plan to redistrict the Negro area is in keeping with what the Black Dispatch has in mind. The Oklahoma City Times' management, not knowing of the congested conditions in this area was justified in assuming on the face of things that something is wrong. But the stark naked facts expose another view.

Why have a law which says that 250 electors shall be in a given political sub-division and disregard this regulation in the Negro districts? The integrity of the Negro vote is involved in this demand for a change. Then too, we believe the investigation made by the Black Dispatch proves that the method employed by the Times newspaper is not the best method and does not prove what the Times seems to assume it proves.

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The point we wish to make is in the interest of good government and in justice to a large portion of the Negro electorate disfranchised by present arangements the Negro area should be studied carefully and precincts formed which conform to the elections law of Oklahoma.

Highest Court May Get Okla. Vote Law Case

Oklahoma City Okla. 10-8-38

MUSKOGEE, Okla.—The U.S. Supreme Court will be asked to pass upon the constitutionality of this State's election law.

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The case challenged the Oklahoma election law of 1916, which provided that persons hitherto barred from voting must register within two weeks after passage of the new law.

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Political – 1938

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18 Of 21 Counties Populated By Negroes Snub Pinchot

RETALIATION SHARP

Republican State Negro Council Credited With Swinging Opposition

By THEODORE STANFORD

Pennsylvania's Negro Republican vote stood like a solid wall of granite against the return to power of Gifford Pinchot in Tuesday's balloting. In every section of the State in which the vote of that group was dominant, the tall Pike County forester fared miserably.

Faced by one of the best Negro State-wide organizations to be put together in recent years—the Republican State Negro Council—Pinchot's limping forces under the direction of Robert Nelson found itself wholly without

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Indicative of the fashion in which Negroes throughout the State repudiated the Pinchot hopes is the manner in which the former Governor was treated in the home district of the president of the Council, Albert Reading, in Chester. Voting 491 of his followers, Reading chalked up 486 for Judge James and a bare 5 for Pinchot.

Added to this is the fact that in more than half a dozen precincts in Montgomery County, led by Councilman Fred Williams, Pinchot received total blanks from the aroused Negro citizenry.

SHARP RETALIATION

In Philadelphia, the same sharp retaliation was everywhere seen in wards in which the Negro vote is the balance. Foremost, perhaps, along this line is the "bloody 30th" in which the Pinchot forces led by William A. Upshur made a desperate but futile attempt to break up the James morale by injecting ward fights into the picture. This great labor brought forth a miserly 515 votes for Pinchot while the Organization ticket polled 2705.

From a personal point of view, sharpest of all the Negro fights on the Pinchot front was waged by E. Washington Rhodes, who handled the forester's campaign in 1938 only to be left holding the Stahlnecker bag.

Much of this was seen reflected in the lashing which the 7th ward, in which Rhodes was a candidate for the State Legislature, gave the Pinchot cripples. Pinchot mustered 357 votes, mostly from districts other than those in which the Negro votes dominates while the James figure reached 3173.

In the Negro dominated 20th Ward in which the Pinchot forces made a desperate effort to alienate Negro leaders, Pinchot was given a complimentary 861 while James polled 5799.

Even in the disputed 44th, where it was not certain how the tide would swing in the wake of ward shakeups the Pinchot forces gathered a harvest of 767 ballots while the James end went beyond 2000. In the 47th, where the Negro vote again is boss, the Pinchot friends were few and far between. Only 412 could be found in the final counting, while 2691 were chalked for Judge James.

LA MOTT BALLOTING

In the home district of the leader of Montgomery County, Fred Williams in LaMott, out of a total balloting of 566, Gifford Pinchot was given 2 while 564 notches were recorded for the James forces. In like manner in York, Cumberland, Dauphin, Schuylkill and Northampton, the Negro vote was stiff in its unrelenting opposition to the Pinchot brigade.

Much of the James strength was due to the fact that Chairman James Torrance inherited an already functioning organization in the State Council when he named its Board head, Baker, to the State chairmanship.

In less than five days thereafter almost the entire Council leadership, including W. C. Wingate, of the Philadelphia unit, was in line. Most effective work done by the Council setup, no doubt, was in Dauphin County where, despite the endorsement of M. Harvey Taylor for Pinchot, most of the strong Negro edge vote cast its ballots for Judge James.

Official Primary Returns Show Total Of 64,900 Votes Cast For Negroes In The Primaries

Henry Plurality 8,284 With Total Ballots Of 17,823; Legislative Figures Indicate Shifting Trends

Complete returns of the May 17 primary, published this week, show that Magistrate Edward W. Henry's plurality over his three opponents on the Republican ticket for the Congressional seat in the 2nd Congressional district was 8,284. He received 17,823 votes.

James P. McGranery, Democrat, who will oppose him in the November election, received 19,315 votes.

In the 6th Assembly district (6th Ward) Samuel D. Holmes, Democrat, incumbent, defeated Dr. Robert P. Bradley, 919 to 692, while the Republicans nominated E. Washintgon Rhodes over Thomas J. Burke, 1552 to 1226.

In the 7th district (30th Ward) William A. Allmond, Democratic incumbent, received 1481 votes. He will be opposed in November by John W. Harris, Jr., Republican, who defeated William A. Upshur, Jr., 1994 to 742.

In the 13th district (16th and 20th Wards) Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, Democratic incumbent, led his ticket for one of the three seats, receiving 4981 votes.

In the 18th district (24th, 34th, 44th Wards), Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Democratic, received 11,294 votes for one of the three seats. Other colored Democrats were: Dr. William A. Bragg, 2363; John E. Pugue, 3257. Mrs. Fauset replaces Rep. Marshall L. Shepard.

William S. Hagans, Republican, who made no active campaign, received 1285 votes in the 18th district.

In the 21st district (29th, 47th Wards), Hobson R. Reynolds won the Democratic nomination with 4334 votes. Other Democratic candidates were: Octavia W. Bryant, 1048; John H. Brigerman, incumbent, 582; and Raymond Register, 313.

Paul F. Keene won the Republican nomination in the 21st district with 6765 votes.

Rev. B. A. Jackson made a losing fight for the GOP nomination in the 22nd district (27th, 40th, 46th, 51st Wards), receiving 2618 votes.

In the 23rd district (32 Ward) Adolphus Lewis, Republican candidate, failed in his bid, receiving only 857 votes to the successful candidate's 2731.

In the 2nd District, the Democrats re-elected Mrs. Somerville Z. Fauntleroy, Interracial Consultant in the State Welfare Department, a member of the State Committee.

The Republicans elected Mrs. Mamie S. Lewis, who replaces Mrs. Maude A. Morrissett, who declined to make the race.

Bates burg, S. C., Twin-City News
November 2, 1938

THE OLD COW GOING DRY

There are 177,000 negro voters in the state of Pennsylvania, and the political campaign hotly waged in that state between the two major parties is still further enlivened by an appeal of Robert L. Vann, negro publisher of Pittsburgh and leader of negro Democratic party for all voters of his race to return to the Republican fold and cast their ballots for Judge Arthur H. James, Republican candidate for governor. At the same time he urged them to ignore the Democratic ticket headed by Governor George Earle, Democratic senatorial candidate.—Spartanburg Journal.

The old cow must be showing sings of "going dry." It was the reckless spending and throwing away of the taxpayers' money by the New Deal that attracted the black man to the Democratic party, and now that those voters are being advised by their leaders to return to the Republican camp indicates that they believe the picnic is about over.

Which is the best news we have heard in several blue moons.

Westminster, S. C. Tribune
November 8, 1938

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Bethlehem, Pa., Times
6-9-38

Philadelphia, Pa.,
6-9-38

Bethlehem, Pa., Times
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Bethlehem, Pa., Times
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Bethlehem, Pa., Times

Political - 1938

Suffrage

South Carolina

WALTER WHITE LASHES ANTI-SUFFRAGE PROPAGANDA IN S.C.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 30—Some 1,000 persons, a few of them prominent whites, crowded the Morris Brown A. M. E. church here, September 20, and heard Walter White lash out at the corruption of South Carolina politics in answer to southern reactionaries who insist that if the Negro is given the right to vote in the South fraud and violence would reign.

The crowd was somewhat apprehensive because at the very moment the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was administering his blistering attack on the South Carolina primaries, a crowd of cheering admirers of Burnet R. Maybank, former mayor of Charleston, passed the church, firing guns and whooping up in general because their candidate had been nominated for governor in what was regarded as one of the most viciously corrupt campaigns in the city's history.

Pointing to the position of the world today as an example of how the fate of all peace-loving people is in the hands of a fascist madman, who has utilized the sinister forces of race prejudice to promote reaction, White told his audience that the South can and must look at four grave questions and give the right answers if it would save its future and the future of America.

"The N. A. A. C. P. will not yield in its fight to pass a federal anti-lynching bill," he said, adding that passage of this legislation must have the support of whites as well as blacks in the South.

Along with lynching he pointed to the wage and hours bill, education and disfranchisement as questions which the South will have to take hold of and solve in the interests of all.

White spoke at the church at the invitation of the pastor, the Rev. R. I. Lemon. Others on the program included: the Rev. J. E. Beard, S. E. Anderson, A. J. Clement, president of the local branch, N. A. A. C.P., and Dr. E. B. Burrough.

Spartanburg, S. C. Herald
October 8, 1938

REGISTRATION SET AT 17,500

Books Closed Until After General Election

Approximately 17,500 Spartanburg county residents had qualified to vote in the general election in November when registration books were closed yesterday afternoon, it was learned from the county board of registration.

The books were re-opened Thursday and yesterday after having been closed the first of October.

Books will be reopened three days early in December, otherwise they will not be reopened this year.

104 Negroes

Negroes were recently reported to be registering heavily in Richland county. Prior to the reopening of the books yesterday the board reported about 100 had been registered this year all over the county. The number stood today in the neighborhood of 104.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
October 3, 1938

Negroes Plan To Cast Vote

35, Largest Number In Chairman's Experience, Gets Registration Papers

Approximately 35 negroes have obtained registration certificates for voting in the general election November 8, it was learned today from Mrs. Lucia D. King, chairman of the Greenville County board of registration.

Mrs. King said the total constituted the largest number of negro registrations in her experience. She added that the majority of certificates for negroes were obtained several months ago.

The comparatively large registration of negroes assumes significance in view of the fact that active interest has been taken by negroes in preparations of the state Republican party for the general election. Negroes were prominent in proceedings at both county and state Republican conventions.

Mrs. King said the majority of registration certificates issued to negroes were secured by school teachers and negro business men.

The registration books opened today for a three-day period, the last before the general election. Certificates are required for voting in the general election.

Columbia, S. C. State
October 5, 1938

Heavy Negro Registration Is Continued

Laid to Urgings That Republicans of State Qualify for Election

A general response to the South Carolina Republicans' battle-cry of "Register!" was indicated with estimates that more than half of those who registered yesterday, in Richland county for the general election were Negroes. The day was the second successive one on which Negro registration appeared unusually heavy.

An official in the registration office declared he had "never seen the like of it." He added that a few Negroes had registered during previous registration periods, but that the sudden rush Monday and yesterday was beyond anything he had ever seen.

The same official estimated that close to 600 persons, both white and Negro, had registered during the two days, thus bringing the total who sought to qualify for the general election to more than 6,100. Approximately 5,500 had registered at the end of the three-day registration period in September, with only a comparatively few Negroes among them.

The registration books will open at 9 o'clock this morning, giving persons who wish general election suffrage their last chance to qualify between that time and the closing hour of 5 o'clock this afternoon.

The registration office, on the first floor of the county courthouse, was flooded all day yesterday. At the closing time, when the doors were shut, still other persons banged on the door for admittance.

Observers were of the opinion that the heavy Negro registration was due to urgings of state Republican leaders, at the South Carolina G. O. P. convention in Columbia September 22, that state Republicans register for the general election.

The only qualifications for registration are that one be 21 years of age and a resident of the state for two years, of the county one year and of the school district in which one now resides for four months.

Registration also qualifies one for jury duty in the circuit and county courts.

Columbia, S. C. Record
October 4, 1938

Negroes Rush To Register For Election

Outnumber Whites Today as Deadline Nears; Books Close Wednesday

Negroes outnumbered whites 2 to 1 today as the rush to register for the November general election continues at the Richland county courthouse before the books close at 5 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, T. C. Thornton, chairman of the registratoin board, reported today.

Rush to the registration office started yesterday when nearly 100 negroes registered and this morning large numbers of negroes appeared at the registration office and kept clerks busy.

Registration before the books opened Monday had been reported at more than 5,000. It was expected today that the registration would exceed the 6,000 mark before the closing.

No explanation of the registration rush of negroes was forthcoming from board members, but it was believed to be the result of the Republican meeting in Columbia recently at which time a full ticket was placed in the field for the general election.

Mr. Thornton said that the registration office would remain open through tomorrow. The hours are 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. Persons who fail to register before closing time tomorrow will be ineligible to vote in the general election.

Registration also entitles persons to serve on juries, both circuit and county courts.

The board charman reparted that the sudden rush of negroes to register at the last minute was unusual although a large number register throughout the year.

Registration certificates received this year will be valid until 1948.

No tax receipt is necessary for registration, but tax receipts are necessary for voting in the general election and must be presented at that time along with the registration certificate.

Morris Urges S. C. Voters To Register

Courier

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 29 (By I. M. A. Meyers for ANP) — Dr. Charles Satchell Morris, of Tennessee State College, Nashville, was guest speaker in Bethel A. M. E. Church at 11 o'clock Sunday and again Sunday night. He delivered a lecture to the civic forum of Columbia before a large audience in Allen University at 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon. Morris urged Columbia Negroes to secure their registration certificates and be prepared to vote in all general elections.

Sumter, S. C., Herald
October 6, 1938

VOTERS SHOULD REGISTER

The county registration books have been open the past three days and approximately 250 persons have registered in that time. There are now more than 2,700 voters in the county registered to vote in the general election, and of this number approximately a quarter are Negroes. There were over 5,000 enrolled white voters for the Democratic primary. Every eligible white voter should register so as to qualify to vote in the general election.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
November 8, 1938

Perplexity Reigns As Many Voters Fail To Find Boxes; Election Headquarters Bare

Some Polling Places Are Changed Without Notice; Some Others Open Late

Greenville county voters went to what polls they could find today to cast their votes in South Carolina's general election.

There were 17,000 persons in the county who were qualified to vote. The number who had cast their ballots when the Piedmont went to press was apparently an impenetrable mystery.

Four times during the day representatives of the newspaper went to election headquarters in the Palmetto building seeking information, only to find the offices as bare as Republican headquarters up the street.

Telephones jangled in the newspaper office all day as anxious voters sought a box in which to deposit their ballots. At noon polls were still opening spasmodically over the city, a telephone check revealed.

General Confusion Prevails

In several places, at least, the announced location of boxes was changed, and where it was changed to nobody knew. In one downtown drugstore, which was originally announced as a polling place, attendants were wearily turning away prospective voters, including several negroes with a Republican glint in their eyes. No election managers ever turned up, they said, and as far as they knew, no votes could be cast in that ward.

There was general confustion prevailing about the courthouse, the county's political stormcenter, as ballot seekers milled about seeking information which apparently nobody could give them.

The telephone in the office of J Mac Wells, secretary of the county Democratic committee, was busy all morning as he told scores of callers that he had nothing to do with the general election and had no more idea where they could vote than they did.

Some Boxes Open

At several spots where voting is traditionally done, the boxes were open and doing a very nice business. At the Ward One box at Five Points pharmacy, some 45 votes had been cast at noon. At Central Fire station Ward Three voters had cast over 40 votes. At West End fire station Ward Five voters had deposited 57 ballots, and at the Pickwick pharmacy in Ward Six, an attendant who explained that he had been drafted and had opened up about 10 o'clock said that voting was "sprucing up around noon."

Joseph A. Tolert, Republican nominee for governor, was sighted once during the morning hunting for a ballot box, but his office was unpopulated and he could not be reached for a statement.

Greenville newspapers have twice published the official list of polling places for the general election, but last-minute unannounced changes evidently baffled the voting public.

Confusion prevailed, but this afternoon the general concensus of opinion was that South Carolina is still safe for Democracy.

About the only interest was in the size of the Democratic vote. The state's representation at the 1940 Democratic national convention will be based on the percentage of Democratic votes in today's election. There were also two proposed constitutional amendments affecting the whole state, to be voted on, as well as four of a purely local nature, two from Greenville.

One of the proposed amandments would permit the legislature to remove the three-mill statewide property tax for schools; the other would allow retiring supreme court justices and circuit court judges to draw half-pay pensions.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
December 7, 1938

City Asked To Buy 27-Acre Perry Tract For Playground

Sought For Negro Recreational Center: Committee Submits Report

City council today was considering a report of a committee of negro children on the recreational needs of the city's negro population, and a recommendation by Chairman John A. McPherson of the Park and Tree commission that the old Perry avenue circus grounds, covering 27 acres, be purchased at a cost of $33,000 for use as a negro playground.

Mayor C. Fred McCullough said he would call a special meeting of council in the next few days to consider the recommendation.

The report of the negro committee, which is working in conjunction with the Greenville County Council for Community Development, and which was handed to Mayor McCullough and members of council, follows in part:

"Findings: There are approximately 11 acres of space around the schools of Greenville, but because of crowded conditions of the grounds during school hours and for other reasons these grounds are not used for supervised play.

"Mayberry Park: Mayberry Park of 18 acres was set aside for a park for negroes. This has been taken over for use as a baseball park for whites. A portion of this plot is now used for target practice by the police squad, and a portion is used for parking space during games. All consideration of this place as a park for negroes has been abandoned.

"Phillis Wheatley center: The Phillis Wheatley center with only about one acre is the only place in Greenville offering supervised play activities for negroes. No place has been provided to take the place of whatever possibilities were afforded by Mayberry Park for negroes.

"Juvenile delinquency mounting yearly: Juvenile delinquency among negroes as shown by court records shows a great increase in the past decade. On the other hand, juvenile delinquency among whites shows a decidedly large decrease. This decrease among whites is attributed to increased recreational activities by one authority—Mr. R. D. Bailey.

"Playgrounds a good investment: We are not unmindful that the City of Greenville, through its board of education, has been very considerate as to its investment in schools for negro children, which are very much needed. However, we are of the opinion that this investment will be largely wasted unless attention is given to what these same children do in after-school days and hours. We, therefore, respectfully call attention to the honorable members of the City council of the false economy in maintaining good schools and no facilities for engaging the interest and time of these children when not in school.

"Playground and fair play: We believe it will do much good for Greenville, for the white people of Greenville, and for the negro people of Greenville, to give negroes a fair break at the hands of the city public officials. We would not ask for our children or ourselves more than an equal chance. We do not believe that any white person in Greenville would ask for more in the way of equal opportunity for white children or himself than negro children receive. The white child is generally assured of an even chance in life, but he needs, we believe, to feel that th ngro child is not bing deprived of a fair chance toward life and health, in order that he might get a start in life.

"Approval of application for swimming pool: The approval of the application for PWA funds to build a swimming pool for negroes will require obtaining a desirable plot."

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Lancaster, S. C. News
July 22, 1938

NEGRO VOTING

The question of negroes voting in the democratic primary has been brought up but there seems to be little reason for believing that the colored race will ever vote in large numbers in the democratic primaries in this state. The reason is simple as the rules of the party provide that negroes cannot enter the primary. In making this rule the party is clearly within their rights as any party may choose its standard bearers in any manner in which it sees fit. They can choose their candidates without holding a primary as they do in some states.

However, if the negroes sought to vote in the general election the question would be far different. The constitution clearly gives them the right to vote.

However, negroes have not voted in numbers in this state for more than half a century and it is probable that they will not. The average negro has not shown any disposition to demand the right of ballot. If any such movement is ever undertaken in this state it will probably be because of forces from outside the state.

Bamberg, S. C., Times
July 21, 1938

BLEASE CALLS FOR SHOWDOWN ON NEGRO VOTE

Cole L. Blease, candidate for governor, called on the state Democratic executive committee today to decide whether Negroes would be allowed to vote in the coming Democratic primaries.

In a speech at a barbecue given at White Rock for the benefit of the Lowman home, Mr. Blease said he "demandd that Charman Stukes of the state Democratic committee call the committee together and answer this question:

"Are the colored people who are enrolling on the Democratic club rolls going to be allowed t vote in the Demcratic primary August 30 for county, state and national officers?

"This committee," Mr. Blease said, "should decide this question now. I understand many Negroes are enrolling. It is not right r honest to shift this question to be answered by the managers of the election or that it be dodged by the powers higher up.

"It is their duty to answer it so the managers will know what to do."

Mr. Blease said he had been "reliably informed" that approximately 8,000 Negroes had "quetly enrolled" over the state.

"Now somebody's got to decide whether they are to be allowed to vote," he said.

NO NEGRO VOTES

Since the above has been put in type the state secretary Lane L. Bonner, states that according to the rules the Democratic party in South Carolina consists of only white voters, and these colored folk who served under Gen. Wade Hampton are eligible to vote. Those negroes now enrolling are doing so illegally so states Mr. Bonner, under rule 6 of the Democratic party. This ruling is an answer to the charge made in the above by Hon. Cole L. Blease.

So far as we can learn there are no negroes in Bamberg county who have enrolled or who have made any attempt to enroll. However, there may be some who may try to secure registration certificates.

"TIME TO DISCARD 'NIGGER'" DECLARES WELFARE WORKER

Columbia, S. C., Aug. 6—(ANS). In a letter to The State, a liberal white daily newspaper published here, Modeska Monteith Simkins of Columbia, outstanding woman welfare worker in the Southeast seeks reasons for certain references to Negroes in the present campaign for senator and governor which closes in this State on August 30. Mrs. Simkins' article which appeared in the Wednesday issue of The State follows.

Editorial Comment

To the Editor of The State:

Because I wanted to note the effect of it, I have waited until now to thank you for publishing the editorial, "Time to Discard 'Nigger'", reprinted in part from the Southern Christian Advocate, and published in The State of June 30. Whereas probably a limited number of Negroes read the Advocate and therefore would not have seen that very splendid article hundreds of them read The State as South Carolina's leading daily.

I have read all press reports of the Democratic campaign and I have discussed them with many persons. When the unnecessary and distasteful references to Negroes are recalled, I find that many of us have taken time to analyze impartially and impersonally the campaign issues of these various office-seekers. I find Negroes deeply concerned about the state of affairs in South Carolina just as our intelligent and farseeing white citizens must be. I find that Negroes are ashamed to note that so much mere slush and filth is thrown into the faces of the citizens of South Carolina in the name of State government and statesmanship. And one would be surprised to learn that many Negroes are big and intelligent enough to try to overlook the unchristian references to our people. Moreover they are utterly ashamed because the name of South Carolina is so besmattered and disgraced by certain of the 1938 senatorial and gubernatorial aspirants who dare expect self-respecting and respectable South Carolinians to desire them as leaders.

And, too, we as Negroes, wonder why any white man, any exponent of white supremacy, and who therefore deems himself a superior being in every respect, would so miscalculate the Negro's political status as to make that group a campaign issue. A being of such intelligence should know that Negroes who comprise 45 percent of the State's population cannot cast one vote in the Democratic primaries according to the rules of that party, and that, therefore, it is little and foolish to make Negroes the butt of their campaign harangues. Yet, at least three of our "leading" office seekers expect to poll a larger number of votes by simply catering to the emotions of an unthinking, unstable part of our public. Why should those unnecessary, hackneyed, and nauseating statements concerning "white supremacy," "keeping Negroes in their places," and so on, be used as smoke screens in an effort to anesthetize the thinking white citizen, or to arouse the highly emotional and therefore unthinking white man? Why won't political aspirants let us alone? Why won't they discuss issues and plans vital to the welfare of South Carolina and either try to be elected on merit as shown by a high degree of statesmanship and good breeding or, failing on that, return home and acquaint themselves with the chivralry that is supposed to grace Southern gentlemen?

Again, we wonder if some of these aspirants are using this flimflamming and windbeating to hide the fact that after all they would not mind using a few pinch-hitting votes that Negroes, if voters, might supply. We even wonder if the good Colonel Blease would mind that imagined 8,000 to 10,000 Negroes being registered in South Carolina thought some of these votes would fall to him in his inevitable pinch. Such could happen, however, for a Negro who would be as foolish to vote for one who had used every possible chance to humiliate Negroes would not have gray matter enough to even try to register.

There is no stench so in the nostrils of a Negro as those old gags about Negroes wanting "social equality," or "I am for white supremacy," or such hypocritical and dramatic climaxes as "I place the love of the fair State of South Carolina second only to the love of my God." Such smoke screens thrown into the faces of South Carolinians do not blind Negroes. They often embarrass us more as citizens of South Carolina than they infuriate us as Negroes. Southern white people know what Negroes want and they know it is not "social equality" as some of our demagogues interpret it to their constituencies.

Relative to "white supremacy," Negroes know that there can be no such real thing as group supremacy or group inferiority. White men know that, too. We know that the mind and the character are the measures of individuals which make groups. We know that

many whites are superior to other whites; that many Negroes are superior to other Negroes; and that some whites are superior to some Negroes and vice versa. Our exponents of "white supremacy" know that all they can actually make of the expression is two words.

Negroes are not worrying about anybody being superior —only as they act as superior beings. We teach our children that. Why all this exaggerated phobia of something that thinking Negroes do not even consider? All Negroes want is the chance to live wholly and in peace as Negroes. They want the right to work, to live, to properly educate their children, to enjoy the protection that any government should offer its citizens, to be men in a world that belongs to no one group. We have gone far, trudged long, and made bricks without straw to prove this. Yet we are continually browbeaten because we have lived through it all and made a few little bricks. The men who feel the need of doing this in order to get votes are unfit to serve any South Carolinian.

Negroes cannot vote in South Carolina, but those of us who think know just who the next governor of this State should be. If the thinking Negroes of South Carolina were eligible to vote in the primaries, they would be in as great a dilemma relative to the next senator as the thoughtful white citizens are.

We agree with our good friends of the Southern Christian Advocate and The State that it is high time to discard "Nigger." May we add that it is also high time to discard "darky," "coon" and other distasteful references to Negroes during speeches. A better and more gentlemanly choice may easily be made. Moreover, we suggest that it is high time that South Carolina stir the dry bones in the valleys of her illustrious dead in an effort to raise up men who are sufficiently just and conscientious to serve our State, and gentlemanly enough to grace the legislative halls of our State and Nation. There are many such men in the flesh in South Carolina, we know, but they either "do not choose to run" because of the filth through which they must wade and the little minds with which they must bicker, or they realize the futility of seeking really to serve a people the majority of whom are satisfied to accept a rock for a biscuit of a snake for a fish.

Thanks again, and may you live long and mark well the footsteps of your venerable predecessors.

MODJESKA MONTEITH SIMKINS
Columbia, South Carolina.

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
August 28, 1938

Urges Negroes to Vote for Bonds.

To The Observer:

Your paper has rendered a great service to Charlotte and vicinity during the past weeks by lending your columns to the cause of the new Memorial Hospital. I am taxing your generosity by asking that you publish the following letter.

I do not recall during my residence of nearly 20 years that there has been such a general interest in any campaign as has been in the campaign to raise funds, solicit the interest, and inform the people in the matter of hospitalization. The object was in tune with the common cause. My reason for writing this letter is to urge all citizens interested in wanting to keep Charlotte as a Medical Center to register and vote for the coming bond issue. The only way we can show our endorsement of the effort is to register, and on September 13th go to the poles and vote for its passage.

For 50 years, the Episcopal Church of the Diocese of North Carolina has fostered the missionary work of providing hospital care for the Negroes of this City and vicinity, and it has been only during the last two or three years that the Good Samaritan Hospital has not been the only institution within a radius of 50 or 75 miles that had adequate hospital service for the members of our group.

In the natural course of events the Board of Managers of the Good Samaritan Hospital, after careful consideration, and with the consent of the Bishop, The Right Reverend Edwin A. Penick, D.D., has agreed to affiliate with the new Memorial Hospital for better hospital service for our group. It seems a part of wisdom to follow those who have provided for us during the past fifty years. With Mrs. E. C. Marshall, President of the Board of Managers, and Miss Emma J. Hall, as members of the Board of Trustees of the new institution, the Negroes of Charlotte can be assured that they have "friends in court" when matters affecting their interest arise. The Episcopal Church has given evidence that it believes in not only doing missionary work abroad, but at home, and the Good Samaritan Hospital, erected largely through the untiring efforts of the late Mrs. John R. Wilkes, and fostered by this great Church, is evidence that it attempts to provide for all the people regardless of race.

Since the New Momorial Hospital has been endorsed by the Church through the Board of Managers of the Good Samaritan Hospital, we should have faith to follow. With our hospital affiliated with the new institution, we can be assured of rising as it rises, becaues anything that comes to Charlotte and effects one part of the population, will also effect the other part, and from all indications this new hospital system will benefit all the people of Charlotte. I am closing by urging all the Negroes of Charlotte to register and vote for the bond issue.

Yours for the success of the New Charlotte Memorial Hospital,
EDSON E. BLACKMAN, M.D.
Charlotte.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
August 29, 1938

Charges Democrats Try To Pay Debt To The Negro Vote

Mark Sullivan in the New York Herald-Tribune charges the Roosevelt Administration with trying to pay the Northern Negro vote by forcing voting privileges to Negroes in the South. The following is from the Sullivan article of August 24th:

Frequently, 40 or more years ago, federal control of elections in the South was proposed by the Republicans. At that time the Republicans had the Negro vote in the North, and they made the same attempt to pay their debt which the South now fears the Democratic Party may attempt. In the past it was supposed that even if such a measure were passed by Congress it would be held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. But everybody knows the court has changed, in the direction of upholding measures which greatly extend the power of the federal government within the states.

General participation of Negroes in southern primaries and elections would be as revolutionary as anything the New Deal has proposed. In two southern states, South Carolina and Mississippi, and in many counties of other states, the Negroes are a majority of the population. And in many places where they are not a majority their number is large.

We live in strange times. In every area of life during the past five years points of view have been reversed. For 70 years the principal political tenet of the South, dominating all others, was to oppose the Republican Party. The reason largely was because it feared the Republican Party might bring Negro suffrage. If now the South fears the Democratic Party may bring Negro suffrage, that change in point of view would be revolutionary.

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South Carolina Race Voters Given Ballot Accidentally By Democrats

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 1—Race members in the State of South Carolina were inadvertently blessed last week, when the State Democratic convention unknowingly repealed a rule of 1876 which checked the number of Race voters in a Democratic primary and curbed the number allowed to participate.

The convention voted to repeal Rule 32—Relative to support of party nominees in the general election. This action drew so much attention that another rule, also repealed, was overlooked entirely.

A Post-War Move

This rule dates back to 1876 when the white people of the state were trying to wrest control of the state government from the hands of Race members and carpetbaggers. It carried the name of Wade Hampton and set up principles governing Race voters.

It read:

"Every Negro applying for membership in a Democratic club or offering to vote in a Democratic primary must produce a written statement of 10 reputable white men, who shall swear that they know of their own knowledge that the applicant or voter voted for General Hampton in the 1876 election and has voted the Democratic ticket continuously since.

The said statement shall be placed in the ballot box by the managers and returned with a poll list to the county chairman. The managers of election shall keep a separate list of all Negro voters."

The purpose of this rule was to curb the total of votes cast by members of the Race. At the time it was hailed as an expression of appreciation for many Race voters who cast a ballot for the Democratic ticket in 1876, and also a recognition of the fact that they were now loyal members of the party.

Many Race Legislators

Race Democrats continued to be active in the party and received much recognition, particularly in the counties of the low-country. Until 1890, Orangeburg, Barnwell, Colleton and a few other counties sent Race members to the legislature in almost half a century. Now the Democratic party has no rule affecting the Race and he has only to qualify the same as all white voters.

Greenwood, Miss., Commonwealth
June 28, 1938

NO NEGRO DEMOCRAT CLUBS IN MISSISSIPPI.

Democrats in Mississippi will unanimously approve the action of Democratic Executive Chairman Herbert Holmes in rejecting an appeal to organize negro Democratic clubs in Mississippi.

The Democratic party has been the white man's party's in Mississippi and it is going to remain such, regardless of what may be the desires of its present leaders.

Mississippi effectively has eliminated the negro from politics in the state. Mississippians have stuck to the Democratic party through thick and thin because only in the one party system in vogue in this state can the white supremacy be maintained at the polls.

Mississippi will not change its position to swing the negro vote in Harlem or elsewhere. And if that be treason to the party anyone concerned can make the most of it.

Batesburg, S. C., Twin-City News
July 20, 1938

Negroes Can't Vote In Democratic Primaries

Blease Asks for Ruling.—Rule 7 Abolished Which Allowed Some Black Votes

Cole L. Blease, candidate for governor, in a speech at a barbecue dinner at White Rock on July 16, given for the benefit of the Lowman Home, called upon Chairman Stukes, of the state democratic committee, to state whether colored people who are on the enrolment club rolls were to be allowed to vote in the democratic primaries for county, state and national officers.

Mr. Blease stated that he understood that many negroes were enrolling, and said that it was not right or honest to shift this question to be answered by the managers of the election or that it be dodged by the powers higher up. Blease said he had been reliably in formed that 8,000 negroes had "quietly" enroled over the state.

Secretary Bonner, of the state committee, replied to Mr. Blease stating that no negroes could vote in the primaries this year. He stated that the last democratic convention repealed Rule 7, which permitted negroes who produced a statement of ten reputable white men who would swear that they knew of their own knowledge that the applicant or voter voted for General Wade Hampton in 1876 and had voted the democratic ticket continuously since that time, to participate in democratic primaries.

The repeal of Rule 7 seems to have taken the colored vote out of democratic primaries entirely.

Lexington, S. C., Dispatch-News
July 21, 1938

Negroes Can't Vote In Democratic Primaries

Blease Asks for Ruling.—Rule 7 Abolished Which Allowed Some Black Votes

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Columbia, S. C., State
July 19, 1938

Points to Rule On Negro Lists

Bonner of Democratic Party Says Under Rules Negroes May Not Enroll

(By Associated Press.)

Lane L. Bonner, secretary of the State Democratic executive committee, pointed out yesterday that under the rules no Negro can belong to the party, no Negro can enroll for the Democratic primary as a member of the party and that, if any have, their names are on the books illegally.

Bonner made the statement when asked about the charge of Cole L. Blease, a candidate for governor, that approximately 8,000 Negroes had "quietly enrolled" over the state for the Democratic primary.

Rule six of the state Democratic party, amended at the last state convention, limits party membership to "white Democrats."

The action of the convention eliminated the previous provision that entitled a few Negroes to vote in the primaries. Formerly, Negroes who had voted for Wade Hampton in 1876 were permitted to vote.

Blease's statement was made in a speech Saturday at White Rock, in Lexington county. After saying he was "reliably informed" that Negroes were enrolling, he asked, "Are the colored people who are enrolling on the Democratic club rolls going to be allowed to vote in the Democratic primary August 30 for county, state and national officers?"

Blease "demanded" that the state executive committee take some action so that the election managers "will know what to do."

Columbia, S. C. State
July 24, 1938

Somebody Spoofing Blease!

Fort Mill Times.

Evidently somebody has been "stringing" Cole. L. Blease, candidate for governer. Saturday he siad 8,000 Negroes throughout the state had been allowed to enroll fo rthe Democratic primary in August. By Monday he had increased the number to 10,000. Senator Blease doubtless was honest in making the statement, but in doing so he showed a surprising degree of credulity. It is inconceivable that enrolment committee anywhere in the state have allowed Negroes in such large numbers to put their names on the club rolls. There is hardly a white man in South Carolina who does not know that the Democratic primary is a white man's primary and that it is a violation of party rules to permit Negroes to enroll. Furthermore, it is doubtful that any considerable number of Negroes wish to vote in the primary. The trouble with Senator Blease's statement was its generality. If he knows this very important rule of the party has been violated, he should be more specific—he should state exactly where it was violated, so that the matter can be investigated and the names of the Negroes stricken from the rolls. The statement appears to be just another red herring opponents of the New Deal are trying to drag across the trail to inject the race question into the campaign for governor and United States senator.

Anderson, S. C., Independent Trib
August 2, 1938

NEW PARTY RULE IS POINTED OUT

Senatorial Aspirant Makes Statement Because "Attempt Has Been Made To Inject Negro Question In Campaign As An Issue."

COLUMBIA, Aug. 1 — (AP) —Governor Olin Johnston, a candidate for the United States senate, said today that recent changes in democratic party rules had "definitely eliminated even the possibility of negroes voting in the primary elections of South Carolina."

His formal statement was made, he said, because "an attempt has been made to inject the negro question into the campaign as an issue.

"This appeal to the emotions and prejudicies of the people is calculated to confuse the minds of the voters of South Carolina," he said. "As governor of the state, in order to clear up any misunderstanding I wish to make the following statement:

"During the 1938 session of the general assembly an act was passed and signed by me as governor on May 3, 1938, which gave the state democratic convention the right to change the present rule so as to allow only white democrats to vote in the primaries of the state.

"This is the first time in the history of South Carolina that only white democrats are allowed to vote in the state democratic primaries. The act referred to is an amendment to section 2,355 and section 2,405, volume 2, code of laws of South Carolina, 1932, which reads as follows:

"'Providing that the state convention of any political party, organization or association in this state, shall have the power and authority to add to or limit the qualification and for voting at the primary election, therefore, if such qualifications so added or limited do not conflict with the provisions herein as to the age and residence of members and voters.'

"In accordance with the provisions of this amendment, the rules of the democratic party of South Carolina in respect to the qualifications of club membership have been changed to read as follows:

"'Rule 6, the qualifications of membership in any club of the party in this state and for voting at a primary shall be as follows, viz: the applicant for membership or voter shall be 21 years of age or shall become so before the succeeding general election and be a white democrat.'

"Inasmuch as these changes in our rules have definitely eliminated even the possibility of negroes voting in the primary elections of South Carolina, any further mention of the negro question by any candidate only serves to show that he is endeavoring to evade the real issues of the campaign and appeal to the ignorance, the prejudices and the emotions, rather than to the intelligence of the people of South Carolina." 2

Gatesburg, S. C., Twin-City News
August 3, 1938

THE DANGER IS TO WHITE INTEGRITY

The following is an editorial from the Charleston News and Courier, which every South Carolina Democrat should read and ponder:

"The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were adopted with the Southern states were bound hand and foot, when they were under duress and occupied by a conqueror's army. The News and Courier has not felt that these states are under moral obligation to obey the amendments and does not apologize for whatever ways they resorted to in 1876 to save themselves from destruction.

"The News and Courier in its references to the enterprise in which the Northern white and colored Democrats are now engaged, namely, the removal of Senator Smith from public life, has not raised objection to negroes voting.

"Its protest is against their 'engaging' in an effort WITHIN THE WHITE MAN'S PRIMARY to remove Smith from public life.

"The News and Courier is insisting upon the right of white men and women in South Carolina to maintain a party of their own. That is all.

"If Northern 'Democrats,' white and black, acting through the medium of 'Labor's Non-Partisan League,' the Republican, the Communist, or any other party, wish to organize in South Carolina, nominate and vote for candidates in the November elections, The News and Courier offers no objection.

"They can hold a primary and nominate their candidates if they wish. They can even call their party 'Democratic' if they wish. It is no concern of ours if the colored people organize a separate 'Democratic' party.

"The protest is against the incoming of the forces of a white and black party of distant states, not yet organized in South Carolina, to disrupt and corrupt the white party of South Carolina and seek to name its candidates for office. If this man Oliver, who is said to have announced the plan of Labor's Non-Partisan League to remove E. D. Smith, shall put up his man, white or negro candidate, to run against Smith in the general election, the way is open for him, as it is open to 'Joe' Tolbert's party.

"The News and Courier's warning is against a sneaking attack on the integrity of the white party and its primary.

"Is it not plain that if Labor's Non-Partisan League control the white primary, if it can 'purge' it of Smith, the day of the white primary is gone in South Carolina?

"If it shall win one victory will it not try to win others? Will it not endeavor to control the state convention in 1940, demolish the rules that make it a white party's convention?

"These outsiders, this 'Non-Partisan League,' is fighting Smith because it is hostile to the white man's party.

"A white man's party is necessary to South Carolina. If this party shall admit 300,000 or 100,000 negroes to vote in its primaries, its condition will be worse than is the plight of the 'Democratic party' in New York and Pittsburgh where it lives and thrives by corrupting the negro voters.

"The design of Northern Democrats to purge the white party of E. D. Smith is to convert this South Carolina party into the kind of thing that the Democratic party is in their cities, and they are trying to do it because the Norhern negro leaders are their masters. And—don't forget it—they will go out for Byrnes when he is up for re-election because of his bold speeches against the anti-lynching bill."—News and Courier.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
August 2, 1938

Gov. Johnston Points Out Law Prohibiting Voting By Negroes

Only white people will vote in the Democratic primary in August, Governor Olin Johnston declared in a statement given out yesterday.

He cited a law passed at the last session of the legislature which authorized a political party to limit the qualifications for membership in that party, and added that the Democratic party had amended the rules, so that only white Democrats could vote, thus eliminating the negro vote entirely in the primary.

The statement of the governor who is a candidate for the United States senate, was as follows:

"In the present campaign for the office of United States senator, an attempt has been made to inject the negro question into the campaign as an issue. This appeal to the emotions and prejudices of the people is calculated to confuse the minds of the voters of South Carolina. As governor of the state, in order to clear up any misunderstandings, I wish to make the following statement:

"During the 1938 session of the general assembly an act was passed and signed by me as governor on May 3, 1938, which gave the state Democratic convention the right to change the present rule so as to allow only white Democrats to vote in the primaries of the state. This is the first time in the history of South Carolina that only white Democrats are allowed to vote in the state Democratic primaries. The act referred to is an amendment to Section 2355 and Section 2405, volume 2, code of laws of South Carolina, 1932, which reads as follows:

"'Providing that the state convention of any political party, organization or association in this state, shall have the power and authority to add to or limit the qualifications for membership in such party, organization or association and for voting at the primary election therefore, if such qualifications so added or limited to not conflict with the provisions herein as to the age and residence of members and voters.'

"In accordance with the provisions of this amendment, the rules of the Democratic party of South Carolina in respect to the qualifications of club membership have been changed to read as follows:

"'Rule 6, the qualifications of membership in any club of the party in this state and for voting at a primary shall be as follows, viz: The applicant for membership or voter shall be 21 years of age or shall become so before the succeeding general election and be a White Democrat.'

"Inasmuch as these changes in our rules have definitely eliminated even the possibility of negroes voting in the primary elections of South Carolina, any further mention of the negro question by any candidate only serves to show that he is endeavoring to evade the real issues of the campaign and appeal to the ignorance, the prejudices and the emotions, rather than to the intelligence of the people of South Carolina."

Tennessee

Political - 1938

Suffrage

MAYOR ELECTED WITH SUPPORT OF COLORED VOTERS

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 10 (Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)—Race voters of this city played a part in the election of mayor of this city last week, that broke all previous records in piling up a majority which gives the colored population of this city something to be proud of years to come.

More than twenty-five hundred Negroes marched to the polls last week under the leadership of Roscoe Grant and the strength of the all-powerful Davidson County Committee and give to the Honorable Thomas L. Cummings, the office of mayor, which was vacated thirty days ago by the death of the late Hilary E. Howse, twenty-five years the mayor of this city.

Senator Cummings' election was unquestionably decided by the all-powerful Davidson County Committee, under the direction of Roscoe Grant, its executive secretary and leader, Dr. J. A. Napier, State Committee man from this district, and their many lieutenants.

State Senator Cummings carried every heavy voting Negro ward in Nashville. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 19th wards went for Cummings approximately three to one. It was this majority which amounted to three thousand votes which proved to be the balance of power. It was in these wards that Grant and his many chiefs directed the fight to destroy Jack Keefe, who was allied with the old City Hall machine which Grant formerly supported until it became indifferent to the Negro citizens.

Such leaders as Mrs. Clemmie White, W. D. Alamono, and several others failed miserably to cope with the strength of the Grant-Napier organization, in their efforts to gain support for Jack Keefe.

The Grant-Napier combine used eighteen cars throughout the day to aid in getting the race vote to the polls.

Yeoman service was rendered the cause of Senator Cummings by one of the city's business figures, William (Bill) James. Aside from being responsible for many Negroes casting their ballot for Cummings, James personally furnished half of the cars used by the Grant organization during the registration period, as well as on election day.

With key men and women in each ward, in possession of election day instructions, (which included safeguards against last minute intimidation of Negro voters) the Grant organization functioned one hundred per cent. For the first time in the history of this county, voting machines were used in thirty precincts, and special deputies from the District Attorney's office patrolled the city as a safeguard against irregularities in the election.

On Nashville's great East Side race voters were interested in this campaign and election as never before. Bert Cumby, Grant's young lieutenant held sway and personally saw that his ward (the 19th) went all the way for the organization. Though Mrs. Kate Wilson has been a somewhat of a power in East Nashville, she was not able to do any damage to the Cumby plan.

A bright political future appears to be in store for Nashville race citizens this administration.

POLL TAX IS WRONG

Possession Shouldn't Be Qualification For Voting

To The Commercial Appeal:

I have been expecting someone to fully explain why and how the Poll Tax law should be repealed.

We cannot repeal the law in regard to assessing a poll tax, but we can repeal its clause as a qualification to voting, and I think that clause should have never been enacted, and should be repealed.

I would not favor a repeal for primaries, but will vote to repeal it for all elections. It is a proper qualification for voting, and if two dollars is the price of a vote in Tennessee then four dollars should vote twice, and so on.

Andrew Tanner introduced a bill to repeal the Poll Tax Law at last session of the Legislature, and it was referred to a committee, and when he tried to get it out, the committee refused to let it come before the House, and he appealed to the House, and we voted a good sized majority to bring it out for passage, but not the necessary two-thirds, and it died in committee.

Let's repeal this damnable law, and allow all the people to have a voice in selecting their servants, and hang anyone who hinders in any way a free expression, and honest count.

J. E. DEFORD.

Savannah, Tenn.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
June 10, 1938

THE PRIMARY BOARDS

An examination of the statements made by some of those who figured prominently in the meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee in Nashville Monday gives rise to the thought that eminently correct was the man who said every argument has three sides, "your side, my side, and the right side." It seems clear that the Browning Administration lost prestige. The faction of the State Democracy which supports Mr. Edward H. Crump, of Memphis, and Senator Kenneth McKellar controlled the State Committee by a majority estimated as high as two to one. The Crump-McKellar forces proceeded to name for each of the ninety-five counties primary boards whose members presumably support the candidacies of Mr. Prentice Cooper for Governor, Mr. Tom Stewart for the United States Senate, and Mr. W. D. Hudson for Railroad and Utilities Commissioner.

That result made Senator McKellar joyous. Asserting it was "a wonderful victory for fair dealing in elections," the Senator added that what happened in the Committee is "a fair indication of what the outcome will be on August 4." On Governor Browning's side stands Mr. James H. Cummings, manager of the Browning campaign. Mr. Cummings sees a boomerang. He thinks the public's reaction to "kicking out the nominees of the County Executive Committee and appointing primary boards of their own choosing will operate in the Governor's favor."

Mr. Cummings seems over-optimistic. The politician and not the public is concerned primarily about the primary boards. The purpose of those boards—and it is a purpose which is often lost sight of—is to hold fair elections. The bitter fights waged to control them would seem to indicate they are useful in other ways. For one thing, they help get out the vote for the candidate who caused them to be appointed. Commissioner Eugene Bryan and Mrs. Sarah Bess Sherrill voted with the Crump-McKellar forces. Does that mean the Governor cannot count on his friends at the Courthouse and the City Hall? It is too early to say. But to the extent that the primary boards influence the way votes are cast, it is obvious that the Governor has suffered a defeat.

NEGROES SEEK RIGHT TO VOTE

Telegraph

Tennesseeans Want to Ballot in Democratic Primary

7-15-38

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., July 14 (AP)—Tennessee Negroes, traditionally Republican until the New Deal attracted many to its ranks, pushed a campaign today for the right to vote in the state Democratic primary August 4.

A Negro barber, Robert Buckner, candidate for the state senate and head of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic club, said his organization was the first such group ever to seek voting rights in a Democratic primary in Tennessee.

In response to a recent petition from the club, the county election commission replied that "known Democrats" would be allowed to vote.

Buckner said the United Colored Democracy club has been formed in Knoxville and that similar groups were being organized at Nashville and Memphis.

Joe Brown, former Republican congressman, said "many Negroes voted the Democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year."

Throughout the South Negroes customarily have made no effort to take part in Democratic primaries. Such elections often are designated specifically as "white" primaries.

Experts Unwilling To Forecast How Battles Will End

Big Vote Certain To Be Cast In Primary Election To Be Held On Thursday, April 14; Fight For Sheriff Main Event

Globe 4-1-38

Thanks to the initiative of Judge Chester K. Hart in cleaning up fraudulent registrations in Nashville and Davidson County and the work of the Hon. Thomas L. Cummings in getting through the legislature the bill which enabled this city and county to make use of voting machines, an election which almost rivals in interest the recent contest for mayor will be decided at the polls on Thursday, April 14th.

It is called the Democratic primary for the nomination of County officers, but according to custom, not only those who class themselves as Democrats but Independents and Republicans will march to the polls to cast their votes for their favorites in the different races. All persons who were qualified to vote in the race for mayor in February will be eligible to take part in the election on April 14 and in addition many more persons in the county and city have become qualified to vote. It is expected that at least a total of 20,000 votes will be cast in the county.

With every evidence that the election will be a fair contest that only actual votes of citizens will be cast and the counting of the votes will be done honestly, it would appear that the candidates with the best organizations for getting votes to the polls will have the best chances of election.

Colored voters up to this week seemed as definitely divided in their allegiance to candidates as white voters and many have been active in soliciting support for the men they favor for the different offices. The general consensus of opinion is that few of the cadidates can boast with any certainty that they will triumph at the polls and few political forecasters of either race are willing to make predictions on the outcome in any particular contest.

From one of the city's leading young lawyers, who had a big hand in conducting one of the candidate's campaign for mayor in February the GLOBE was able to secure some "inside information" on the race for sheriff, criminal court clerk and the contest for judges of the General Sessions Courts. This source of information was unwilling to make a definite prediction on any of these races but did express his opinion on the leading candidates in some of them.

In the sheriff's race it is believed that the contest at this stage is among three candidates, namely, Ivey Young, "Pick" Robinson and Robert Marshall. Mr. Young got off to a great start in his race when Mayor Cummings announced his support for the candidate. The other two men have strong support among other political leaders, it is stated.

It is possible, it is stated, for others not in the above trio of favorites to nose out any and all of them. Therefore serious respect must be given, it is stated, to the races of Joe Towler, Paul Treanor, "Gabby" Street and Leo Lucarini, all of whom have popular followings.

The GLOBE learns that in the race for judges of the three divisions of the General Sessions Courts, the race seems to be "in the bag" for Judge John Draper, who is opposed by B. O. Briley. Judge Draper, it would appear, is the only one of the incumbent judges who looks like a sure winner at this stage of the contest.

Attorney Andrew J. Doyle is looked upon as the leading contender in the race for Judge of Division No. 2, now presided over by Judge Trigg Moore. Besides being an able lawyer, Attorney Doyle enjoys a great popularity with the masses of voters, being a genuine friend of poor people of both races. Judge Moore, however now holds the office and enjoys a big advantage as a result of being the incumbent. W. K. Cook, a former member of the legislature is also one of the contestants in this race.

Brown Taylor a well known lawyer is contesting with Judge Frank Wade for Judge of Division 1. This race, it is held, will likely be won by Judge Wade.

C. H. Smith, well known Clerk of the Criminal Court is being driven hard in the race for that office by S. N. Allen with the prediction being freely made that Mr. Allen will win. He is believed to have the backing of the strong organization which carried the Hon. Thomas L. Cummings to victory for mayor. However Clerk Smith enjoys a great popularity with voters throughout the country and it will be no easy task to defeat him, it is believed.

Globe 4-1-38

R. E. McClure who holds the office of County Trustee is having plenty of trouble in his effort to stave off defeat in his race with B. R. Kennedy, well known real estate man. The outcome of this race is very much in doubt, it is learned.

This picture of the different races is subject to change without notice, it is contended, because many things can happen and doubtless will happen between now and Thursday, April 14.

Jackson, Tenn. Sun
July 15, 1938

Negroes Asking Right to Vote With Democrats

Had Been Republican Until Advent of Roosevelt's New Deal

CHATTANOOGA, July 15—(AP)—Negroes in Tennessee, republican for the most part until the advent of the New Deal, are organizing in the state's four larger cities for the right to participate in the democratic primary August 4.

They also are threatening to poll a substantial democratic vote in the national election in November, when one U. S. senator and nine congressmen are chosen.

Robert Buckner, negro barber and a candidate for the democratic nomination to the state senate, said organizations were being formed in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis through which voting rights would be petitioned.

Buckner, who heads the Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club, said his group was the first ever to seek such rights in Tennessee.

"We expect to poll heavy democratic votes in each of the four cities," he added. "I don't know about Nashville but I understand negroes have voted a heavy democratic ticket in Memphis for a number of years."

Joe Brown, former republican congressman from Chattanooga, said that many negroes "voted the democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year."

"A great many are on relief rolls," he declared, "and a great many more are attracted by the promises made by the democratic party."

Tennessee, normally heavily democratic, has but two republican congressmen—both from the eastern division of the state—and only a few representatives in the general assembly are republican.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
July 15, 1938

Negroes May Break Ties With G. O. P.

A general movement among Negroes in Tennessee to break away from their traditional ties to the Republican party is reported in Tennessee.

The movement initiated here by Robert Buckner, president of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club, to obtain the right of Negroes to participate in the August Democratic primary, has spread to the other three principal cities of the State, according to reports.

Negroes have voted in the Democratic primary at Memphis for several years, but few Negroes have voted in the Democratic elections in Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville.

The New Deal has cut the Negro's mooring to the Republican party in Tennessee as well as other parts of the United States. A large number of local Negroes voted for President Roosevelt in 1936.

In most of the Northern and Eastern States the Negro vote is now heavily Democratic. In some important States Negro voters hold the balance of power.

The Republican vote in Tennessee has dwindled during the past ten years. This decline, coupled with the fact that many Negroes are receiving Federal relief, has caused many Negroes to desert the G. O. P.

Walter Cullom, Negro, is running for the State Senate in the Democratic primary. This is probably the first time in the history of Hamilton County that a Negro has been a candidate in the Democratic primary.

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Senate Primary Probers Denounce Tactics Used In Tennessee Campaign

COERCION IS CHARGED

WPA Worker Testifies At Hearing of State Crime Commission

SAYS HE WAS FORCED TO PAY HIS POLL TAX

Waldauer Hears How Purgers Do Their Work

By PAUL COPPOCK

Workmen for a PWA contractor were threatened with loss of their jobs and loss of their standing on WPA rolls unless they registered in the recent supplementary registration, one of them told the Browning Crime Commission yesterday.

The witness was Charles J. Buckhalter, negro, of 991 South Orleans, who said that his foreman took up at least 15 registration receipts from the men in his crew and that arrangements were made to deduct poll tax payments from their pay checks.

Was Star Witness

Buckhalter was the star witness of a double investigation of Shelby County registrations.

Abe D. Waldauer, antiBrowning member of the State Election Commission, took testimony from two Browning purgers in what amounted to a purge of the purgers.

The purgers brought before Mr. Waldauer on subpena were E. M. (Mike) Gavin, former accountant for the city government, and M. L. Hume, 2179 Madison, a witness on the first day of the Crime Commission hearings in Memphis.

Neither of them had found a fictitious person registered. Even in negro areas and wards full of business establishments, lodging houses and hotels, Mr. Gavin and Mr. Hume had found those who were registered, or obtained information about their moving. Mr. Hume had found one person who was registered but said he had not registered.

Instructions Given

They said that wrong addresses on the purge cards, or badly misspelled names made it easy for other purgers to report that they could not find the persons listed on the registration books. They testified that purgers are instructed not to obtain new addresses of those who have moved or the date of their moving, and that every registration listed as "moved" may be legitimate. They also said that purge instructions are not to verify a man's registration from his wife. They could not verify a registration without talking to the person, and most of the checking was done in the daytime when men are at work they said.

Mr. Waldauer's purge, with Charles M. Bryan as attorney, lasted a half hour. It is to be resumed at 9 a.m. today with at least three witnesses. Names of other purgers were taken from yesterday's witnesses.

The Browning purge hearing yesterday lasted two and a half hours and will be resumed about 9:30 a.m. today, with Tom Collier, independent candidate for attorney general, as a probable witness. Mr. Collier opened his campaign Tuesday night with an address in which he displayed liquor he said he had bought in Memphis. He asked to appear yesterday but W. M. Fuqua, Browning attorney, told him he was not sure his testimony was pertinent to the registration hearings and left the question of his appearance to B. C. Durham Jr. of Ripley, and Joe Thomason of Knoxville, members of the commission. The third member, Ed McNeal, of Lawrenceburg, did not reach Memphis yesterday but is expected today.

As in the previous hearings, the Crime Commission met in an office on the thirteenth floor of the Sterick Building, with newspaper men present. The public was barred and there was no cross-examination of witnesses.

Employed At Nursery

Buckhalter is employed by the "Birmingham Nurseries," which has the contract for landscape work at Lauderdale Courts and Dixie Homes, Federal better housing projects. He has been working as a laborer in sodding the grounds. He said he registered in the supplemental registration a few days ago for the first time in his life.

"The foreman is the cause of me registering," he said, naming "Mr. Toddy" as his foreman and "Mr. Wortham" as Toddy's superior at that time, though there has since been a change in their status.

"He (Toddy) came around in the morning and told us all to register," Buckhalter said. Buckhalter, who lost a day's work in registering, objected, but some others in the crew told the foreman of his objections and Toddy came back with word that Wortham had said, "If you don't register, you won't have no job," the witness said.

Buckhalter suggested that in that case he could go on WPA work, but Toddy informed him, "Well, if you don't register, have to take you off relief," Buckhalter said.

Gives Names

He gave Mr. Fuqua a paper he said contained the names of five persons who were present.

Wortham, the superior in the nursery firm, took up all the registration certificates, Buckhalter said, saying he knew that Wortham took up more than 15. Buckhalter was promised the return of his certificate, but had not received it, though some of the workmen had obtained theirs.

Buckhalter understood that the poll taxes were going to cost "around $2.30" and that it was to be taken out of his pay. He has not received a poll tax receipt and suggested that $1 was to have been taken out of last week's pay, but he was "laid off." He said he thought that because he had talked about the registration "some Judas" in the crowd had told the bosses, and he had been put back to work for four days this week.

Buckhalter protested that he could not take the oath as a witness because of his "salvation, the Church of God in Christ," but he promised to tell the truth and was allowed to affirm rather than swear.

Names Police Sergeant

The name of Sergt. Ben Chatham, of the police "purity squad," was brought into the testimony by Allen R. Smith, of 1204 Fountain Court. Registration certificates for Mr. and Mrs. Smith, dated last August, were presented. There were two sets, one dated Aug. 16 and the other Aug. 19. Mr. Smith said he obtained the set dated Aug. 19 when he registered in person. The set dated Aug. 16 were delivered to his home by Sergeant Chatham after the registration he said, telling of the police sergeant's custom of taking the names of residents on Fountain Court on small cards in a house to house canvas at each registration.

After the registration, Mr. Smith said, Sergeant Chatham delivered the certificates in envelopes and he had a handful of envelopes when he called at the Smith home. Before the registration, Mr. Smith had given Sergeant Chatham the name of a woman in the home, who did not register when it developed she was only 19. But Sergeant Chatham brought a registration certificate for her when he delivered the other certificates, Mr. Smith said.

Mr. Smith also told the commission of his experiences as an election watcher for Lewis S. Pope. He could not remember the year of his election.

He said that when the polls opened, his credentials were not accepted and he was ordered out. When he refused to leave police were called and when he resisted police instructions to leave he was taken to headquarters but released without a charge being placed against him.

Mr. Smith said he had been a poll watcher for 20 years and at various times a polling place official, in opposition to the local administration, and had no other trouble except that he once had to threaten to call police when "Dusty Miller and his wife" came into a polling place that was out of their ward. (D. C. Miller is city comptroller.)

City employes again entered the record in the testimony of Gus Jones, negro, 909 North Second. Jones said that Jeanette Scheavers, a Caldwell School teacher, took him to register in her car and took up his registration certificate immediately afterward. He said that for several years she had taken him and others to register, held their registration certificates, and then taken them to vote.

Couldn't Read, Write

Jones said he can not read or write but that he voted in person.

"I didn't know who I was votin' for nothin'," he said. "What I've done, I don't know."

J. M. Miller, a checker, testified that a purge card listing a registration for Robert Glasper Jr., negro, 22, of 1628 Michigan, had led him to Robert Glasper Jr., at 1628 Michigan, who turned out to be a four-year-old boy.

H. W. Stallings, purge supervisor who had previously testified, returned to the witness chair to discuss various purge index cards. He presented 10 cards in which the person listed as registered is under age, ranging from 12 to 20 years old. A card for Sarah Barksdale, 119 Huppert, was presented with the information that her husband said she had been dead 21 years. Mr. Stallings said that Henry Cummings, 1437 Kyle, also shown to have registered last August, had been dead 10 years.

Ray Smith, 272 North Main, a purger, said that out of about 100 cards on Rozelle, immediately north of the TVA substation at the city limits he had found 26 persons and found that 18 others were known in the neighborhood. The remainder he was unable to find.

Trailed on Job

Smith told of cotton fields, vacant lots and a cemetery occupying most of the Rozelle frontage where he was looking for house numbers. He also said that two men in an automobile trailed him most of the day while he worked, questioning negroes after he had passed on.

Mrs. Helen Herron, manager of the Reid Hotel, 223 Madison, was brought before the commission on a subpena. She was required to bring the hotel register for Aug. 9 to 19, 1937, the dates of the registration last year.

She was questioned in detail about 27 voting registration cards. In most cases she was able to give from memory the age, occupation and length of residence of the persons named. After extensive questioning had failed to produce evidence of fraudulant registration, it developed that she had been summoned because she had refused to talk to an investigator during the morning.

Mrs. Herron said that the first registration investigator had been given information about all the cards in question, but he was followed by another investigator who appeared at 9 p.m. and began knocking on the doors of guests, which she stopped.

Many Investigators

"I bet you there have been 15 men there in the past two months," she said, although the first investi-

gator, who lived at the hotel, had obtained full information.

Since the information had already been given, she said, she refused to talk to the investigator who called yesterday.

"The man was very uncouth anyway, the way he approached people, demanding this and demanding that," she said.

Mrs. Herron was the first Crime Commission witness yesterday. Hearings expected to start at 9:30 were delayed until 2 p.m., during conferences between the commission, Mr. Fuqua, W. K. Cook, Nashville purge attorney, and Atty. Gen. Joe Hanover.

The Waldauer hearing was conducted in the Courthouse and was open to the public.

Declines Attorney

Mr. Gavin declined an opportunity to obtain an attorney. He said he had lived in Memphis all his life, and that he is 38 years old.

Mr. Gavin said that he became a purger by applying to Press Smith, Browning campaign manager in Shelby County, and that Tom Robinson, former constable and a candidate for constable, "okayed" his card.

Q.—So the purgers were being employed by the Browning campaign manager?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you find that the addresses as given you on the cards were correct?

A.—Some of the addresses were wrong but by going around and inquiring you could find the people.

Q.—If you had been willing to simply check from the card, you would have been able to report that the people had never lived there?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you find any cases where the people named on the card didn't exist at all?

A.—No, sir. You could find 'em if you tried.

Mr. Gavin said that some of the other checkers worked from the cards alone, without any other effort to find the people who were registered.

"If a man working those cards would actually work them, he shouldn't put some of the damn fool answers they put," he said in telling of his tabulation of cards turned in by other checkers.

Q.—Is it your opinion from your work down there that any appreciable number of people who did not exist at all had been registered?

A.—No, sir.

Mr. Gavin testified as to his experience in checking in parts of Thirty-first Ward, First Precinct; Sixth Ward, First Precinct; Ninth Ward, Fifty-first Ward, Twenty-fourth Ward, Twenty-sixth Ward and the Ninth Ward.

Mr. Hume testified of checking in the Fifth Ward, Twelfth Ward, Eighteenth Ward and Twenty-third Ward.

7-20

In the Fifth Ward, largely occupied by negroes, Mr. Hume said he found "practically everyone," that if the person registered had moved he was able to find that they had previously lived at the address given, and that he remembered no card in which he came to the conclusion that the person registered does not exist.

"In the majority of cases where I would go around and ask I would find them," he said.

Q.—For all you know, every person you marked "moved" might have lived there previously and registered legally?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How many false registrations—where no such person existed—did you find?

A.—I don't remember any.

Political – 1938
Suffrage

Tennessee

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
August 21, 1938

The Poll Tax—Its Numbered Days

Current pastime of curbstone politicians is speculation as to what Prentice Cooper will do as governor, and what the next General Assembly will do. One item, and it may be Item No. 1, on the program of both, is happily possible. Tennessee has every reason to hope that the January legislature will remove the shameful blight of the poll tax.

Tennessee is one of eight states which have clung to this medieval, undemocratic practice which amounts to nothing more than disfranchisement of a heavy percentage of the population and an actual violation of the Constitution of the United States.

Not only is the poll tax a matter of state concern; it is a matter of national concern. Roy Prewitt, executive director of the Arkansas Voters Campaign Committee, has reported that in the 1936 general election, New York State alone cast a million votes more than the combined poll tax states of Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

In 1936, only 24 per cent of the potential voters in the poll tax states went to the polls! This compares with an average of 72 per cent among the 39 states free of the poll tax.

New York State alone in 1936 cast a million more votes than the combined poll tax states, and Illinois' vote was equal to that of seven of the eight poll tax states.

These things are significant. Repeal of the ancient two-thirds rule by the Democratic National Convention, and possibility that a reapportionment of delegates may be based on the votes of the respective states, point to curtailment of the poll tax group as a power in the Democratic party and eclipse of the Solid South.

* * *

Look first at poll-taxed Virginia. In 1936, Virginia voted 334,590. She is bounded by states without poll taxes, and they voted, West Virginia 829,945, Maryland 624,896, North Carolina 839,462, Kentucky 926,199.

Look now at Tennessee. In 1936, Tennessee set a state record with 476,000 votes, but it was only 17 per cent of the population. Worst of the poll-taxed states, Arkansas, voted only 8 per cent. Contrast these with Missouri's 45.3 per cent, Kansas' 45 per cent, Kentucky's 38 per cent, Washington's 39 per cent, and West Virginia's national peak of 90 per cent of the electorate.

Arkansas cast only 178,804 votes in the year of the Big Ballot. A 45 per cent vote would have been 927,962.

Tennessee cast only 476,000 votes. A 45 per cent vote would have been over 1,000,000.

For sake of comparison, we submit a table on some of the above-mentioned states, showing total populations, populations of voting age and total votes in 1936.

State	Population	Voting Age	Vote
Tennessee ...	2,676,000	1,200,000	476,000
Arkansas	2,048,482	1,000,000	178,904
Missouri	3,629,367	2,310,000	1,808,934
Kansas	1,880,999	1,100,000	862,804
Kentucky	2,614,589	1,400,000	900,000
Washington ..	1,563,396	1,000,000	666,489

We find that Kansas, smaller than either Tennessee or Arkansas, voted five times as many as Arkansas and about twice as many as Tennessee. Little Rhode Island, with less than 700,000 population, polled 100,000 votes more than Arkansas, and nearly as many as Tennessee!

* * *

Here is another front in the fight to save democracy. Democratic government depends upon expression of the majority will. Its essence is the right of its citizens to vote without property restriction, and the difference between $2 and $2,000 is merely in degree. How can we delude ourselves that the people rule; how can we hope for good government, or how can we prate of democratic principles when only 17 per cent of Tennesseans vote?

What occurred in Davidson County during the recent primary is notable. The county has 149,500 persons of voting age, but only 24,216 voted August 4. One-sixth of the electorate participated in the Democratic primary, which meant that one-sixth of the population participated in selection of our officials, since nomination is equivalent to election.

Of the paltry 24,216 voters, only 16,572 voted in the important quarterly court races, and the three winners got 2,945, and 2,872, and 2,439 votes respectively! Only half of the voters voted for the representatives in the General Assembly, which meant only one-twelfth of the electorate participated.

Most of the poll tax laws came into existence in the South after the Civil War, partly to insure against Negro domination in the elections, and partly to raise funds for schools. Taxes range from $1 to $2, and in Tennessee it is $2, the money going to schools in the county where it is collected.

Dependable authorities have calculated that the problem of replacing the school revenue is a minor one. When poll taxes were instituted the legislatures assumed that persons sufficiently interested in government to vote would willingly pay their $1 or $2 poll tax, but there have been many times since then when our people have not been able to afford the luxury, and for a large portion of our population even the good times have been hard times.

* * *

The job of getting out the vote is difficult enough in states where there are not poll taxes, and where "cast-your-vote" educational campaigns have been waged. Here, many citizens who see no personal stake in the election scarcely deem the right to vote worth $2 a year.

Abuses of this situation have existed almost from the start. Purchase of large blocks of poll tax receipts by machine politicians or other axe-grinders has been a common practice in the past.

Certainly a removal of the poll tax will alter the complexion of Tennessee campaigns. Governor Browning and Prentice Cooper this summer addressed audiences of which only fractions were eligible to vote. Without the poll tax, everyone over 21 is a possible voter. Machine politics, with its gobs of poll tax receipts, is reduced in power.

This is the way to insure the public will, to put power into the voice of the people, to achieve better, if not good, government; to practice real democracy, to advance the welfare of Tennessee and of the South:

Repeal the poli tax!

Edgefield, S. C. Advertiser
August 24, 1938

NEW DEAL NEGROES SEEK TENNESSEE VOTE RIGHT

Chattanooga, Tenn. — Tennessee Negroes, traditionally Republican until the New Deal attracted many to its ranks, are pushing a campaign for the right to vote in the State Democratic primary August 4.

A Negro barber, Robert Buckner, candidate for the State Senate and head of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic club, said his organization was the first such group ever to seek voting rights in a Democratic primary in Tennessee.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
August 23, 1938

Clements To Ask Redistrict Bill for State

Also Would Make It Illegal For Solon to Be Paid for Pardon.

A bill to redistrict Tennessee for legislative representation and another making it a misdemeanor for a legislator to participate in or receive a gratuity, directly or indirectly, for obtaining a pardon will be introduced by Hal Clements of Knoxville in the coming session of the Tennessee Legislature.

Clements, nominated to represent the Sixth Senatorial District of Knox, Loudon, Polk and Monroe counties, was in Chattanooga en route to the meeting of the State Republican executive committee in Knoxville Wednesday.

Pardoning powers of the State executive have been used as a "pay-off," Clements charged. "My bill would make it a misdemeanor for any member of the Legislature to benefit from the securing of a pardon or parole from any penal institution. It will propose a fine of from $50 to $500 and a sentence up to six months."

The proposed measure, Clements said, bears the unanimous indorsement of the State Bar Association.

The redistricting bill, Clements explained, is not a Republican measure, but is based on constitutional requirements and population trend. "This same measure has been beaten by rural districts that have gerrymandered around so that they control the Legislature. Take Cannon County, for instance. Every ornery white man, every common Negro has as much voice in Tennessee's government as have four or five of Hamilton's most influential citizens."

Commenting on Estes Kefauver's platform in his unsuccessful race for the State Senate proposing the abolishing of poll taxes in the primary, Clements was greatly in favor of the idea, but favored extending it to the general election as well.

If Hamilton County legislative nominees are not in favor of abolishing the poll tax, he urged labor to get out an independent ticket against them.

Letters To The Editors

POLL TAX IS BURDENSOME

To The Commercial Appeal:

The learned Dr. J. H. Reynolds, president of Hendrix College, Conway, Ark., has this to say regarding the proposal to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting: "People otherwise qualified to vote who do not pay their poll tax have shown by that fact that their sense of responsibility is extremely low. To give them the voting privilege will not add to the list of enlightened citizens. The person who does not pay a poll tax places a low value on citizenship and shows practically no interest in government."

This is a sweeping assertion and does not square with the true facts. There are many honest but poor people in the land to whom the payment of a yearly poll tax means a real sacrifice. To declare that these citizens have no interest in government because of financial distress is an overbearing statement to say the least! Remove the poll tax, and see how many really fine citizens will take more interest in their government! As it is now, there are large numbers of not-so-good citizens voted in droves by various political machines. These voters have their poll taxes very often prepaid out of slush funds.

We are afraid that the good doctor, dwelling amid the classic shades of a college, is rather out of touch with the poorer classes. To him the yearly payment of a poll tax means mighty little; to others, it means a real denial somewhere down the line.

The Commercial Appeal is behind the movement to abolish the poll tax. We second the motion.

SUBSCRIBER.

Corinth, Miss.

Political - 1938
Suffrage

Tennessee

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 15, 1938

Negroes Seek Primary Vote

Tennessee Group, Traditionally Republican, Would Enter Democratic Contest

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., July 15—(AP)—Tennessee negroes, traditionally Republican until the New Deal attracted many to its ranks, pushed a campaign today for the right to vote in the state Democratic primary August 4.

A negro barber, Robert Buckner candidate for the state senate and head of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic club, said his organization was the first such group ever to seek voting rights in a Democratic primary in Tennessee.

In response to a recent petition from the club, the county election commission replied that "known Democrats" would be allowed to vote.

Buckner said the United Colored Democracy club had been formed in Knoxville and that similar groups were being organized at Nashville and Memphis.

Joe Brown, former Republican congressman, said "many negroes voted the Democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year."

Throughout the South negroes customarily have made no effort to take part in Democratic primaries. Such elections often are designated specifically as "white" primaries.

Memphis, Tenn., Scimitar
July 15, 1938

REST OF STATE ATTEMPTING TO LINE UP NEGRO

Chattanooga, Knoxville And Nashville Seek to Bring Out Their Votes

Increasing importance of the negro vote in the Democratic party in Tennessee is made evident by the organization efforts of negroes in other parts of the state and the size of the negro vote in Shelby County.

Charles M. Bryan, veteran strategist of the Shelby County political organization, told the State Crime Commission yesterday that in 1936 a negro Democratic Club in Memphis had 5000 members. He said large numbers of negroes would vote in the Democratic primary this year, and that just as many would vote the Democratic ticket in the November general elections.

The negro organization in Memphis formerly was headed by the late William Foote, veteran negro lawyer of Memphis, and is now under the leadership of Dr. J. E. Walker, president of the negro Universal Life Insurance Co. The organization is planning a huge negro rally for the county administration next Thursday.

After election of President Roosevelt in 1936, Foote had a letter from Jim Farley, Democratic national chairman, thanking him for the support of the negroes.

Overton Explains

Mayor Overton told the Crime Commission, investigating registrations in Shelby County, that the reason the negroes supported the city-county administration was because schools and recreation facilities had been provided for them.

One Shelby leader said many of the negroes who formerly worked with Republicans in the county were now active in Democratic ranks, "because they've found they can get more out of the Democrats."

The same situation apparently exists at the other end of the state. Joe Brown, former Republican congressman from Chattanooga, said many negroes "voted the Democratic ticket in the last national election and it appears now that many more will vote the same way this year.

"A great many are on relief rolls," he said, "and a great many more are attracted by the promises made by the Democratic party."

The negroes of the state were, for the most part, Republican, until the advent of the New Deal, but now are threatening to poll a substantial Democratic vote in the national election in November, when one U. S. senator and nine congressmen are chosen.

Predict Heavy Votes

Robert Buckner, negro barber of Chattanooga and a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the state Senate, said organizations of negroes were being formed in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis, thru which voting rights would be petitioned.

"We expect to poll heavy Democratic votes in each of the four cities," he said. "I don't know about Nashville, but I know the negroes have voted a heavy Democratic ticket in Memphis for a number of years."

Buckner is head of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club, which has asked for the right to vote in the Democratic primary. The club was told that "known Democrats" would be allowed to vote.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
July 28, 1938

4-Year Negro Boy Registered As Voter In Memphis Is Claim

4-Year Negro Boy Registered As Voter In Memphis Is Claim

MEMPHIS, TENN., July 27.—(AP)—A negro PWA worker told Gov. Gordon Browning's State Crime Commission today that he and other laborers were required to register to hold their jobs.

The negro, Charles J. Buckhalter, was one of seven witnesses heard by the commission. A registration checker, employed in the Browning purge of Shelby County registrations, testified he took pictures of a four-year-old negro boy for whom a registration certificate had been made out.

Buckhalter said his foreman, a "Mr. Toddy," told the laborer his (Toddy's) boss instructed him "if you don't register you won't have no job."

The negro said he protested but registered and was required to turn in his registration certificate to his foreman, and later was laid off. However, he said he was taken back for four days this week.

Purge Canvasser J. M. Miller told the commission his check of a registration made out to Robert Glasper, Jr., revealed that the person was a negro four years old, though the registration book had him listed as 22. The mother of the child was 22, Miller said, adding that six pictures had been made of the child.

W. Mack Fuqua, Nashville, attorney for the commission, first questioned Mrs. Helen Herron, manager of the Reid Hotel here since January of this year. She was quizzed concerning voters registered in the August, 1937, registration, giving the hotel as their address.

Of a list of 15 or more names, Mrs. Herron said she recognized many of them as permanent residents of the hotel, during the period of Aug. 9 to 19, 1937, although the hotel register did not show the names of but one. She said the hotel filing system probably would show them all.

H. W. Stallings, purge supervisor, read into the record a list of checker reports which he described as "outstanding examples of irregularities." He read the names of 10 found to be under age. Another person was reported dead 21 years.

Of 105 cards made out to addresses on one street, Checker Ray Smith testified he found only 44 persons and "lots of numbers of houses which turned out to be cotton fields and a cemetery."

Earlier in the day Abe Waldauer, anti-Browning member of the State Board of Elections, called his own "purge" investigation into action and heard two "Browning checkers" testify they found no evidence of fraudulent registrations in the wards they worked. The witnesses were Edward Michael Gavin, 38, and M. L. Hume.

Both hearings will be resumed tomorrow.

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POLITICAL RENAISSANCE IN MEMPHIS

Memphis, tri-state metropolis and bailiwick of Bob Church and Ed. Crump, is witnessing a change of political temper on the part of its more enlightened colored citizens which may well be the beginning of a political renaissance in that city.

Although almost half its population is colored, our people in Memphis receive far less consideration in the division of civic benefits than in many communities having smaller proportions of Negroes.

There are no colored people in the police or fire department, other municipal employment is virtually closed to them and school and park facilities are far from adequate.

Nerertheless through the years the Negroes have followed faithfully behind the banner of Crump locally and the G. O. P. nationally, grumbled a little bit about the raw deal they got, and let things go at that.

But Memphis Negroes have been aroused as never before by the ruthless shooting down of members of their race by the murderous Memphis police.

Again and again they have seen defenseless colored boys blasted into eternity by uniformed thugs who were promptly exonerated by whoever happened to be chief of police.

It looked like nothing could be done about it and the more conservative Negroes were disposed to take it fatalistically, but leaders like Lieut. George W. Lee, Dr. T. O. Fuller, Dr. J. E. Walker, Rev. J. A. G. Grant and Prof. B. T. Hunt formed a committee and protested vigorously against the frequent police killings.

Still, nothing was done about the killing of Postman George Brooks last January.

The Negroes retaliated during the recent political campaign when the politicians sought to line them up with the old watermelon and whisky bait. They stayed away from the primaries in droves.

A Negro Independent Voters' League, serving notice on the Machine that the colored vote is no longer "in the bag," is gaining increasing influence under the leadership of O. O. Sledge.

That this new militancy and independence of the colored voters is not going unheeded in evidenced by the action of the Machine over the recent killing of a Negro, Fred Davis, by one of the uniformed Memphis executioners.

The policeman was promptly exonerated by the Chief of Police Will D. Lee, but E. H. Crump, the Big Boss ordered him fired and he WAS fired.

It is singular that Mr. Crump has never before ordered any policemen fired for murdering Negroes. It seems as if he only did so when it looked like the Machine was losing its grip on the Negro voter.

This fact will not be lost upon the enlightened colored Memphians.

They are beginning to see that uncertainty can get more consideration from the Machine than blind allegiance.

And the more Negroes in Memphis and elsewhere keep the politicians in a quandary as to the manner in which they will vote, the more consideration they will get.

There is no virtue in loyalty unless it brings some substantial reward.

THIS MORNING

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES II.

"Every time I come to town
The boys keep kickin' my dog around!
It makes no difference if he is a hound,
They gotter quit kickin' my dog around!"

When Publisher Silliman Evans, of the Nashville Tennessean, writes of Democratic national conventions, he can add with the ancient bard: "All of which I saw and part of which I was." The part he played in the 1932 convention is vouched repeatedly by Jim Farley in his memoirs. It is interesting to read in Mr. Evans' newspaper an editorial reminding southern states that their poll taxes reduce the total Democratic vote upon the basis of which in part delegates to future Democratic conventions will be allocated. Allocation on such a party-strength basis, already used by the Republicans, was ordered by the 1936 Democratic convention with a view to offsetting for the south some of the advantage it lost with the abolition of the two-thirds rule. But, as the Tennessean points out, unless a greater percentage of the Democrats of the south vote, the new apportionment system might weaken rather than strengthen this region's voice in the national convention.

The proposal to apportion delegates partly on the basis of Democratic strength and loyalty was launched first by Gilchrist B. Stockton of Florida, at the Houston convention in 1928. At that time such a proposal, if adopted, would have increased considerably the number of southern delegates. A great argument for it was that it was not right for a state like Pennsylvania "which never went Democratic" to be able to outvote in Democratic national conventions such states as Alabama and Georgia and South Carolina combined, which always went Democratic. But time has flown and Pennsylvania has gone Democratic and so have many other once rock-ribbed Republican states, and an apportionment system based on Democratic strength in different districts will no longer mean any great increase in southern representation. It may even, as Mr. Evans points out, mean decrease.

Getting out a greater vote by elimination of poll taxes and by other means will help, but the maximum increase, possible will not give totals at general elections really representative of Democratic strength in the south. That is because the Democrats are so strong in the south that their primaries settle elections and they can't be persuaded to turn out in anything like equal numbers for the regular general elections. The important thing—and we know Mr. Evans will agree—is that when the Democratic national committee undertakes to devise a new apportionment system it recognizes the fact that "Democratic strength" in the south is indicated in the primaries, not at the general elections. And the further fact that duration is to be counted as well as size in estimating a state's or district's strength in Democracy.

This is something for the south to think about, and immediately, it seems to us. Not only because the Democratic party is still the only one in which the south counts but also because the south has extra reasons for wanting to count in a national political party just now.

At the time of the Houston convention in 1928 there was published a little volume entitled "The Two-Thirds Rule," prepared by Gilchrist B. Stockton mentioned above, which covered exhaustively and intelligently the history of the rule and of the related unit rule and apportionment system. It deserves to be resurrected now for reading and action, if it is still in print. The south has tremendous things at stake in the next Democratic convention, and unless it looks to its voting interests in advance it may arrive there with hardly any voting interest at all.

Tennessee

Political - 1938

Suffrage

Poll Taxes In Tennessee

Not only have the politicians indulged in a good deal of ballyhoo about the elimination of poll taxes as a voting requirement in Tennessee, but it seems that there have been some sharp misunderstandings on the part of the public. The requirement has been in force so long that many have lost sight of the fact that there is nothing hard and fast about it, and that those who now embrace its elimination with the greatest enthusiasm have had plenty of opportunities to soften the so-called rigor of it.

For instance, we quote the following from the Nashville Tennessean:

Down in Shelby County the reigning powers have announced that they would go the limit on poll tax relief were they authorized to do so. But since the levy can only be abolished by the Legislature, Shelby's leaders have done the next best thing by indicating a desire to cut last year's tax in half. This has brought up a neat point of law which was referred to the State Legal Department; and the result is a ruling that Shelby County hasn't the power to reimburse poll tax payers to the extent of $1, which has not accrued and become delinquent.

The Constitution of Tennessee provides that "all male citizens . . . shall be liable to a poll tax of not less than 50 cents nor more than one dollar; nor shall any county or corporation levy a poll tax exceeding the amount levied by the state." Further on, it provides that "each voter shall give to the judges of election where he offers to vote satisfactory evidence that he has paid the poll taxes assessed against him for such period as the Legislature may prescribe."

A month or so ago, The Commercial Appeal pointed out that if those who were demanding the elimination of the poll tax as a voting requirement were really in earnest, they should look to their County Courts, because $1 of the $2 tax was levied by the county. It pointed out that cities could levy a $1 poll tax also, though they do not, and that for years and years, Sullivan County, up in East Tennessee, levied no such tax.

Thereupon, Memphis political leaders conceived the idea of having the County Court, which meets Monday, abolish the 1937 county poll tax. This tax was assessed last October and became delinquent March 1. Some taxpayers had paid, many had not. It was the idea that those who had paid would have their tax returned, while those who had not would be tax free. The matter was put up to the attorney general at Nashville. He held that the county had a perfect right not to levy a poll tax, but that having levied it, there was nothing left to do but collect it.

The effect of this ruling was that Shelby County could eliminate the 1938 tax and forever thereafter as it liked, but it must go ahead with the collection of 1937 taxes.

Of course it would require a constitutional amendment to knock out the voting angle of the poll tax. It would also require an amendment to eliminate the tax. But there is nothing to prevent the Legislature from holding the state's share to the 50-cent minimum, nor is there anything to prevent County Courts from abolishing the county tax which uniformly throughout the state is fixed at $1. The practical effect of legislative and County Court action would be to reduce the tax from $2 to 50 cents, which, it will be admitted, is not very burdensome.

Whether Tennessee is ready to throw its voting booths wide open to all without any qualifications whatever is quite another matter. Many states have property qualifications for voters, and not all of these states are in the South. Some have educational qualifications, and not all of these are in the South. But if we are ready to eliminate the poll tax as a requirement, it is well for the advocates of such a plan to present the matter so that the public will have no misunderstandings—and it can best be presented by realizing that relief is not impossible and that the methods of getting relief are simple and reasonable.

END POLL TAX LAW

Only Purpose Is to Disfranchise Half of Voters

To The Commercial Appeal:

Article IV, Section I of the state Constitution adopted in 1870 requires that a voter must present to the election judges satisfactory evidence that he has paid his poll tax for the preceding period required by the Legislature, and within a prescribed time.

It is claimed that only six states, and all of them Southern states, now require a poll tax payment as a prerequisite for voting. It is also stated that these six states contain more illiterate people than any of the states not requiring the poll tax payment.

We are not having majority rule under the poll tax system, because only about half of the people are voting. In the State of Kentucky, where no poll tax is required, about 900,000 people voted in the 1936 general election, while only half that many voted in Tennessee.

The poll tax system is a relic of Reconstruction days, when it was invented to keep the newly liberated slaves and the carpetbaggers from controlling elections by the large majority they could vote. As a protective measure to insure, by the better element of home people, a government of their own, we of the South claim it was justified, but the condition then prevailing and the necessity for such protection have long since passed.

Advocates of the poll tax system argue that it insures more honest elections and majority rule by the better class of people as much so as it ever did. This is absolutely a false theory, contradicted by facts.

Candidates buy poll tax receipts for persons who have promised to vote for them in almost every local election. Thus the poll tax system fosters a condition where money and graft rule, instead of insuring government by the franchise of the better element of people.

Another argument for poll taxes is that they are applied to school funds and if we remove them we cripple our school system. If it be a fact that the states having poll tax laws rank higher in education than the six states not having such laws, then where does this argument get us?

As the law is administered and enforced today, the payment of a poll tax is optional with the individual. No effort is being made to enforce the collection. If so necessary for the schools, why not collect?

The State of Florida recently did away with its poll tax law. Some of the other Southern states need to follow her good example.

The first question a voter should ask a candidate for the Legislature, or a candidate for governor, is, "Are you in favor of repealing the poll tax law, or that part which requires a receipt for voting?" The voters' support should depend upon the candidate's affirmative answer.

Let's do away with this Reconstruction, antiquated, demoralizing law.

POLL TAX UNJUST

Don't Disfranchise Citizens Because of Poverty

To The Commercial Appeal:

I think the poll tax as a requisite to vote is very unjust and unAmerican, and I think future generations will marvel at the fact such laws ever existed on our statute books.

For example, a good, moral, law-abiding citizen who through adversity or other unfortunate circumstance over which he has no control has not been able to pay his poll tax, and at the same time procure the bare necessities for his family. Therefore he is disqualified to have a voice in not only who shall formulate but who shall execute our laws.

On the other hand, the racketeer and the habitual lawbreaker, if he pays his poll tax, is allowed to participate in our elections. I think we would have much better representative government by all the good people than just part of them. I often hear the remark that our laws are not effective. The laws are all right, it is the manner in which they are not enforced many times that is the trouble.

FRANK DaLEE.

Verona, Miss.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
May 16, 1938

Young Negroes Rap Poll Tax Vote Law

The Young Negro Civic League denounced the poll tax as a voting requirement, in a meeting Sunday afternoon at the Y. M. C. A. on East Ninth Street.

The league was addressed by Attorney F. Todd Meacham, who spoke on the election laws and election machinery in Tennessee.

It was resolved that the Young Negro Civic League would indorse all efforts to repeal the present laws pertaining to the poll tax.

The resolution said that the tax was foisting the will of a minority in Tennessee on a majority, and was deliberately intended to stop the great struggle to establish democracy in the South and in Tennessee.

Walter D. Parks is president of the organization.

Sparta, Tenn., Expositor
June 2, 1938

WASHINGTON VOTES

Recently the residents of the City of Washington took an unofficial vote to sound sentiment for the official ballot which is denied them under existing law. More than 93,000 of the total population of about 637,000 cast their straw ballots on two propositions: The right to vote for President and members of Congress; [illegible]ght to local self government.

[illegible]h proposals carried overwhelm[illegible] the first by 13 to 1, the second by 8 to 1. Pathfinder, published in the national capital, suggests that the difference in the vote on the two questions was because many did not desire to bring the large Negro population into the local political picture. About one-third of the city's inhabitants are Negroes.

Residents of Washington have not voted for President since the national capital was established there in 1800, nor for local officials since 1874. The city, officially designated as the District of Columbia, is governed by Congress as to legislation, and by executive commissioners appointed by the President.

Many persons holding government positions in Washington retain their voting rights in the states from which they came. But permanent residents of the city, who pay taxes as citizens elsewhere do, think they should also be allowed to vote. And why not?

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
July 16, 1938

Negroes Long Have Voted Democratic

There is very little to affect the state's political situation in a move reported in Chattanooga by organized groups of Negroes in that city to vote in the coming Democratic primary.

While the Republican party in this state for years has been alleged to receive the Negro vote, actually colored citizens have for the most part voted the Democratic ticket regularly. This has been particularly true in Shelby county, where the bulk of the Negro vote has been cast. There the nominally Republican Bob Church has for years had a working agreement with Mr. Crump which has contributed no little to those splendid majorities which the latter regularly turns in at election time.

It goes without saying that, in addition to the other factors which have actuated the colored voter in severing his traditional party affiliation, the pressure being placed upon those on relief all over the country at the present time is a powerful factor in influencing these voters to emphasize their allegiance to the Democratic party, or rather, to the New Deal

POLL TAX IN PRIMARY AROUSES BILBO'S IRE

Mississippian Would Revise Conner Legislation

BRANDS LEVY AS 'TRICK'

Payment Should Be Required Only In General Elections, He Says—Will Visit Constituents While In State

By KENNETH TOLER
From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 17.—Branding the Corrupt Practices Act of the Conner Administration as "a trick to disqualify the rank and file," Senator Bilbo said here today that "it has to be changed."

Striking at the requirement for annual payment of poll taxes, the senator said he favored continuation of the constitutional provision for poll tax prerequisite for participation in the general election, but urged its abolition insofar as party primaries are concerned.

Supports Johnson's Views

His position is the same recently expressed by Judge Paul B. Johnson of Hattiesburg, candidate for governor with Bilbo's backing.

"Mississippi is one of eight states that still require poll tax qualifications to vote," the junior senator said on his return to Mississippi to remain until the day after Christmas, during which time he will make a trip through the state.

Under the Corrupt Practices Act, a person desiring to vote in a primary must present poll tax receipts for two previous years, each issued in the year for which it is due. Prior to the change in 1934, a voter could pay two years at one time. Under this practice, only in election years were there heavy payments of poll taxes.

Asserting that the act places a higher premium on franchise rights than the Constitution provision governing general elections, Senator Bilbo said the former should be amended.

Protection In Constitution

"I do not think the Constitution should be disturbed insofar as it requires payment of a poll tax for voting in the general election," he explained." It is an absolute protection against negro political control of the state.

"But," he added, "I think the Corrupt Practices Act should be amended so that every white citizen, man and woman, who is properly registered could vote without being penalized by a $4 poll tax. Whether they vote or not, they have to pay all sorts of taxes and every white Democrat should be permitted to take part in the election of the officials.

"Under the Corrupt Practices Act, a higher qualification is demanded for a party primary than in a general election. Therefore, the poll tax should be wiped out insofar as it governs primary election voting."

Defeated By Legislature

Efforts to amend the statute at the recent legislative session failed when the House refused to adopt a resolution urging Governor White to submit the question for its consideration. The proposed amendment would have restored the provision permitting delinquent payment of the poll tax.

What effect the senator's position will have on efforts of Judge Johnson to seek the support of Dennis Murphree in next year's election remains to be seen, as the latter is unalterably opposed to abolition of poll taxes.

Commenting only briefly on the gubernatorial race, Senator Bilbo said he has no desire to be "a dictator."

"As a rule," he said, "the people of Mississippi use good judgment in selecting their governors. As evidence of that, they were kind enough to elect me twice."

Abolish Poll Tax And Let All Vote, Says Arkansan

To The Commercial Appeal:

A freeman has voice in government. A citizen speaks with his ballot. A slave has no voice in government. A slave's portion is a handout. To place a price on the privilege of voting is beginning of slavery. Each citizen or person who is a freeman may exercise the opportunity of voting at his discretion. To tell a citizen when he shall vote and when he shall not is a dictatorial power, and is advocated and exercised by those who hate democracy, by their actions, though maybe it is not a heart disease.

A first step toward slavery is to deprive a citizen, by any means whatsoever, of voting. Arkansas has already made this first step in the poll tax qualification for voting. A next step is to compel him, by law or coercion of some kind, to vote, even if he prefers not to do so. This is the Simon Legree attitude which is assumed by some. It is as easy to manage a citizen who voluntarily refrains from voting as it is to manage a slave, i.e., one who is disfranchised by want of a poll tax receipt.

The question of state that acutely touches the life of the citizen arouses his interest most. The question of old age pensions is in point. The slave waits for a handout but the citizen demands food and clothes with his ballot. The poor and needy have cried unto the Lord and His answer is the old age pension. If they and their children vote as they cry they will be blessed with food and clothes and other necessities.

A fundamental principle of education is to learn by doing. Now that the welfare of thousands is threatened by the refusal of Legislatures to provide for the old and needy, those who in the past thought that to vote was useless "because they (Legislatures) always did as they pleased anyway," have awakened to the fact that through the initiative and referendum they can make their own laws and provide their own remedies without asking Legislatures and governors.

To prevent these poor and needy ones from telling what their needs are at the ballot box, by placing a price on the ballot that they cannot pay without painful sacrifice, is as contemptible as snatching candy from a baby in the cradle.

L. A. SMITH.
Booneville, Ark.

Tennessee

Political - 1938

Suffrage

Kingsport, Tenn. Times
January 13, 1938

Negro Voters Are To Pick Chairman

Negro voters of the 11th civil district will hold their opening meeting Tuesday night, January 18, it was announced here today, for the purpose of electing a chairman for the next two years.

Luther Graves, incumbent chairman, is expected to be re-elected. A vice-chairman and secretary also will be selected.

The meeting is expected to reveal the voting strength now estimated at about 600 in the district.

Nashville, Tenn Banner
January 20, 1938

UNDERWORLD'S CHALLENGE

The disclosure made by THE BANNER as to the activity of William James, convicted Negro King of the numbers racketeers, during the recent registration, and the herding of Negroes at the polls through a fleet of automobiles operating from his filling station as headquarters, must be an illuminating contribution to the store of public information bearing upon the campaign for Mayor.

James and forty of his "ticket sellers" in this notorious gambling game were convicted last December, paid their fines, and are now under suspended sentences. Some of these hirelings of the Kingfish were drivers of the cars which were collecting Negroes at his headquarters and carrying them to the registration polls.

Why this deep interest in qualifying Negroes to vote in the approaching election, is a natural question. The answer may be found in the circumstance that Tom Cummings is the racket King's lawyer, represented him and his gang of forty ticket sellers when they became involved in the toils of the law; and a picture of the candidate of their eager choice for Mayor was conspicuous at filling station headquarters during the registration.

There is no more despicable racket than that which these vultures conduct; it preys upon those least able to be victimized—the poor of both races. Even in the underworld of crime their estate is about the lowest—sordid, cheap, ruthless in its pursuit of the credulous, a "skin" game with criminal operators in every city in the land.

Jack Keefe is to be congratulated that these racketeers are fighting him. They know him, fear him and will vote and work against him at the polls. He represents to them the hand of the law, which they have already felt—and never cease to fear and plot to evade—and they are united with the rest of the underworld in its desperate effort to prevent him from obtaining the law enforcing power of the Mayor's office.

What do the citizens of Nashville think of this picture that is unfolding before them?

Is the challenge from the lawless elements who are striving to name the next Mayor to be overlooked?

The underworld sticks together: its forces have the common tie of crime, of preying, in diverse ways, upon the community; and they never fail to fight those candidates for office whom they fear.

It is no accident that the numbers racketeers; the bookmakers slyly plying their demoralizing trade; the dive-keepers and bootleggers; and those policemen, few in number, but cunning and alert who are corrupt and unfit for the service, are banded together and fighting Jack Keefe.

What do the law-abiding citizens, the taxpayers of Nashville, the heads of families, propose to do in the face of this insolent and dangerous defiance? Can there be a moment's hesitation in determining, and pursuing, the course of duty to community, family and self?

Can the plain challenge from the underworld fail of prompt acceptance?

Is law to be enforced or flaunted in the capital city of the state: that and nothing less than that is the supreme issue of this vitally important campaign for Mayor.

Organized crime is fighting Jack Keefe: organized citizenship must fight for him.

Negroes Ask To Vote In Tennessee Primaries

Courier

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., July 14 — The Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club has petitioned the County Primary Board to let Negroes vote in the September primaries.

White Democrats indicate vote may be granted, but voters must take oath to support Democratic nominees or vote be challenged. The club is said to have the endorsement of Postmaster General James Farley.

THE POWER OF THE BALLOT

East Tennessee News

2-3-38

Knoxville, Tenn.

NO MEANS OF SECURING EQUAL JUSTICE is more powerful than the ballot and when the minority racial groups, especially Negroes, get that idea definitely in mind, many of the injustices complained of will be satisfactorily wiped away. It has been demonstrated, time and time again, that full consideration is accorded demands of men of any race or class, if the demands are just and are backed by persons who have the proper regard for the exercise of their franchise, and are prepared to vote. 2-3-38

In Knox county and the Second Congressional District, as well as over the entire state of Tennessee, at different times this year, important elections will be conducted for the purpose of selecting men for office. In Knox county fifteen candidates are to be voted for including those for sheriff, trustee, county, circuit, and criminal court clerks; register of deeds, trustee, three county commissioners, and superintendent of county schools.

Later on in the year congressmen, members of the legislature, senators and a governor are to be voted for.

Does it mean anything to the Negro man or woman of Tennessee, who are privileged to exercise their franchise in most instances by the payment of the paltry sum of two dollars poll tax and securing a registration certificate for which there is no charge, while many who do not come within the group of those having to pay poll tax, are qualified by merely registering, that these important offices are to be filled by men who are expected to serve the interests of all the folks?

Negroes of Tennessee have none other than themselves to blame for any discrimination or injustices that may be imposed upon their racial group if they sit idly by and refuse to take advantage of the opportunity which is theirs to vote. There is need right now to begin a study of those persons whose names are being mentioned as possible candidates for office. Certain of these chronic office seekers are as hostile toward Neegrose as the devil is toward holy water. Their hypocritical smiles encircle their faces only at a time approaching election day and should they by chance win office, they become as arrogant as the devil himself and accord the Negro no more consideration than if he was a slave. Certain kinsfolk of certain fee-grabbing justices of the peace, whose reputations for preying in a most merciless manner on poor, defenseless Negroes, stinks to high Heavens, are "grooming themselves" for certain public offices. Should they be elected, they would be afforded additional opportunity to assist their heartless kin in plying their nefarious practices. Too, there is possibility of their winning office: that is, if the representative voters fail to prepare themselves to vote, and then exercise care in selecting the proper type of candidate.

Begin today to study the candidates for office. Pay your poll tax, if necessary, and register. Then, on the day of election, march to the polls like soldiers marching to war, and vote intelligently and determinedly for men who will serve the best interests of all the people, regardless as to race or class.

Tennessee

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Suffrage

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NEXT THURSDAY'S ELECTION

Globe and Independent

Both the Hon. Jack Keefe and the Hon. Thomas L. Cummings have drawn to their support for the office of Mayor of Nashville ardent advocates from colored citizens in all walks of life. It is also true that the Hon. Felix Wilson and probably the other candidates number among their supporters a following of colored men and women.

Nashville Tenn.

It is a healthy condition in any city or state when colored voters divide their support among candidates for office, especially when the character of the men offering for office and the issues involved permit colored citizens to vote their sentiments without embarrassment and without misgivings. This, very largely, is true in the present contest for Mayor of Nashville, even though there has been an unnecessary and unfair injection of personalities, the results of which could arouse racial feeling such as heretofore has not been present in Nashville's municipal elections.

It was unfair for newspapers to make so much ado over the heavy registration of colored men and women and attempt to make it appear that a heavy registration of colored citizens resulted chiefly from the activities of alleged underworld influences.. Colored men and women are generally more interested in the election of a Mayor than they are in the election of a governor or President of the United States. A Mayor's election in Nashville this year is of unusual interest to colored citizens. This is because of the alarming condition of colored elementary schools and of the prominence that different candidates for Mayor have given to this matter. In addition to the general interest colored people themselves have in better schools, there also is the interest that white organizations are showing and the activities these white organizations have put forth to get colored men and women to register. It is no secret that the white Parent-Teacher Association sent out an appeal through colored teachers, urging colored men and women to qualify for participation in the mayoralty election.

It is not to be denied that persons with motives other than better schools and other city improvements were active in getting their followers to the polls. Even this is no crime, nor can it be said that any candidate for mayor would spurn the vote of any of these persons. All votes look alike in the ballot box and will count alike on the new voting machines.

Much has been said in the campaign by the different candidates for Mayor aimed to show the unfitness of an opponent for the office. It is to be regretted that this form of campaign has been resorted to. With several of Nashville's finest citizens seeking the office of Mayor, the campaign could have been conducted wholly on real issues, such as honest elections, better schools, streets, better health, through the extension of sewer facilities for all sections of the city, the matter of providing work for the people, and how to make Nashville a better place in which to live.

It is to be hoped and believed that our colored citizens and campaigners for the different candidates will take a realistic view of this political contest. If so they will realize that this apparent bitter warfare is a mere sham battle. These candidates are not going to lose any friendship over the Mayor's race. When it is all over the loser will congratulate the winner and they all will continue to associate themselves together in their different clubs, churches and other organizations.

Under the circumstances there is no excuse whatever for colored men and women to fall out over the Mayor's race. The rivalry for getting one's choice for Mayor elected should be enthusiastic, but without hate toward any one who is supporting another candidate. Let it be difinitely understood that the election of neither man running is going to help or harm Nashville as much as enthusiastic spellbinders contend. In the end the problems affecting the welfare of Nashville will not be solved without the combined support of all the people. It is advisable, therefore, for every citizen to posses himself with good humor and good sportsmanship to the end that he can graciously accept whatever verdict the people render at the polls next Thursday.

Above all, let every citizen who is qualified go to the polls and vote. Let all who may yet pay poll taxes and vote to so, even if it be sacrifice. Finally, we can not too strongly urge our people to pass up any temptation to take part in any frauds in the interest of any candidate. No person worthy of the heritage of American citizenship should want less nor more than the right to cast one vote and have it counted as cast.

Nashville Votes Oust Machine

(SPECIAL)

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Colored citizens here marched to the polls by the hundreds on Thursday under the militant leadership of Roscoe Grant, Bert Cumby, Mittie Shelby, Lillie Napier, and other associates of Grant, who scored the most decisive victory since he entered politics twenty years ago.

Thomas L. Cummings, State Senator and a friend to colored people, defeated his chief opponent, Jack Keefe, city attorney, and City Hall candidate, almost 2-1, thereby demolishing the old Howse machine of twenty years standing.

Cumby, 26-year-old chief spokesman for the Grant organization, a student of Bob Church-George Lee political school in Memphis, and prominent in business, became virtually dictator of the colored voters in East Nashville. He came to Nashville in 1934 to enter Fisk University.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
July 16, 1938

INSIGHT AT MEMPHIS

An interesting insight into some of the operations of a city political machine is being provided in Memphis by the Browning-appointed State Crime Commission. It would be idle to contend that the Governor's appointees are non-partisan. They are out to discover as many irregularities in Memphis, as many examples of political "crookedness" as their investigators can reveal. Yet it is possible, while withholding final judgment on both the Commission's methods and the results of its inquiry, to find in some of its revelations an explanation of the tremendous voting strength of Mr. Edward H. Crump's organization.

For example, there is the testimony of J. R. May, sales manager of a lumber company. Under subpoena, Mr. May produced seventy-three registration certificates and poll tax receipts. Interested in ascertaining how and why Mr. May possessed the certificates and receipts, the Commission subpoenaed Howard J. Landre, accountant for the lumber company. Mr. Landre testified that he issued a check for the poll tax receipts and assessed the company's Negro employes. Asserting that the Negroes did not object to the assessments, Mr. Landre added that his company retained the registration certificates and poll tax receipts "because of its interest in having employes vote."

The Crime Commission will doubtless endeavor to discover if Mr. Landre's company was interested in having its Negro employes vote, by proxy, for Mr. Crump's candidates. In any event, a check of 915 registrants in one district in Memphis which showed that only 189 persons were registered correctly indicates that Mr. Crump's ward workers have been careless. An unwilling witness, Mayor Watkins Overton testified before the Crime Commission Thursday that elections in Memphis "are as clean or cleaner than in any other city in the State." If Mayor Overton had said that the Memphis machine "cleans up" an election more thoroughly than any other city machine, the Commission would have doubtless agreed with him.

During a supplemental registration period held in the past three days, the Crump organization has urged every voter to register. When the period ended Thursday, approximately 40,000 voters had qualified. Unaccounted for are approximately 56,000 "persons" on the County's registration books. Mr. Crump asserts the list of 96,000 is a valid list, but Governor Browning has declared that the list compiled in the supplemental registration will be certified as the true and correct list, and that every person whose name is not on that list will be prevented from voting in the August 4 primary.

A lot of things are likely to happen before the vote cast on August 4 is tabulated and certified. There will be appeals to the courts. Unhappily for the Crump machine, the Governor who had "60,000 reasons for loving Shelby County" in 1936, with no questions asked, is now bent on preventing Mr. Crump from loving any one else to some extent. Even so, the spectacle in Memphis constitutes a warning to political bosses in other cities. Few Tennesseans will imagine that Memphis is the only city in which corporations friendly to the dominant political machine purchase poll tax receipts and assess their employes for them —solely, of course, because they are interested in citizenship.

Texas.

Political —1938
Suffrage

Reveal Fort Worth Negroes Voted In Defiance Of Ruling

1,500 Colored People Voted in the Primary Contrary to Texas Policy New Program Outlined by Spaulding

By ALBERT WHITE

FORT WORTH, Texas—(ANP)—The recent Democratic primary here is "under fire" of a committee investigation and a threatened grand jury probe, as a result of more than 1,500 colored people voting in the recent election in defiance of a ruling from the state executive committee of the Democratic party that colored people are barred from the primaries.

Revelation that colored people voted in the primary, contrary to party policy in Texas, has created a sensation and white Democrats are searching the records of the United States supreme court decisions on the status of the Negro and the primary.

This disclosure points the way, many observers declare, for colored people in Texas to make a new court attack on the exclusion of the race from the primary.

The last decision of the supreme court, rendered in the case of R. E. Grovey of Houston, ruled the Democratic party in Texas is a private club and has a right to qualify its members.

Under this ruling, these observers point out, the primary of the party is a private election the same as a lodge or a church election. Their point is that the Democrats, who have control of the county and state government in Texas, are using state machinery to conduct their private elections.

Better still, they say, bars and saloons are closed on primary election day. Their contention is this should not be true. The use of the county clerk's office for absentee ballots for the private election is under scrutiny.

Plans are being discussed thruout the state of attacking the use of county and state government machinery in connection with the primaries, in an effort to divorce the primary from county and state regulation, which will lead to its destruction by placing it on a private club basis.

OLD RULE OF 1932 TO BE EMPHASIZED BY NEW ACTION

Rumors That Negroes Voted In Recent Primaries At Austin, Spurs State "Dems" to Exclude Group From Participation.

AUSTIN, Tex., Aug. 25—(Special)—Stating rumors are in circulation that at the Democratic primary election of July 23, Negroes were permitted to vote in a few of the State's precincts, Secretary V. M. Kennedy of the State Democratic Executive Committee has announced that at the Democratic State Convention in Beaumont, Sept. 13, a resolution will probably be introduced excluding Negroes from participation in the party primaries altogether.

Restriction of membership in the Texas Democratic party to whites only was provided for, Kennedy said, in a resolution adopted in 1932 at the convention held in Houston. Validity of this resolution was later sustained by the State Supreme Court and the U. S. Supreme Court, he said, but though still in full force, it will probably be strengthened by further specific action at the coming meeting, in view of the rumors in circulation that Negroes voted in the most recent Democratic primary.

NEGRO VOTE IN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

Following the example of Texas, other states' Democratic organizations have barred Negroes from their primary elections. They do this on the strength that the United States supreme court has ruled that a political party is a private institution and may admit to its membership such persons as are desired and of course exclude people in the same manner.

During the primary election in Texas several hundred Negroes are known to have voted for Democratic candidates. So surprised were some people that an investigation is in progress to determine how such a thing could have happened.

And the Negroes of Texas are not going to stop fighting this supreme court ruling for any intelligent person can see that the position taken in the opinion was entirely erroneous. If a political party is no more than a private club, what right does it have to get its expenses paid out of the public treasury which even those excluded from membership are forced to maintain by taxation? Absolutely none. The time must come, and not far distant, when this rule will be changed.

Some economic adjustments are in progress in the south and along with them will come political changes. The two go along together and the Negro is bound to benefit materially by these changes.

Texas Democratic Primary Practices To Be Investigated

HOUSTON.—A sweeping congressional investigation into Democratic primary practices in Texas was promised last week by Representative Kent Keller of Illinois.

In a telegram to Edward Clark, secretary of state in Governor Allred's cabinet, who has banned Congressman Maverick's name from the general election ballot in November, the Illinois solon said the situation in Texas would be probed.

Congressman Keller was aroused by reports that Clark has overruled a petition from a number of citizens in San Antonio that Maverick's name be placed on the ballot.

He wired Clark for particulars and the secretary of state informed him the Democratic primary ballot carries a pledge by all candidates to support the winner. He cites a decision by the Texas Supreme Court to bear him out.

Clark's reply was made with a hot retort from the Illinois member of congress who issued this statement:

"There is so much fraud and chicanery practiced in many political organizations, especially in our cities that it is in my judgment high time that this practice be stamped out of our political life."

It is believed a congressional investigation into the Democratic primary practices in Texas will bring out the existence of a color which prohibits Negroes from voting in Texas.

A congressional investigation will afford Negroes a chance to testify and place before the nation the situation in Texas with which they are faced. This would react to the national detriment of the old line Democrats who are opposed to Negroes voting.

Maverick, counted out in the July 23 primary, in which machine politics in his district at San Antonio played the major part, is hitting back from Washington.

Maverick is expected to get Negro support if he wins out for a place on the general election ballot. He was the only member of congress from the South who voted for the federal anti-lynching bill at the last session. He has made a number of speeches in congress denouncing the South for its attitude toward Negroes. So liberal and outstanding have been his views until the Progressive Voters Club of Texas, headed by the Rev. M. F. Jackson of Dallas, has promised to support him in November.

TEXAS DEMOCRATS KEEP POLL TAX CLUB OVER NEGRO VOTERS

Black Dispatch 11-3-38

BEAUMONT, Tex.—(ANP)—Governor-Elect O'Daniel's plank for the abolition of the poll tax received a setback during the State Democratic Convention. Fear of Negro domination of Southern elections was used to defeat the movement. The platform plank was killed quickly on a viva voce vote. Democratic delegates attending the conclave wanted the levy retained despite the fact that O'Daniel and President Roosevelt favor its abolition.

Paul D. Page, Sr., of Bastrop, a former State Senator, warned that the move "strikes at the heart of the old South. I'll crack Negroes over the head with a six-shooter before I'll let them get control in my county, but if you do away with the poll tax you'll raise an interracial question that will live forever."

Fundamental Basis Of Suit Is 14th, 15th Amendments

Pending unsolved

10-27-38

Atlanta, Ga.

Charge That Method And Practice of Primary Is To Block Vote of Negro

By ALBERT WHITE

HOUSTON—(ANP)—Political freedom for colored citizens of Houston, barred from the polls by the tactics of the Democratic primary, hinge on the outcome of a suit filed in federal court here last Thursday which will be tried Saturday.

The suit, filed to gain the right to vote in the city election on November 8, challenged the exclusion of colored people from the Democratic primary. The suit alleged the primary is a part of the election machinery of the city, that public buildings and property are used to hold the primary, and that it is regulated by the city charter.

City officials and a clique of politicians are leagued in the disfranchisement of colored people in the city elections, the suit charged. Provisions in the city charter, setting forth the city is obligated to pay the cost of all primary elections is cited to prove colored people are qualified to vote and that the Democratic primary has usurped the function of electing city officials.

The suit charged that the action of the city in permitting the Democratic party to pay the expense of election was a scheme to escape responsibility, and is an indirect violation of the constitution in that the city is winking at disfranchisement of its citizens.

The suit declared that the method and practices of the Democratic primary are designed wholly and solely to deprive colored people of the ballot. The constitution, which guarantees colored people the right to vote, is violated and the suit was filed in the interest of a federal injunction to force the city to hold the election according to law and to restrain interference of participation by colored people, the petition said.

The suit was filed as a class suit in behalf of all colored citizens in the city by the local branch of the NAACP and bore the names of C. F. Richardson, Will Green, Julius White and Dr. W. M. Drake.

The action is directed against officials of the city of Houston, members of the city Democratic executive committee, the county clerk, the assistant county clerk, and election judges in thickly populated colored voting precincts.

The fundamental basis of the suit involves the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution. It involves the disfranchisement of colored people throughout the South. If lost in the lower court here, it will be carried to the United States supreme court.

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Fort Worth Launches Big Poll Tax Drive

FORT WORTH, Texas, Dec. 31—The citizens of Fort Worth through the Negro Voters' league are busy with plans to launch an intensive poll tax drive that will begin the first week in the new year and carry on until February 1. The drive will be directed by William Coleman, president of the league, and most worshipful grand master of the Free and Accepted Masons of the state of Texas.

The drive is being launched with the aim of raising the number of qualified voters of color from 800 to 8,000.

The drive will swing into full force after a conference among business, ministerial, civic and social leaders at a luncheon Friday night, Dec. 31, in the Masonic Temple. At this meeting plans will be mapped out which will enlist the services of all organizations in the city.

"Why Pay Poll Tax" Uutlined By Voters' League

DALLAS, Texas.—Tuesday night at the headquarters of the Progressive Voters' League in Dallas, 150 representatives of the Advisory Committee of the League outlined an educational program under the subject of "Why Pay Poll Tax." A circular carrying these reasons has been prepared and distributed generally for public information to aid the League campaign to enlarge 10,000 registered Negro voters for Dallas.

Police Officer Berry of Tulsa, Okla., was guest speaker at the meeting. Last minute political rallies are being held throughout the city to promote this important registration drive.

The following is a list of the reasons "Why Pay Poll Tax" now meing distributed in Dallas:

1. It is your civic duty and responsibility.

2. Prepare to protect your legal rights and privileges.

3. Of the $1.75 poll tax you pay, $1 goes for public school funds; 50c for public roads fund; 25c for state charitable institutions.

4. Poll tax requirements aim to disfranchise the Negroes. Will you let it do so?

5. The citizenship habit is one of the best habits you can form.

6. Get ready for coming 1938 elections: School Board; possible charter election.

7. Ground already gained by Progressive Voters' League may be lost unless we can continue to increase our registration.

8. Some accomplishments during 1937 attributed to work of voters:

a. New senior highschool building.

b. Park improvement program and larger park acreage.

c. City Council ordered examinations for appointment of Negro policemen.

d. Consideration in city job opportunities.

e. Curtailed abuses to Negroes from law enforcement officers.

9. Your poll tax receipt is your best identification card.

10. Protect your home and property against excess tax increases.

11. Join the city-wide crusade against crime and delinquency.

Note: These reasons are to be used by campaign workers of the Progressive Voters' League in convincing every adult Negro to pay his poll tax and qualify for citizenship.

TEXAS RACE VOTERS MAY GET RIGHT TO VOTE IN PRIMARY

(Special Correspondence)

HOUSTON, Tex., June 17—According to well informed authority Texas Race voters have been approached by an outstanding political figure with a proposition tended to remove the racial barrier that has eliminated the state's Race populace from participation in the election of state office holders for many years.

Time and time again Race leaders have unsuccessfully attempted to force their way into the primary, but to no avail. For many years the practice was prevalent throughout the state, but in recent years all cities of the state, excepting Houston and Beaumont have succeeded in having a voice in the election of their respective officers.

To Enter Race

In these cities the Democratic primary is enforced, but in others, notably Galveston, independent parties have been organized, giving Negroes the proverbial balance of power. In this manner, Dallas and Galveston have left other Lone Star cities far behind in political accomplishment.

The inside information is to the effect that the white political figure has agreed to enter the Texas governor race as an indepedent candidate with the stipulation of a sufficient Race vote to suppliment the already large white following of the aspirant.

Politicians Skeptical

It is said that the candidate is sure to make a creditable showing if the Race leaders can muster up the required votes. North Texas politicians are skeptical of securing the required votes to save their 'man' the fate of Albert White's "Kelso for Mayor" campaign at Houston.

If successful in garnering the Race vote, the candidate would loom as a formidable prospect of presiding over the place now occupied by James V. Allred. Only slight mention has been made of the situation in south Texas but North Texas political moguls have for several weeks been giving late hour consideration to the matter.

By the time this reaches the press, an assembly will have been held and prospects discussed thoroughly in a certain Texas city, which the writer has been asked not to reveal.

TEXAS VOTERS BEGIN STATE ORGANIZATION

Maynard H. Jackson of Dallas Elected President Of Political Group

DALLAS. — (ANP) — History was made here Monday as a group of leaders from over the state met and formed a state-wide political organization which was named the Progressive Voters League of Texas.

Maynard H. Jackson of Dallas, organizer of the local Negro voters, was elected president, and August 18, in Houston was set for the next meeting.

The meeting of these Texas political leaders was in response to the call issued by the president of the Dallas Voters league, and developed into the most enthusiastic gathering of Negro leaders of this was discussed along with the plans decade. The Democratic primary of organizing the entire state for conservation of Negro voting strength.

In addition to the president, the following officers were elected: C. F. Richardson, Houston, first vice-president; V. G. Goree, secretary; D. B. Mason, Dallas, treasurer; R. A. Lay, Dallas, assistant secretary. Regional vice presidents were elected as follows: R. R. Govey, Houston, South Texas; Dr. D. A. Whittier, San Antonio, West Texas; H. M. Morgan, Tyler, East Texas; Dr. L. A. Nixon, East Paso, West Texas; Attorney R. D. Evans, Waco, Central Texas; Dr. A. B. Borders, Fort Worth, North Texas. Vice president for Southeast and Northeast regions were left open until the Houston meeting in August. A. Maceo Smith of Dallas was elected state organizer.

The organization has set in motion a program which will coordinate the political aspirations of Texas Negroes for the general welfare and benefit of Negro citizens in the state organizer.

The organization has set in motion a program which will corrdinate the political aspirations of Texas Negroes for the general welfare and benefit of Negro citizens in the state C.F.Richardson was appointed chairman of the committee on constitution and by-laws,and V.G. Gore of Texas,heads the ways and means committee.

OLD RULE OF 1932 TO BE EMPHASIZED BY NEW ACTION

Rumors That Negroes Voted In Recent Primaries At Austin, Spurs State "Dems" to Exclude Group From Participation.

AUSTIN, Tex., Aug. 25—(Special)—Stating rumors are in circulation that at the Democratic primary election of July 23, Negroes were permitted to vote in a few of the State's precincts, Secretary V. M. Kennedy of the State Democratic Executive Committee, has announced that at the Democratic State Convention in Beaumont, Sept. 13, a resolution will probably be introduced excluding Negroes from participation in the party primaries altogether.

Restriction of membership in the Texas Democratic party to whites only was provided for, Kennedy said, in a resolution adopted in 1932 at the convention held in Houston. Validity of this resolution was later sustained by the State Supreme Court and the U. S. Supreme Court, he said, but though still in full force, it will probably be strengthened by further specific action at the coming meeting, in view of the rumors in circulation that Negroes voted in the most recent Democratic primary.

Texas Republicans' Chance Seen As Dissension Rocks Democrats' Former Power

Party Leaders Will Attempt to Make "Mountain Music" Nominee Lose His Magic Charm

Negroes Vote In Large Number

By J. D. DAVIS

HOUSTON, Texas.—(ANP)—With rank dissension prevalent within state Democratic circles and open charges that W. Lee O'Daniels, recent winner of the Texas State Democratic primary, is an opponent of organized labor, Republican ueaders in their state convention here last week displayed more optimistic fight than any G. O. P. assembly since the steam rolling days of the late Noris Wright Cuney and William "Gooseneck Bill" McDonald.

Shortly after the primary, which is ordinarily tantamount to election in Texas, Negro papers of Texas expressed themselves as being highly pleased over the O'Daniel victory, but since that time it has allegedly been proven that the Fort Worth flour magnate wears a K. O. sign for organized labor. It is the general sentiment that the governor-elect can mean the race ndeed as long as he is against Negro labor.

At the G. O. P. meeting some delegates expressed oposition to the New Deal and no love for O'Daniel. The colored delegates expressed a grim determination to push the Republican candidate to the last vote. R. R. Grovey, well known colored Republican leader and loser of the celebrated Grovey vs. Texas primary case, addressed the body and received plaudits for his attack on the New Deal and the unethical primary laws of Texas.

Grovey demanded unmolested participation of Negroes in party affairs and received a tremendous ovation from the white and colored delegates. All colored delegates were seated and participated in formation of the platform. The parley was minus any form of friction.

In the meting ti was revealed that the G. O. P.'s are 50,000 strong, with a large majority of this number colored. Houston has 3,000 registered colored Republicans, with the metropolitan centers of Dallas, Galveston, Beaumont, Fort Worth and Austin supplying the remanent bulk. Many Republican voters reside in the smaller cities. This large number of regular Republicans supplemented with the dissensionist wing of the Democrats is expected to, with combined forces, make O'Daniel think against before definitely deciding to move his home to Austin.

Experienced observers opine that the largest Republican vote in recent years is expected to be polledin the coming Republican primary. An interesting angle to the political situation in Texas was the revelation last week that 1,500 Negroes at Fort Worth voted in the Democratic primary. Democ chieftains there explained that the state body had given no ruling on the black vote, so there was nothing to do but accept them.

Fort Worth is located in Tarrant County, where one-third of the Negroes are registered voters. The large registration is the result of a campaign conducted by Harrold Hardee, "Bronze Mayor" of the city.

The big question before the north Texas house is, How will Dallas go? Dallas perhaps has more registered Negroes than any city in the state and on June 19 a State Voters League was organized, which is composed of all colored political factions in the state. The league has not made any official endorsement, but opinion is that they will join the G. O. P. in an effort to make a creditable showing as a threat at the primary law.

The Voters League is scheduled to meet during the current week in Houston and it is expected that it will at that time express its sentiments and support.

Houston, Galveston and San Antonio also South Texas are solidly behind the Republicans and the Houston Press, a Scripps-Howard paper, has urged a two-party system for the state.

It is said that O'Daniel, in spite of union opposition, has displayed unusual fairness in granting employment to colored workers. He is a native of the Mid-West and hope has been expressed that his mind is not tained with Dixie prejudices. No query has been placed to him in regards to Negro participation in the primaries.

The Republican candidate, Alexander Boynton, a San Antonio oil man, is said to be a liberal of the Maury Maverikse type and in close contact with colored political moguls in the Alamo city. "It will be the dawn of a new day for colored Texas if he should win" is the glowing terms in which Dr. W. J. Etter, Galveston, R. R. Grovey, Houston and the 58 other colored delegates expressed themselves on their candidate. Colored leaders emphatically denied that the party had officially attacked the lynch bill, but charged it to an unimportant member of the party, who is ordinarily a Democrat.

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Norfolk, Va. Pilot
January 25, 1938

Minimum Poll Tax Amendment

Ancestral voices are heard in Virginia warning that to remove the poll tax as a voting requirement would reintroduce into our politics the Negro complication that the Constitution of thirty years ago purged from it. The warning was to have been expected. It was raised in North Carolina in 1920 when the voters of that State disregarded it and consigned the poll tax to the dust bin. Since then, in the so-called "black counties" of North Carolina, white majorities have increased instead of decreased.

The Raleigh *News and Observer* has watched the incidence of the State's poll tax reform from the vantage point of the capital. No complications resulting from the reform could have escaped its notice. This is what it said last week on the emptiness of the racial bogey:

> People who oppose poll tax repeal in North Carolina, Virginia or anywhere else are not afraid of the Negro, they are afraid of democracy. They are unwilling that government shall be of the people, by the people and for the people. They think instead that a State like Virginia, or like North Carolina, should be governed only by those with money to pay for voting. Such a standard obviously puts the emphasis on property above people. Those who would prefer government of money rather than government by men will hide their hatred of democracy behind any phrases and arguments in Virginia as everywhere else. But if there are any men in Virginia honestly afraid that poll tax repeal would mean an overwhelming of white voters by black votes in the black counties, let them be reassured. There are more Negroes in North Carolina than there are in Virginia (918,647 to 650,165), but poll tax repeal has not even rippled the race question in this State, but it has set white men free from a poll tax which denied citizenship to poverty.

This is the view of the poll tax realities that the *Virginian-Pilot* has held for many years. Holding this view, it would like to see the poll tax as a voting requirement expunged from the Constitution. But a study of the Virginia political realities has convinced us that the whole reform is not at this time within reach. It is a choice, at this time, between pressing for complete abolition of the poll tax as a voting condition and being rebuffed, or pressing for a reduction of the poll tax burden on the suffrage right and probably succeeding. Reform in the right direction is not to be rejected because it involves compromise. To reject compromise in order to fight for more thoroughgoing reform, we believe, is to choose the slower road to the same ultimate objective.

If reduction instead of abolition of the voting tax is the tactic likely to bring the best results—and we believe it is—the important question is what kind of poll tax requirement to retain. Governor Price's indorsement of poll tax reduction was an endorsement in principle only. How shall the principle be carried into specific law?

Delegate Neff, of Abingdon, after consultation with Governor Price, favors an amendment to the Constitution which would empower the Legislature to fix the amount of the suffrage poll tax between a minimum of $1 and a maximum of $1.50; to fix the time of payment between a maximum of six months and a minimum of two months prior to elections; and to determine whether the tax should be paid for three years or less in order to permit the taxpayer to vote.

The Neff plan is highly objectionable. Under it a reactionary Legislature could by act of the General Assembly continue in force indefinitely every burden now imposed on the voting right by the Constitution. Moreover, the liberalizing enactments of one Legislature could be repealed by a succeeding Legislature, keeping the poll tax question in a state of permanent and confusing uncertainty.

A considerable leeway to the Legislature in fixing the subordinate voting and election qualifications is necessary. But the constitutional reform will fail of its mission if it fails to fix a ceiling for the suffrage tax and a time limit for the payment deadline.

Constitutional amendment covering these two supremely important points, we think, should do four things:

1. It should prohibit the Legislature from levying a poll tax in excess of $1 a year for voting qualification purposes.

2. It should empower the Legislature to discontinue such a tax as a voting requirement, while retaining it for revenue purposes.

3. It should prohibit the Legislature from requiring the payment of more than one's year poll taxes as a voting qualification.

4. It should prohibit the Legislature from requiring the payment of the suffrage poll tax earlier than ninety days prior to the general election.

Poll Tax Bills Die In House

(Special to Journal and Gude)

RICHMOND, Va.—Despite the fact that Governor Price had openly declared himself favorable to the elimination of the poll tax as a requisite to voting, and that legislation designed to accomplish this had been supported by large groups of leaders in all walks of life, the House Privileges and Elections Committee arbitrarily killed three bills providing for modification of the poll tax law in sessions Monday.

The committee defeated unanimously the Boschen and Walton poll tax resolutions. The Neff measure received one vote in the committee hearing, that of Republican Delegate Howard Zigler of Harrisonburg.

PAGE BILL IN SENATE

A bill to abolish the poll tax law has been introduced in the Senate chamber of the General Assembly by Senator Vivian L. Page of Norfolk. All of these measures are supported by several women's organizations, white and colored, by the Virginia Federation of Labor, and by several colored civic, and political organizations.

The Neff resolution provided for an amendment to the constitution which would let the General Assembly fix the requirements within the specified limits for the poll tax as a requisite for voting. The amount of the tax could be fixed at from $1.50 to $1, from one to three years payment required, and the date for payment fixed at from two to six months before the general election.

The Boschen resolution would reduce the tax from $1.50 to $1, the number of years of payment as a prerequisite to voting from three to one, and the date for payment from six months to thirty days prior to the election.

The Walton resolution would have abolished the poll tax payment for persons over 55 with an income of less than $75 per month, who had paid the tax for as much as ten years.

Both the Boschen and Neff resolutions would have repealed the constitutional section prohibiting the collection of the poll tax by legal means until it is three years past due.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
February 12, 1938

Disfranchising the Whites

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—Continuing the analysis of the Mecklenburg County, Virginia and the Warren County, North Carolina, vote, we fine the following:

The poll tax list for the Mecklenburg citizens qualified to vote in 1936 by having paid their poll taxes for 1933-34-35 on or before May 2, 1936, numbered 3,870 whites and 699 Negroes. The total vote cast was 2,932. Allowing 150 of these to be Negroes, we have a white vote of 2,782, or 71.8 per cent of the poll tax qualified list. But the opposite extreme is presented by the Negro vote. Allowing only 150 out of the poll tax list of 699 we find only 21.4 per cent voted from that list. What is the reason for this? Seventy-one per cent of the poll tax qualified whites voted—but only 21 per cent of the poll tax qualified Negroes voted. Can any one argue from this that the poll tax is controlling the Negro vote? What prevented the 80 per cent of the poll tax qualified Negroes from voting? The answer is to be found in the very same thing that controls it in the non-poll tax States of North Carolina and Florida.

But the reverse is true when the white vote of the Virginia County is analyzed. In that case 71 per cent of the poll tax qualified whites are voting. To complete the reasoning it is necessary to anticipate the possible Virginia white vote without the poll tax restrictions. Again we compare the Virginia County with its neighboring North Carolina County. In the North Carolina County, 40 per cent of its white population voted in 1936. In the Virginia County, only 18.50 per cent of its white population voted, or, in other words, had the Virginia County voted the same percentage as the North Carolina County, the vote would have totaled 40 per cent of 15,000 whites amounting to 6,000 votes, instead of 2,780. The poll tax is not controlling the Negro vote, but is disfranchising the white voter. These figures are the strongest evidence yet presented against the poll tax.

The advocate of the poll tax control of the Negro vote is placed in an embarrssing position by these figures; if he tries to increase the Negro vote for Mecklenburg as given by these figures he runs up against the smaller North Carolina County percentage cast without any poll tax restrictions which would automatically weaken the Virginia argument; if he attempts to reduce the Negro vote from the figures for the Virginia County, he likewise admits that poll tax control is not effective for the Negro vote. The burden upon the poll tax advocates is to explain why the 544 poll tax qualified Negroes did not vote in Mecklenburg, and likewise what prevented 3,200 Mecklenburg whites from voting as did their North Carolina neighbors? What will the poll tax advocates tell the people after 1940 when Virginia's delegation in the National Convention will be less than half that of North Carolina, West Virginia Kentucky or Maryland?

South Hill. H. C. COLEMAN.

THE PRIMARY

The Democratic Primary, in which the party's candidates for seats in the City Council will be selected, will be held Tuesday, April 5th. The candidates named on Tuesday will make the laws by which the city is governed for the next two years, assess taxes, make appropriations for the maintenance of our schools, the protection of our health, the safety of our person and property, the improvement of the street and locality in which we live, for the erection and maintenance of public buildings, for facilities for recreation and cultural development, for relief and for many other functions of modern government.

As it affects the interests and well being of the residents of Richmond, this election is unsurpassed in importance, not even excepting those in which Mayors, Governors, Congressmen and Presidents are chosen.

The Richmond PLANET urges Negroes who are eligible to vote in the Primary on Tuesday to exercise that right and to cast their votes for the men best qualified, in their opinion, to perform the duties incumbent upon lawmakers of the city of Richmond.

Small brains, inexperience, nit-wits, demagogues, race baiters and tawdry politicians have no business in the City Council. They are sand bags tied to progress, efficiency and wise administration.

SIDEWALKS OF THE SOUTH

By JOSEPHUS SIMPSON

I took time out this week to peruse the Richmond poll book. The book is divided into five sections, one of which is really significant. This significance arises out of more than one fact. One of the reasons for the condition is that it is so much easier to select the desired number of "Negroes" for jury service when they are segregated in one part of the book than if they are scattered indiscriminately throughout the whole book. Another reason for the condition is that it is easier to check or keep tab on the number of qualified "Negro" voters under this system than to pursue the legal course. Another reason, I presume, is the inclination on the part of the election officials to impress upon the black voter the alleged fact that he is not part and parcel of the Virginia electorate but a separate entity politically. Still another reason is, I presume, the fact that the total number of tax-qualified "Negroes" is so small that they would get "lost" among the white voters and it would be impossible to identify them. Then, too, to list them separately by wards would constitute a waste of paper stock, in view of the determination of State officials to list them separately. The poll book, therefore, is indexed as follows: "Lee, Clay, Madison, Jefferson, Colored." The whites are listed alphabetically in the four wards and the "Negroes" in the back of the book, from all wards.

* * * *

In spite of all the ballyhoo that has been broadcast over this city during the past few years by various political clubs and leagues, there are only 1,432 colored persons listed as having paid all poll taxes assessed against them in the last 3 years and who are thereby qualified to vote under Virginia suffrage laws, if they have taken the time and trouble to have themselves registered.

* * * * *

There are 323 pages in the Richmond poll book on which the names of white taxpayers are listed—131 in Lee Ward, 94 in Clay, 54 in Madison, 44 in Jefferson and 16 colored. The total number of colored voters, or taxpayers, throughout the city of Richmond is a fraction over one-third of the number of taxpayers of the white race in the smallest ward in the city of Richmond. Compared with the total number of tax-paid white citizens over the entire city, colored tax-paid citizens constitute less than one-twentieth of the total tax-paid population of the city of Richmond. There is really no real reason for the existence of such a condition in the city of Richmond.

* * * * *

There are those who claim that colored people are naturally disinclined to participate in politics. I dispute such an assertion with all the vehemence at my command. I say it is not so. In my opinion, colored people are no different from any other people—all humans are basically the same, mentally, physically, morally and otherwise. Colored people have no inclination to participate in politics simply because they have been unable to visualize the link between politics and their food, clothing and shelter and other necessities of life. When they are once brought around to the point where they can see the importance of this link; when colored men and women are convinced that they can better their living standards and enhance their social prestige and well-being by participation in politics, no one will have to beg or plead with them to exercise their political perogatives or to perform their social and civic duties. A little less Heaven and Hell and a little more of the social and economic gospel will turn the trick. This gospel must come, however, from those whom they look upon as leaders—men whom they trust and to whom they have for years looked to for leadership and guidance.

We have not been accustomed to look to political and economic leadership in the past for these things, and it cannot be expected that we can overnight shift our mental gears with such ease and facility as to be able to accept wholeheartedly the leadership of these leaders now. Ministers of the gospel—the recognized leaders of the people—must needs point the way. The challenge is to them. If the responsibility is ever shifted it must be shifted by them. Their position is such that they can name those who are to bear that responsibility.

500 Turn Out In Lynchburg Primary Vote

Questionnaire Is Forwarded To Candidates

LYNCHBURG, Va.—A revival of interest in the ballot among Lynchburg Negroes is seen in the estimated 500 Negro participants in the Democratic primary here Tuesday, April 5. While exact figures on the number of Negro voters were not available, officials believe that that number voted Tuesday.

Interest in the primary was due in part to the recent city-wide campaign for more Negro voters conducted by the legal redress committee of the local branch of the NAACP.

This committee headed by Lawyer Lukengus Carey forwarded questionaires to the 11 candidates for the City Council asking them to commit themselves on such matters as the appointment of a Negro to the school board, the clearance of Negro slum areas and the increased employment of Negroes by the city.

The committee requested the candidates to check each question indicating which ones they approved and return their answer immediately. Lawyer Carey's committee had the cooperation of the Negro Professional and Business Men's Club, the Negro Voter's League and other civic organizations.

The majority of the candidates were not specific in their answers preferring apparently to generalize in order not to offend either whites or Negroes.

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Move To Repeal Poll Tax Gains Support In State

Other Means of Raising School Funds Suggested

Senator Page's Amendment Is Introduced

Staff Correspondence

RICHMOND, Va. — Chief topic of conversation among thousands of Virginians is a proposed revision of the constitution of the state of Virginia which would abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in the Old Dominion State.

Sponsors of the movement, which has rapidly gained momentum in Virginia in recent weeks and which was openly supported by Governor-elect James H. Price in a recent statement, announced here this week that an amendment providing for the elimination of the poll tax requirement is likely to be introduced in the current session of the General Assembly during the next two weeks.

ADOPTED IN 1904

The poll tax law was written into the Virginia Constitution at the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902. It became effective on January 1, 1904, and provided for the payment of a poll tax of $1.50 per year for the three years immediately preceding the time of voting. Virginia is one of seven states which still have poll tax laws.

The movement to have the law revised to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting is sponsored by the Virginia Federation of Labor, a branch of the A. F. of L. Supporting the movement are the four transportation brotherhoods of the Federation, the Virginia Consumers League, the Virginia Women Voters League, and several other organizations.

An official of the Virginia Federation of Labor told the Journal and Guide last week that his organization was not opposed to the poll tax as a source of revenue for the support of schools, but it was opposed to a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. He declared that every person should have the right to vote.

Influential citizens who have thrown their support to the movement include Governor-elect Price and Senator Vivian Page of Norfolk, who have declared themselves in favor of revising the Constitution's poll tax provision.

PAGE TAKES ACTION

Backing up with action his announced favoritism for a change in the law, Senator Page Friday introduced a joint resolution in the House of Delegates and the State Senate providing for the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, but retaining it as a revenue measure.

Hardly had the resolution been read before opposition began forming. The two oldest members of the Virginia Senate, Henry T. Wickham of Hanover and William A. Garrett of Ridgeway, came out flat-footedly against the proposal basing their opposition chiefly on the fact that it would let down the franchise bars to a larger number of Negroes.

"This poll tax bill is aimed to increase the electorate," reasoned 89-year old Senator Wickham, "but you can't increase the white electorate without increasing the Negro electorate."

"You're right, Senator," joined in Senator Garrett, reputedly the oldest legislator in point of continuous service in the United States. "We'll fight it until we drop."

CITIZENS FAVOR MOVE

Meantime, Richmond citizens in all walks of life were interviewed in regard to the poll tax question here last week by the Journal and Guide.

It was the unanimous opinion of those who discussed the question that a revision in the constitution was desirable. There was some difference of opinion as to a workable alternative.

Some thought that the poll tax should be abolished. Others felt that school tax should be collected separately for the maintenance of schools. A third group expressed the opinion that a nominal registration tax should be levied but that this tax should not exceed fifty cents.

Move To Repeal Poll Tax Favored By Richmonders

Journal and Guide 1-22-38

At Random Poll Of Representative Persons Taken

Other Means Of Raising School Funds Suggested

(Staff Correspondence)

RICHMOND, Va.—An at random poll of representatives of various groups here during the week revealed the unanimous belief that repeal of the Virginia poll tax as a perequisite to voting was highly necessary for true democratic rule.

One spokesman, remembering that the revenue derived from the poll tax is used to defray the expenses of schools in the state, suggested that a fifty-cent registration fee would bring in a far greater amount for this purpose than the present restrictive poll tax.

The names, addresses, occupation and specific answers of those queried by the Journal and Guide follow:

C. H. STORRS, 722 N. Third St., plasterer: I favor the abolition of the poll tax law. Although my reason is personal, I am sure that there are millions of others in this year. I have been out of work. Yet if it had not been for the unfair poll tax law, I could have exercised my citizenship rights. I think that is is robbery.

WILEY HALL, 1106 N. First St., social worked: When the poll tax accumulates for three years, it amounts to $4.50. There are many people who do not have $4.50 and are not able to exercise right of the franchise. For many young, who have just reached 21, the $1.50, though not a great deal, is still an item. A revision of the law to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting would result in the enfranchisement of a large number of Negro citizens in the low income groups and would make them more active politically.

LILLIAN S. MANN, 1016 N. Fifth St., youth leader: I think that it would be a great act of justice to abolish the poll tax because it is a great hindrance to the poorer class of people. I believe that owing to the meager circumstances of a great majority of the people, it is impossible for them to vote as regularly as they would like to. The tax may be small but I believe that a larger number of citizens would vote if the matter of money was not involved.

DR. J. M. TINSLEY, [illegible] N. Fourth St., dentist: By all means the poll tax should be abolished. It was placed in the Virginia constitution for the sole purpose of disfranchising the Negro citizen. However, it has reacted against a larger segment of the white population, the poorer class, and the present movement to abolish the poll tax is sponsored by working people of both races. I think the present registering laws are all right and that the Commonwealth will be better served when the poll tax law is removed

from the Constitution, enabling a larger proportion of the population to participate in government. If more money is needed for the maintenance of schools it should be raised by a school tax which would have nothing to do with a person's right to vote.

C. T. JONES, 818 N. Fifth St., painter-plasterer: I think that the new movement is very good. I favor the complete abolition of the poll tax. When that has been done, a person can vote if he can satisfy the literacy test, which is the only justifiable requirement for participation in politics.

REV. C. C. SCOTT, D.D., 1005 N. Fourth St., pastor, Fifth Street Baptist Church: Because a number of people who are not voting today would like to vote, I favor the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. I think that the system used in Pennsylvania is ideal. There a registration fee of fifty cents is required. With the larger participation of citizens in politics that would follow the change, I think that the revenue from the fifty cents fee would be more than is raised now with the $1.50 poll tax.

G. A. BROWN, Rt. 1, Roxbury, farmer: Colored people should cooperate with the movement to abolish the poll tax. I am wholeheartedly in favor of the new movement. I hope that the present General Assembly does something about this evil, so that many people who cannot vote now because of their financial condition will be able to vote.

ROSCOE C. JACKSON, 627 N. Sixth St., president of Richmond Democratic League: The poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in the state of Virginia and the time limit placed on its payment constitutes one of the greatest legalized hindrances to exercise of the franchise by two-thirds of the citizens of the state. All citizens should have the right to select their national, state, and city officials. The poll tax law deprives citizens, colored and white, of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. It should be repealed if our state is to have a democratic form of government.

THOMAS RICHARDSON, 327 E. Marshall St., youth leader: We can never approach really democratic government as long as great masses of the people are disfranchised by a an unfair poll tax law, adopted for the purpose of discriminating against a particular race. The present movement to have the law revised is admirable. When all of the people who can qualify as voters, otherwise, are permitted to vote, then there is more likelihood that officials and lawmakers will truly represent the will of the majority of the people. that is democracy.

J. W. RILEY, Virginia Union University, head of history department: The Negroes of Virginia should gladly welcome and support the proposed amendment to eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The amendment, if passed, should afford the Negro greater opportunity to participate in the government and politics of Virginia and give them an instrument, the ballot, for making their demands more effective. Virginia should be congratulated on its efforts to establish true democracy in the state for as matters now stand, the lower classes are practically prohibited from participation in the government.

The Franchise: Poll Tax As A Voting Prerequisite: Pro and Con

A FEW days ago a daily newspaper editor, always generous and sincere in his friendship for and efforts on behalf of the Negro group—but convinced that federal anti-lynching legislation and liberalization of voting laws are destructive of the South's well-being—wrote that abolishing the Virginia poll tax prerequisite to voting would place the ballot in the hands of "certain elements" of the population which should not have it. Not many days after that was written the two eldest members of the Virginia Legislature, engaged in a dialogue which was more precise:

SENATOR WICKHAM—Senator Garrett, this poll tax bill is aimed to increase the electorate. You can't increase the white electorate without increasing the Negro electorate.

SENATOR GARRETT—You're right, Senator; we'll fight it until we drop.

OFFERED BY PAGE

The opposition to the bill, introduced by Norfolk's State Senator Vivian L. Page, who unsuccessfully sought to win the election for governor against Governor-Elect Price—who prior to his election refused to utter a word about the poll tax, but since being elected has publicly voiced his belief there should be some reduction in the amount of the poll tax—the opposition, then, to this bill is clearly derived from the fact that the Negro will also be less proscribed as a voter.

That fact is in line with the motive behind the constitutional provision requiring the poll tax and the other provisions operating to make qualification for voting difficult. The records are clear on that, and here is the record:

THE RECORD

"The clearest admission of the intent of the new disfranchisement devices came from Virginia," writes Paul Lewison in his volume, "Race, Class, and Party—A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South."

"Here it was plainly stated that the administration of the new election code was to bar Negro voters who might meet the letter of the law," Author Lewison relates. During the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-02, now U. S. Senator Carter Glass was asked whether the Negro would not be eliminated under the plan finally adopted by "fraud and discrimination."

The author, Senator Glass, replied: "By fraud, no; by discrimination, yes. But it will be discrimination within the letter of the law . . . Discrimination! Why, that is precisely what we propose; that, exactly is what this convention was elected for—to discriminate to the very extremity of permissable action under the limitations of the Federal Constitution, with a view to the elimination of every Negro voter who can be gotten rid of, legally, without materially impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate. . . It is a fine discrimination, indeed, that we have practiced in the fabrication of this plan."

OTHER FACTS

Some other interesting facts: not only is there a strong movement in Virginia, backed by labor groups, enlightened legislators, the more liberal newspapers, and the Negro group generally, but there is a National-Get-Out-the-Vote Club conducting a nationwide campaign of election and registration reforms. Congress and eleven state legislatures meet this month one in May, and most of the states elect new legislatures in 1938. First objective of the national club is "repeal of the pall tax as a prerequisite of the right to vote."

The late Professor Ely of Johns Hopkins University once termed the poll tax as a "relic of barbarism." Only seven states still retain the poll tax, Virginia among them. In 1920 there were 11 states requiring the poll tax as a voting preliminary. Under the poll tax ban these 11 states had a combined vote shrinkage of 18 percent, although the electorate grew 50 per cent.

RESTRICTS VOTE TOTAL

The poll tax states polled votes from only 24 percent of their potential electorate, "the lowest voting record on the civilized globe," says the National-Get-Out-The-Vote Club.

The states still requiring the poll tax for voting, all are: Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Popular opposition to the poll tax is now notable in Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia.

The other states most recently having but since 1920 dropping the poll tax were: Florida and Arkansas.

REPEAL THE POLL TAX FRAUD

The General Assembly of Virginia, now in session, has to pass upon a subject of vital interest to every citizen of Virginia.

Virginia is one of the seven states in the union which still clings to election laws making the payment of poll taxes a pre-requisite to voting. The operation of the election law in Virginia permits only 25 per cent of persons of voting age to exercise the right of suffrage, while in neighboring states, unfettered by poll tax requirements, the electorate percentage runs as high as 90 per cent of persons of voting age.

It is, therefore, apparent that minority government exists in the group of seven poll tax states in which Virginia is numbered. Governor Price, sensing the revolt against the undemocratic poll tax law, recommended a revision of the law in his inaugural message. His opponent in the August Democratic primary has introduced a bill in the Virginia Senate providing for a forthright repeal. If Governor Price is the liberal he is reputed to be, he will recede from the position he has taken in advocating a half way measure and join Senator Page in his crusade to outlaw this 'relic of barbarism" as the poll tax law was denominated by the late Prof. Ely of John Hopkins University.

No race question is involved in the abolition of the law requiring the payment of poll taxes as a pre-requisite to voting. White Virginians are the chief sufferers. Only the whites who are the beneficiaries of the machine which rules Virginia and maintains its sway by virtue of the poll tax law profit thereby.

The vast majority of the white Virginians are in the same boat with Negro Virginians who are denied a voice in the government of the state by this archaic device to disfranchise the many and permit the few to rule, to oppress and to exploit. Repeal is the only remedy to cure the poll tax fraud

Political – 1938

Suffrage

Virginia

The Number of Negro Voters

AN interested citizen recently inquired of a question and answer columnist: "What is the Negro population of Richmond? How many of these are registered voters"?

The answer supplied was: "At the time of the latest census, in 1930, there were 52,988 Negroes in Richmond. The present registration of Negroes is 4,543, but non-payment of poll taxes and failure to come to the polls on election day reduces the actual number of Negro voters to a much smaller figure."

Journal and Guide

For that size population the registration is small, it must be admitted, but what is true in Richmond is also too true generally, and Richmonders, for many years, have bestirred themselves to get a more interested and larger electorate. The city leads in registered voters.

There is much more to the explanation of the smaller number of voters compared to the registrations than merely "failure to come to the polls on election day," a condition not confined to our group alone.

It is common knowledge, and there are records to substantiate it, that except for some elections in which some issue deeply stirs the citizenry emotionally, the total votes cast is distressingly smaller than the total registration.

6-11-38 Norfolk, Va.

Legal and extra-legal devices; an aversion, rapidly disappearing, to voting for any candidates not offering under the G. O. P. banner; a mistaken notion that only national elections are of consequence; the complicated procedure and the expense attached to qualifying to vote—all of this, and more can be advanced in explanation of inadequate registration and indifferent exercise of the right to vote.

Interestingly enough, the realization is spreading rapidly among the majority group that the obstacles raised to make the electorate lily-white have worked hardships on both races, and a movement designed to modify, if not abolish, such prejudice-born hurdles is meeting with noticeable success.

Richmond Needs $7,500 for Poll Taxes

Richmonders have until December 5 to pay their poll tax and qualify to vote.

Under the present law, designed to keep them away from the polls, they must pay $1.50 poll tax for three years in succession before they can vote.

The result is that barely 2,000 colored people out of the entire colored population of 52,988 are qualified to vote.

Chr. American

But this silly poll tax law, while an obstacle, ought to challenge the best in the city to nullify it. If all Richmond will resolve to lick it, the job is as good as done.

Let every church collect $1.50 additional annual dues from each member for the poll tax.

Let every lodge of Elks, Pythians, Masons require poll tax payment as one element of qualification and collect the poll tax in the lodge.

Let every civic organization accept only full-fledged voters as members.

Let social and dance clubs raise funds to pay poll taxes of those who are too poor to pay for themselves.

Let Richmond stop playing and go to work. Let's begin by making a voter of every teacher, preacher, business and professional man in town.

Just 5,000 colored registered voters in Richmond will wield so much influence that colored schools will get colored principals within a year.

Jobs and civic improvement will follow so fast, the community will be startled.

Just $7,500 paid out in poll taxes will be worth a million dollars in wages to colored Richmond.

It can be done. There are 5,000 real men and women in Richmond to do it.

Hostility and Poll Tax Keep Va. Vote Down

Howard Publication Says Organic Law Hits Citizens

WASHINGTON.

Recent contention that Virginia's poll tax law is largely responsible for the small number of colored voters in Virginia is refuted in "Negro Disfranchisement in America" by Robert E Martin.

Writing in the first issue of the Howard University Studies in Social Sciences, Mr. Martin says that the poll tax and hostility of Democratic officials combine to deprive colored people of a voice in their government.

Set for Elimination

The State Constitutional Convention of 1901, he noted, set out to eliminate the colored man from any consideration in politics, even at the expense of many poor whites.

Chr. American 9-4-38

Among the qualifications set up for registration were payment of the poll tax for the three years preceding the one in which one proposes to register;

Registering in own handwriting without aid or memorandum answers to all questions about age, residence, etc.

The third requirement provided forced the person seeking to register to answer under oath any and all questions about qualifications.

Prohibitive

Ask Any Question

The latter requirement enables the registration officials to ask any type of question or use any ordinary device to stump the prospective elector. Many persons knowing that they will be subjected to extraordinary tests and treated with extreme discourtesy stay away.

In 1867 there were 105,000 colored voters in Virginia, according to the study by Mr. Martin and by 1904 this number had dwindled to less than 25,000.

Planned Discrimination

During the Constitutional Convention, which extended into 1901, Carter G. Glass, now United States Senator, answered a delegate who asked whether depriving the colored man of the vote required fraud and discrimination

Mr. Glass said:

"By fraud, no; by discrimination, yes. But it will be discrimination within the letter of the law, and not in violation of the law."

He added that the desired aim was to eliminate every colored voter "who can be gotten rid of legally without materially impairing the numerical strength of the white electorate."

The convention delegates were so anxious to put this discriminatory organic law into operation that they proclaimed the new Constitution and did not submit it to the electorate.

Carter Glass Called Va. Disfranchisement 'Fine'

WASHINGTON

Senator Carter G. Glass of Virginia gloried in disfranchisement of colored voters by his State Constitutional Convention in 1900.

Mr. Glass said:

"We have accomplished our purpose strictly within the limitations of the Federal Constitution by legislating against characteristics of the black race, and not against the 'race, color or previous conditions of servitude' . . . it was fine discrimination indeed."

9-17-38

Norfolk Va Pilot
October 28, 1938

Voters Urged To Participate In Balloting

New Listing Suggested for Negro Voters; Would Rewrite Poll Lists

A movement to have the Negro vote in Portsmouth segregated on the poll tax list as to wards and sex, instead of being listed in an unbroken group as in the past, was launched by the City Democratic Executive Committee last night at a meeting called for the purpose of arranging to get out the maximum vote in support of the party's nominee for Congress, Colgate W. Darden, Jr., in the general election November 8.

Chairman H. J. Kraemer reminded the voters that they have only until November 3 to apply for mail ballots and the committee urged every Democrat who may not be in his or her precinct election day to apply for a mail ballot so as to record their votes.

Dr. E. W. Rawls, Second District committeeman, addressed the committee to remind it that overconfidence could spell defeat.

"We can't tell if this man running against the nominee will cut any ice, or not," Dr. Rawls said "and if the Democrats stay at home believing that their candidate will win anyway, there is danger that the other candidate might slip in." He recommended that the committee get as much publicity as possible to urge the Democrats to go to the polls November 8 and support the nominee. Chariman Kraemer appointed Secretary C. C. Wilson and J. W. Collyer to serve with himself as a committee on this publicity.

The committee also went on record as favoring establishment of a new polls in Lee Ward and directed the chairman to take up with the electoral board also the question of rewriting the registration books, possibly as a WPA project to afford relief employment.

Urges Committee Activity

A letter from Parke P. Deans district committee chairman, urging the local committee to take steps to get out the vote, was presented at the start of the meeting by Chairman Kraemer. Mr. Deans in his letter said that it is the duty of the local committee to make a good showing in the election, although the party has an excellent candidate for Congress and the opposition does not seem formidable. He offered his own or the district committee's services in any way possible to help the local group.

Report by Mr. Collyer on the committee's efforts to get poll tax lists for each ward so as to better attend to the task of getting out the vote, served to launch the movement to have Negro voters listed by wards and sex in the future. Mr. Collyer advised that 10 poll tax lists were not available, but that he had been supplied one book by Kenneth A. Bain, Jr., clerk of the City Circuit Court, to be split by wards and serve in the absence of complete books for each precinct.

Dr. Rawls said it had been the practice to take up a collection for the purchase of poll books, which cost about $2.50 each, and he offered to apply for free copies for the committee, although he was no surer of success than they had been.

C. C. Cupp moved that the committee buy the books, but was advised that the treasury was inadequate.

W. L. Ricks complained that the Negro vote was not segregated as to wards and Mr. Cupp, stating that experience with the Negro vote as grouped was not satisfactory, moved that the committee take steps to have the Negro voters for next year listed male and female by wards.

Favors New Listing

Dr. Rawls remarked that the Negro vote is becoming so important in the city that some method different from what had been followed in the past should be adopted. He favored the listing by wards.

David Levin called attention to the fact that the law requires the white and Negro lists to be kept separate, but said nothing prevents listing the Negroes by wards and sex as is done with the white voters.

Chairman Kraemer appointed Messrs. Levin, Collyer and Finley to constitute a committee to confer with Mrs. Mary Moore Hudgins, city treasurer, who prepares the list, and William Hodges Baker, clerk of the Court of Hustings, who has the list printed, relative to carrying out the committee's idea for the election next fall.

Chairman Kraemer was authorized to arrange a conference with the electoral board for Monday night at which the three members of the committee from Lee Ward and the chairman will take up the question of changing the polls in that ward.

Secretary Wilson, of the Lee Ward delegation, said that the judges and clerks were desirous of changing and that the place heretofore used was undesirable with respect to the sale of beer "practically in the polls."

Supports Suggestion

Dr. Rawls declared himself strongly in support of the committee's stand for changing the polls, and explained that nominally the committee is responsible for and in charge of the party's affairs in the city. He said he felt the electoral board had been discourteous in refusing to accede to the committee's request to change the polls for the primary election, and he encouraged the committee to go after the matter more strongly than ever, offering to accompany the committee's sub-committee to confer with the board.

Chairman Kraemer said the electoral board had practically agreed to change the polls if another suitable location could be obtained, but changed its views after a place had been tentatively selected.

With reference to the registration books, Mr. Ricks asserted that there had been no alteration or revision in them for more than 15 years. He suggested that purging the books of dead and removed voters throughout the 10 precincts in the city, could be handled as a WPA relief employment project and urged some action.

Dr. Rawls said he had talked with the electoral board on the subject and that the board was anxious to purge the registration books if the problem of the cost could be solved. He expressed the belief that a WPA project would solve that problem and recommended that the committee go on record urging it. Mr. Ricks' motion to this effect was adopted unanimously and Chairman Kraemer was directed to take the matter up with the electoral board along with the question of the Lee Ward polls.